

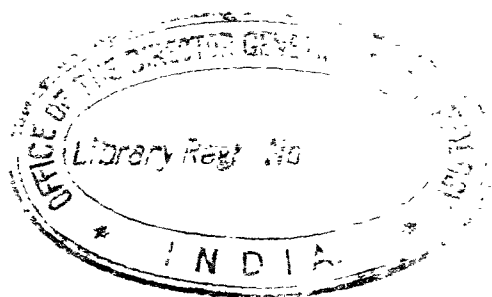
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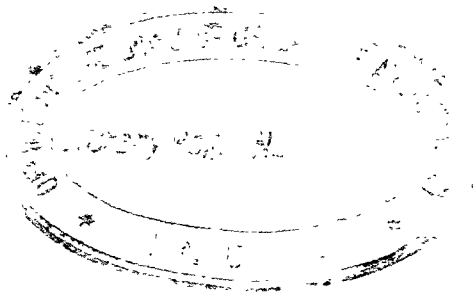
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THE

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INDIA'S JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY, POLITICS AND LITERATURE

Edited by K. C. Mahindran



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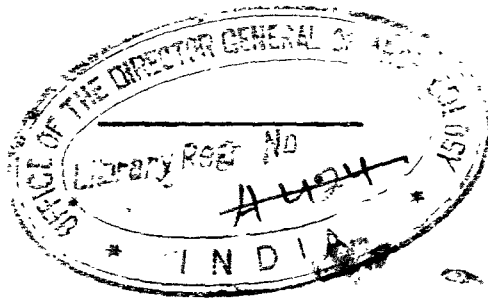
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THE DISTRUST OF ENGLISHMEN

By MR. ALFRED NUNDY

I.

That Indians distrust the English is a fact which it would be idle to disguise. No individual more loyal to British rule can be found than Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer, who writing in *The Nineteenth Century and After* has emphasized "a complete loss of faith in the minds of large sections of the people in the sincerity of the declarations and promise of the Government and their sense of justice." The Rt. Hon'ble Srinavasa Sastri, at the farewell banquet given to him by the Viceroy, previous to his departure for his Colonial trip as India's representative, has stated: "We have never seen in the country such a wreck of hope and faith in the Government of the day. I say this in all solemnity. We have never seen such a total wreck of faith by the people as to-day." And he implored the English to strive to the utmost to regain public confidence. But within three months a further shock was given to this confidence from a most unexpected quarter. In speaking in the House of Commons on the present and future prospects of the Indian Civil Service the Prime Minister made some notable utterances. With reference to the Constitutional Reforms introduced in India, he described them as "in the nature of an experiment, to be treated as an experiment, a great and important experiment but still an experiment." As regards the Indian Civil Service he said he could see no period when they could be dis-

pensed with and that they constituted the "steel frame" of the whole structure without which it would collapse. And he held out a veiled threat that in case the non-co-operators were returned to the next Councils and tried to act in a manner detrimental to British rule their conduct would be taken "into account" so far as the Reforms were concerned.

What Mr. Lloyd George had intended to convey and how far his remarks were justified we shall see further on. But the fact remained that most contentious matters had been raised. The fat was in the fire. The politically-minded classes were up in arms. The Extremists were jubilant. They passed votes of thanks to the Premier for his extraordinary candour. They jeered at the Moderates and hoped their eyes were now opened as to the true nature of their partners and patrons, who offered boons with one hand and snatched them away with the other hand. The question was put in all seriousness, "where is now your Magna Charta of 1917?" Every device was utilised for aggravating the existing distrust. The Liberal Party were aghast. They honestly believed there was ground for complaint and for resentment. Explanations were demanded and given by the Viceroy under the authority of the Prime Minister, but doubts and suspicions once they enter the human brain it is not easy to eradicate them. The matter was brought up in the Council of State where a resolution was proposed de-

precating the speech of Mr. Lloyd George for having by his pronouncement aroused in the public mind apprehension as to the political future of this country. Though the feeling was general that a mistake had been made the resolution was rejected. But the Legislative Assembly proved a harder nut to crack. In spite of the explanations offered by the Government a resolution was carried, by 48 votes against 34, viewing with grave concern the Premier's speech as being in conflict with the solemn declaration of Government and calculated to create serious apprehensions in India regarding the attainment of Swaraj and the Indianisation of the services. An undercurrent of feeling was in evidence that such a resolution was called for by reason of the distrust entertained by at least some of the members towards English politics in general and English statesmen in particular. Are there grounds for such distrust?

It will be said, why rake up an unpleasant subject? For several good reasons. A misunderstanding has arisen which unless it is removed may have serious consequences. The character and conduct of both sides is being assailed. It is not only desirable that Indians should understand Englishmen but also that Englishmen should understand Indians. Each should be able to enter into the feelings of the other and make due allowances. It is only when this is achieved that mutual confidence and respect will be assured. As against the Indians the charge is being laid that they are gratuitously imputing bad faith to Englishmen and it is said that it is hopeless to deal with people who are suspicious and unappreciative of the benefits conferred on them. If it be shown that the past history of British rule in India affords ground for distrusting Englishmen then the conduct of the politically-minded classes will not only be intelligible but will be judged less harshly and will not necessarily be condemned. In the next place if the past and present dealings of England with India are placed in juxtaposition the contrast in itself will afford evidence as to whether there has been a change in the angle of vision as regards the method in which British rule is to be carried on in India in the future. The true value of the sentiments expressed by Englishmen within the last six years can only be rightly appraised when compared with what they gave currency to in the past. The real significance

of the recent constitutional changes can only be realised when contrasted with the political activities of the past on the part of those who have governed India for the last century and a half. And yet another reason is to be found in the fact that though sentiments were expressed and acts done in the past which are calculated to arouse distrust yet if we look at the result, in that we are to-day well-started on the road which leads to self-government, it will carry conviction to an unprejudiced mind of the existence of an unfortunate tendency on our part to look only at the dark side and ignore the creditable side of what after all is an alien rule, and should be judged by that standard.

At the outset British rule in India was more or less a military despotism. In the periodical Parliamentary Inquiry into Indian affairs held in 1833 Earl Ellenborough propounded the view that: "Our very existence in India depended upon the exclusion of the natives from military and political power in that country. We were there in a situation not of our seeking, in a situation from which we could not recede without producing bloodshed from one end of India to the other. We had won the Empire of India by the sword, and we must preserve it by the same means, doing at the same time everything that was consistent with our existence there for the good of the people." But even at that period the good sense and generosity of certain other Englishmen had outlined quite a different future for India, based on a more exalted conception of the obligations attendant on British rule in India. Lord Macaulay in course of his reply to Lord Ellenborough entered a strong protest against the adoption of a policy which was politically and morally unsound, and he, in clear terms, foreshadowed what has indeed come to pass. "It may be," he said, "that the public mind of India may expand under our system till it has outgrown that system; that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government, that having become instructed in European knowledge, they may in some future age demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come I know not. But never will I attempt to avert or retard it. Whenever it comes it will be the proudest day in English history."

Having regard to individual administrative acts of Government the inference may reasonably be drawn that both policies were alternate-

ly and sometimes simultaneously at work. The political consciousness of the people, which is evidenced by a keen desire for the application in India of the principle of self-determination could not have been aroused but for the nature of British rule in India, which in certain respects did savour of benevolence. It fostered a love for western education and culture, leading to an insatiable desire for freedom. English statesmen influenced by generous instincts from time to time committed themselves to the grant of such ameliorative boons as would reconcile the people to the toleration of an alien rule. On the other hand it sometimes happened that the authorities in India strenuously exerted themselves to render nugatory the concessions that had been made in response to the urgent demands of the people for the grant of certain rights and privileges. The Statute of 1833, dealing with India recited that "no native of the said territories nor any natural born subject of His Majesty resident therein shall by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them be disabled from holding any place, office or employment under the said Company." It remained a dead letter. The Act of 1870 granted to Indians a specific proportion of appointments in the Covenanted Civil Service, but ten years elapsed before even an attempt was made to act upon it. Meanwhile a counter proposal was made by the Government of India for a "close native service" to which could be relegated a few superior posts. Lord Cranbrook, then Secretary of State for India, snuffed out the proposal and thereby led Lord Lytton to record a minute, a paragraph from which deserves to be quoted as a candid exposure of official mentality in respect to the claims of Indians, some of which had received the highest sanction in England. "We all know that these claims and expectations never can or will be fulfilled. We have had to choose between prohibiting them and cheating them; and we have chosen the least straightforward course. . . . Since I am writing confidentially I do not hesitate to say that both the Governments of England and India appear to me, up to the present moment, unable to answer satisfactorily the charge of having taken every means in their power of breaking to the heart the words of promise that had been uttered to the ear." How then are we to account for the fact that in the year of grace 1922 to the general outcry for the Indianisation of the services, the

monopoly of some of which was held by Englishmen, the response made was fairly satisfactory? The educated classes urge that in bringing about this result they contributed to a large extent. This is undoubtedly true, but it evolves another question as to how the politically-minded classes came at all into existence.

It is a curious fact that up till recently the English nation considered as a whole had not taken kindly to the political future foreshadowed for India by certain eminent statesmen endowed with generous instincts. The idea was rejected that the people whose destinies Englishmen held in their hands may some day be entrusted with a responsible share in the government of the country. The military despotism had no doubt been toned down to a benevolent despotism, which implied that everything was to be done "for" the people and nothing "by" the people. But beyond this no appreciable advance was made, for even when the Councils were brought into existence they were merely advisory bodies, destitute of any right to question the acts of the bureaucracy, much less to interfere with the autocracy of the Government. The Indian Legislative Council came into existence by the Act of 1853, which for the first time recognised the principle of local representation by allowing four officials to represent the Governments of Madras, Bombay, Bengal and Agra. It was followed by the Act of 1861 which raised the number of Additional Members to not less than six nor more than twelve, out of which not less than half were to be non-official members. Local legislatures were brought into existence in Madras and Bombay. These Councils were deliberative bodies only in respect to the subject before them. They could not inquire into grievances or examine the conduct of the executive. The growing tendency of the members to put questions and to discuss the propriety of the methods of the Executive Government was specifically deprecated.

The next stage marked a further advance which was made by the Act of 1892, which empowered the Councils to ask questions and to discuss though not to vote upon the budget. As regards the Provincial Councils, there was a considerable addition to their status and functions. The foundation was laid of the elective system, for the Viceroy was authorised to invite representative bodies in India to elect or select or delegate representatives of themselves

and of their opinions to be nominated by Government. The maximum of members of the Indian Legislative Council was fixed at sixteen. But Lord Dufferin took care to emphasise the fact that in the changes that were proposed there was no desire to approach English parliamentary government and an English constitutional system. We now come to the Morley-Minto reforms introduced in 1909, in respect to which the authors of the Reforms Scheme wrote: "The problem which Lord Minto's Government set themselves to solve was how to fuse in one single government the two elements which they discerned in the origins of British power in India. They hoped to blend the principle of autocracy derived from Moghul Emperors and Hindu Kings with the principle of constitutionalism derived from the British Crown and Parliament; to create a constitutional autocracy, which, differing *toto cœlo* from Asiatic despotism, should bind itself to govern by rule, should call to its counsels representatives of all interests which were capable of being represented and should merely reserve to itself in the form of a narrow majority predominant and absolute power." By this Act the Provincial Legislatures were enlarged to 50 members, official and non-official, in the larger provinces and to 30 in the smaller, while the maximum fixed for the Indian Legislative Council was 60. The principle of election was introduced for the first time, as also was the right conferred to move resolutions not only in respect to the budget on all matters of general public importance. But while making the concessions Lord Morley made a clear pronouncement that they were not to be understood as a prelude to parliamentary government, thereby endorsing the view put forward by Lord Minto on behalf of the Government of India that in the proposals made by them they had no intention of aiming at responsible government but merely recognised the natural aspirations of educated men to share in the government of the country. The conception of a responsible executive wholly or partially amenable to the elected Councils was not admitted. Power remained with the Government and the Councils were left with no functions but criticism.

Here again we are faced with the question as to how a few years later a Reforms Scheme was introduced which laid the foundation of responsible government leading to a goal which is none other than the gradual acquisition of

Dominion Home Rule. The status of India in the Empire was raised by her admission to the Imperial War Conference and the Imperial Cabinet, whilst amongst the Imperial delegates at the Peace Conference were to be found the representatives of India. The principle of reciprocity came also to be admitted by the representatives of the Dominions. The educated classes again claim that it was the strenuous agitation carried on by them which accomplished this result. That they have largely contributed towards shaping the political destiny of India cannot be gainsaid. The authors of the Reforms Scheme in writing of the politically-minded class stated: "The educated India has come to the front by hard work; he has seized the education which we offered him because he first saw to advantages; and it is he who has advocated and worked for political progress. All this stands to his credit. For thirty years he has developed in his Congress and latterly in the Muslim League free popular convocations which express his ideals. We owe him sympathy because he has conceived and pursued the idea of managing his own affairs, an aim which no Englishman can fail to respect. He has made a skilful and on the whole a moderate use of the opportunities which we have given him in the legislative councils of influencing Government and affecting the course of public business, and of recent years he has by speeches and in the press done much to spread the idea of a united and self-respecting India amongst thousands who had no such conception in their minds."

This is indeed a generous tribute of appreciation which illustrates the change in the official angle of vision in respect to the educated classes. There would have been no unrest in India if they had received all along as fair a treatment. And for this there was all the greater reason as they were the direct product of British rule in India. It had placed English culture and civilisation at their disposal and enabled them to assimilate western ideas and gain a familiarity with English methods of government. It would have been sound policy to have extended towards them a cordial sympathy and a generous toleration of their faults. But they were stigmatized as disloyal and as incipient traitors. Impelled by an ever-increasing sense of patriotism they became restive and discontented, not from any hostility to British rule but by reason of the constant rebuffs of

which they were the recipients. Even their reasonable demands were flouted. Promises were made to be honoured more in their breach than in their observance. And as to the Congress it went through the stages usually reserved for most public movements of ridicule, abuse, misapprehension of the underlying object, a partial concession to its demands and finally the substantial adoption of some of them. But whilst this process was in operation the more advanced section of its adherents, becoming desperate, had started a Home Rule propaganda, and eventually ousted the Moderates, who preferred to work on constitutional lines, from the National institution which from its inception had been worked by them.

The two parties henceforth worked on separate lines. The Moderates accepted the Reforms as a first instalment towards self-government and entered the Councils. The Extremists stigmatized the new constitution as a mere camouflage and refused to offer themselves for election. They hoped by non-cooperation to win Swaraj for India. There were indications that this pernicious propaganda was about to run its course, having sustained the most successful defeat possible, but Mr. Lloyd George breathed a little life into it. Nevertheless it is doomed to die and that soon. The Liberals threw their lot with the Government, and this in spite of the many provocations they received at the hands of their allies. It is a fact not generally known that the initiative as regards the reforms was taken by Lord Chelmsford. Mr. Montagu came out to India and in conjunction with the Viceroy evolved the Reform Scheme. But shortly after he had left this country the Government of India indited a minute to the Secretary of State embodying certain proposals which practically took away the semblance of responsibility with which the representatives of the people were to be invested. The Minister was to be divested of all real power and reduced to the position of an agent to the Governor, while the bureaucracy were to be safeguarded from his control. The Moderates did not waver from their resolve to adopt a conciliatory policy and were rewarded by the defeat of the reactionary party in England. But the Die-hards in England kept up an incessant agitation hostile to Indian aims and aspirations. It is their hearts' desire to see the reforms put in the melting pot. Their chief political dogma is force, and they freely declare that India can

only be happy and prosperous by a reversion to the policy of military despotism. It is true they are a discredited group and in all fairness to the English nation it will have to be admitted that the reactionaries have but a small following and are not taken seriously, for even the non-official Europeans in the Indian Legislatures repudiated them and asked them not to interfere in Indian affairs. But all the same they continue to irritate Indians by a stream of misrepresentation and innuendoes, hoping to provoke them into indulging in unworthy retorts. For a nation just emerging into political consciousness is naturally very sensitive about its position and is eager to resent any slight that it is subjected to. Lord Curzon may have had no ulterior motive in view, but his reference to India as a subordinate Government in course of the controversy which led to Mr. Montagu's resignation is a case in point. India's distrust of England is being constantly fed by either ill-disposed persons or by those who are prone to indulge in irresponsible talk.

The non-official members of the Indian Legislature have incurred a good deal of odium by raising the question of the Prime Minister's pronouncement, but they have done no more than what they were expected to do and what it was their duty to do as the representatives of the people. They have kept up the traditions of their predecessors who in the Council criticised the Government when it was necessary to do this and supported it on occasions of great emergency. The authors of the Reforms Report pay them a cordial tribute for the solid support given by them in respect to such important matters as the Defence of India Act, the grant of 100 millions to the Imperial Treasury, the Factories Act and the Companies Act. And as to the existing Legislature Dr. Rushbrook Williams in "India in 1921-22" states that: "In the sphere of the Central Government, the achievements of the working alliance between Government and the Liberals were of the most substantial character," and proceeds to enumerate the work that was jointly turned out. Lords Chelmsford and Reading have repeatedly paid them their tribute of appreciation, and curiously enough the Prime Minister in that controversial speech of his refers to "the able and distinguished Indians who have done their best to make the experiment a complete success." Under these conditions it is obvious his pronouncements could not

have been judicious and tactful to have hurt the susceptibilities or have aroused the resentment of the Moderates.

In the Prime Minister's defence it has been stated that he had two objects in view. The first was to reassure the Indian Civil Service who were apprehensive as to their future prospects, their emoluments and their pensions. In fact, it is said, it was a recruiting speech and the speaker had in his eye a special audience and had forgotten that much larger audience which had as great an interest in it. The distinguished services rendered by the Indian Civil Service have never been ignored by thoughtful Indians and their high efficiency as administrators has always received full recognition. In the speeches made in the Legislative Assembly on Mr. Jumnadas Dwarka Das' motion for the Indianisation of the Services it was made perfectly clear that there was no desire to exclude the English element from the Services, nor was so much as a hint given of any repudiation of existing covenants between the Services and the Secretary of State. But if the Reforms mean anything at all they mean what is distinctly stated in the Declaration of August 20, and subsequently endorsed by the Government of India Act 1919 and the King's Proclamation, that there will be an increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration. To be told then of the "steel frame" of the Civil Service and that it was impossible to conceive a period when India could dispense with the guidance and assistance of some "nucleus of British Civil Servants" has naturally led to the inference being drawn of a departure from the policy underlying the announcements made and engagements solemnly entered into by British statesmen. "One institution," says the Prime Minister, "we shall not interfere with and that is the English Civil Service." Then, pray, how is the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration to be carried out? Making every allowance for this speech, it would be futile to deny that it has aggravated the already existing distrust of Englishmen.

Then there is the statement that the Reforms are no more than a mere experiment.

The Viceroy took some pains to demonstrate that there was no impropriety in the use of this word, which in fact was used by Mr. Montagu and Lord Sinha in course of the Reforms Debate in Parliament. In the Government of India Act there are certain conditions laid down how the Reforms are to be put in operation, especially as regards the time and the stages of advance from one step to another. Technically, therefore, there may not be a misapplication of the word experiment, but as the *London Times* forcibly points out the Reforms cannot be put in the category of an experiment, for they are the settled law of the land. But the sting lies in the threat that they can be taken away by the hand that gave them. Anyhow the infinitesimal amount of good this phrase was likely to achieve bears no proportion to the harm it has actually produced. From the point of view of sentiment its use is much to be regretted. For it places Englishmen in a very invidious position. The bases of British rule is its high character. The sincerity of English statesmen ought to be beyond reproach. Their word ought to be as good as a bond. No doubt the Prime Minister has through the Viceroy disclaimed any desire to depart from the policy announced in the formal declarations and His Majesty's Proclamations, but all the same he has by no means succeeded in dissipating the distrust that has been aroused. Perhaps the Indians are over-suspicious, but it would have been an act of wise statesmanship to have adopted a conciliatory and not militant attitude.

And this brings us to the second reason advanced by the Viceroy as accountable for Mr. Lloyd George's speech. It was "to utter a note of solemn warning to those who after the next election might intend to pursue the deliberate policy in the legislature of paralysing the activities of Government, of rendering it impotent and reducing the administration to chaos." Here we enter into a controversial question of great import, which will require to be dealt with separately. The scope of this article was to give the reasons why Indians distrust the English. In the next I propose to show that this incident of the pronouncement of the Prime Minister has a bright side and can minister to our advantage.

(To be concluded).

ENGLAND'S NEWEST AND OLDEST STATE PROBLEMS.

India and Ireland.

Of all England's state problems that which is called the "Irish Question" is the oldest, the most complex, the bitterest and the most perverse. The Indian problem has been in existence for only about one hundred and fifty years; while the various aspects of the Irish Question, military, political, religious and economical, have harassed and baffled English statesmanship for eight long centuries, beginning from the times of the Ghori dynasty in India and the raising of the Kutb Minar. Ireland is sixty miles from England; India is more than a hundred times farther away. India is sixty times larger than Ireland, with a population eighty times greater. Yet, notwithstanding these differences in mere size, there is a good deal of similarity in the political relations between these two countries and England.

Being geographically so close to each other, it might be expected that some intimate relationship should exist between England and Ireland; but the historical fact remains that the connection between them has always been an ill-assorted and tempestuous union. The Kelt and the Anglo Saxon are as different from each other as the Mongol is from the Slav, or the Bengali from the Rajput. In language, physique and mentality, as well as in their origins and instincts, there have always been the most profound divergencies between them. And these differences became accentuated by their political relations. A glance back into Irish history will show us how this came about.

In the first century of the Christian Era, the Romans conquered Britain, but they did not attempt to invade Ireland. Thus Ireland lost the advantages of that civilisation which the Romans spread over Western Europe at the time. The tribal system prevailed among the Irish long after it had become extinct in England. This system was based on self-governing septs, or clans, and a common ownership of the land, such as existed until quite recently in Russia, as the *mir*. The sept was held loosely together by bonds of spiritual, linguistic and legal unity, material though not administrative. This system embodied a very primitive conception of the State, and a view of landed property

which was diametrically opposed to the nature of these ideas as introduced into England by Roman jurisprudence.

When Anglo-Saxons, Danes and Normans came, in turn, to conquer and rule in England, they did not force new codes of law on the people they conquered; and during the first twelve centuries of the Christian Era the Roman Code was practically the law of the land.

Towards the end of the twelfth century there were five powerful chieftains in Ireland, and each of them had given himself the title of King. One of these, Dermot, King of Leinster (the eastern province of Ireland), quarrelled with the others, who drove him out of the country. He came to England; and the King of England, (Henry II), permitted some adventurous Anglo-Norman Knights to restore Dermot to his province, on the condition that he would acknowledge Henry as his feudal lord. They were successful, and they acquired lands in the province of Leinster. Now if this invasion had gone no further just then, it is very probable that a peaceful penetration of Ireland by the English would have been carried out in such a manner as to cause no bad blood or bitter feelings on either side. But the English King was not satisfied with a small tract in the east of Ireland; he wished to possess the whole of the island. So he first secured the sanction of the Pope at Rome for his invasion of Ireland; then he sent armies to conquer the country. After some years of fighting, slaughtering and massacre, about one-fifth of the island acknowledged the supremacy of the English King, who appointed one of his sons, John, as the first Irish Viceroy. It was an ominous beginning; for this same John was afterwards the worst King in English history.

From the moment the Anglo-Normans had conquered what they called the Pale, in Ireland, and settled there, a stubborn and lasting conflict arose between feudalism and tribalism; between the English interest and the Irish people; between the conquerors and the natives of the soil. It would have been much better for both parties if they had been pagans and heathens; but unfortunately they were Chris-

tians, who had lost all the virtues, while still retaining the ferocity, treachery and cruelty, of the savage.

The English Christian has always had the national characteristic of believing that what is suitable and right for him, whether politically, spiritually or temporally, must necessarily be not only good, but the best possible for all other members of the human race, no matter who or where. So when, four centuries after the first Anglo-Norman invasion, the English people thought it right to change their religious belief, and adopted a new form of Christianity, called the Reformation, they thought it only right that the Irish people should adopt it, too. But the Irish are by nature the most obstinate conservatives in the world; and, in addition to this, they considered that they ought to be at least permitted to call their souls their own, and to choose their own way of worshipping their Creator even when such form of worship had become unfashionable in England. So, in an evil moment for them, they positively refused to accept the doctrines of the Reformation, and they adhered to their old faith. This they did without any ostentation, hostility, or show of disrespect; they did not even remind England that it was she and her King who first induced them to embrace the doctrines of the Church to which they belonged. It was then that England committed the mistake which remains the greatest, the most stupid, and the blackest blot in the pages of her history. She resolved to compel by force the Irish Roman Catholics to become English Protestants. If they refused to change their religion at her behest, she decided to deprive them of all civil and political rights. They persisted in their refusal; and then, in addition to the proscription and penalization of their creed, they were ousted from the ownership of the soil, and their places were taken by English courtiers, jobbers and speculators. The change of ownership took place principally in the north (Ulster) and east of Ireland; the great majority in the south and west were still Irish Roman Catholics, of whom not more than three per cent spoke or understood the English language, in which only the doctrines of the new faith were expounded to those of them that cared to hear it. All this time, Ireland was supposed to be governed by Viceroy's appointed by the King of England. There was no time limit to their tenure of office. If they proved entirely devoted to the

English interest, they were allowed to continue in office as long as they wished to hold it. But if they showed any disposition to treat the Irish people with justice and humanity, they were promptly recalled, and might consider themselves lucky if their head remained above their shoulders. This will explain why some public characters whose names are held in grateful remembrance in Irish history are painted as black as possible by English historians. Richard, Duke of York, was not only just and fair to the Irish, but he also added to this offence that of allowing one of his sons to marry an Irish lady. (From the issue of this marriage the present English Royal Family traces descent.) This just and upright gentleman was beheaded, under circumstances of the most refined cruelty, at Wakefield. Another Viceroy, Sir John Perrot, was actually accused of the crime of showing too much favour to the Irish. He was recalled to London, tried, condemned and executed. When the English Crown passed from the Royal House of Tudor to that of Stuart, and Charles I ascended the throne, the Earl of Strafford was appointed Viceroy. He made enemies of the most powerful of the English settlers in Ireland, for a reason similar to that by which the Marquis of Ripon offended the Anglo-Indian community some thirty years ago. His popularity with the Irish caused him to be hated by the English. He was called to London; accused of abuses and misdemeanours, condemned and executed. And still the Irish people did not forsake their loyalty to the House of Stuart.

In 1650, the English thought it better to change their Kingdom into a republic; choosing as their President a successful brewer, in place of the Stuart King, whom they beheaded. They had suddenly discovered that Republicanism was the most perfect form of government; so they determined that it would be also suitable for the monarchist Irish and Scots. The Kelts objected. But well-equipped and well-led English Armies soon compelled the Irish and Scotch Royalists—or what was left of them after defeat, slaughter and massacre—to change their political creed, and for ten years they remained Republicans.

Then England changed her mind again; she became a model loyal monarchy; and so intense was her loyalty that it could not even let the dead rest in the grave; for the buried body of the great brewer was dug up

and hanged on a public gallows. But this new paroxysm of loyalty did not last long. A few wealthy, influential English families found fault with their lawful Stuart King. They decided that England would be much better ruled by a Dutchman, whom they selected. So they kicked out their own King, and put the Dutchman on the English throne.

Now the Irish Royalists, and many of the descendants of the old Angle-Norman families in Ireland could not understand this; and they said to the English, "You can have the Dutchman or anybody that pleases you, for your King; but we prefer our own lawful King." To which the English replied: "You shall have whatever King, whatever form of government, or whatever religion we think is good for us; and if you still refuse to follow our example, we shall destroy you and your country." Notwithstanding this fair warning, the Irish fought for the Stuart King. But they were defeated; and what happened to them was even worse than what they were led to expect.

It is indeed a terrible history of eight centuries of wars and rebellions waged, on either side, with the most savage fury; a history of sickening slaughterings, confiscations and banishments; of religious persecutions that assumed the peculiarly revolting form of the persecution of the vast majority of the natives of the soil by a small alien oligarchy maintained by foreign arms; of the deliberate strangling of Irish industries in the interests of England; of the bitterest antagonism of racial and religious strife exploited in the struggle for the land; of famines and evictions and the constant drain of emigration; of the iniquities of the land tenure system; of oppression born of contempt and nurtured in a long unfettered use of power; of the bitterness of dispossession groaning under a mass of calculated iniquity; and of statesmanship, narrow and callous, rarely influenced by feelings of humanity, and never daring to be just. This is history; but we are grateful in acknowledging that it is now ancient history. In seven years to come it will be the full century since the great heart of England began to turn to the grievances of Ireland; and English statesmen resolved to repair the mistakes of their predecessors. In the year 1829, the Irish Roman Catholics were admitted to the vote; later on, tithes were abolished; the English Protestant Church in Ireland was disestablished; local government was made over to popularly

elected bodies; State aid was given to agriculture; the Irish landlords were bought out and the tenants of former years became owners of the soil. These are some of the measures by which the English Statesmen of to-day has gone a long way towards redeeming the past.

Still there was much left to be desired before Ireland got her New Constitution, a year ago. For example; a taxation Commission appointed for the purpose of comparing the taxable capacity of Ireland with that of Great Britain discovered that Ireland had been for a great number of years paying three millions sterling, annually, more than she should have paid. (The Commission consisted of English and Scotch economists.) And the worst of this was that the British Imperial Exchequer was all the time losing money by Ireland.

This loss was caused—a fact which will be easily understood in India—by the maintenance of a huge and unnecessary bureaucracy, extravagant, ignorant, careless and wasteful. The members of this body were wholly out of sympathy with nine-tenths of the Irish people. And it must be noted here that India has been far better off than Ireland in this respect. There was never any system by which the best men and the men of highest ability were selected for the Irish Civil Service. You in India have had the cream of British intellect and scholarship, while the Irish have had to put up with the dregs and the very offal of the same; represented by the sons of influential but impoverished families, the failures in every other walk of life. Some of your Indian Civil Servants have not only been, intellectually and morally, the ornaments of their own service, but the pride of the British race. No body of men has ever had greater or more noble names on its roll than those of Brian Hodgson, John Lawrence, Alfred Lyall, Anthony Macdonnell, Denzil Ibbetson, Charles Roe, Edward O'Brien, and many more I could mention; while there is not one single name connected with the Irish Civil Service worth quoting or remembering.

The Government from which Ireland had so long suffered became notorious as the "Dublin Castle" system; and this was a most amazing medley of overmanned, overlapping boards; the nearest approach to which, in India, is your Military Department; stagnant and unsavoury with all the vices, but none of the mechanical efficiency, of a bureaucracy; a disgraceful example of all that is perverse, incompetent and

demoralising in any government. No bureaucracy in any State, ancient or modern, in the history of the world, could have been more utterly divorced from sympathies and confidence of the people than was that which flourished in Dublin Castle. It was the stronghold of a small and mean minority, swarming with placemen and parasites, impenetrable to any broad ideas of Irish requirements, uncontrolled by the Parliament in London, or by any representative and responsible body, in Ireland or anywhere else. There were no merits that it possessed, and no faults that it lacked.

The supreme defect of the English Government in Ireland was similar to that so deeply felt also in India: it failed to win the trust, good will and co-operation of the people. So much was this the case that throughout the country no man who was suspected of favouring it had the remotest chance of being elected to the Imperial Parliament.

Then at last there arose the best type of British Statesmen, generous, broad-minded and deep thinking, who began to learn that until the majority of the Irish people were made to feel that they had control over their own destinies, and a shaping hand in their own form of government; until they were made conscious of a harmony between Irish sentiment, instincts and responsibility and the actual work of Irish administration, Ireland would never be contented; would never be to the British Empire anything but a source of embarrassment and weakness.

And here again comes a parallel between Ireland and India; but only for those who can see more than they are looking at, and much more than they read.

The contrast between the manner in which, on the one hand, Ireland and India were treated, and in which, on the other hand, certain dominions of the British Empire were granted the boon of self-determination in the fullest measure, must have been very humiliating for any honest and unprejudiced Englishman to contemplate. The Irish people and the Indian people had no sense of pride in the huge fabric of government they helped to build up. If they mentioned Wellington, Gough, Nicholson, Roberts or Kitchener, as Irishmen, they were sharply corrected, and informed, in a lofty manner, that these great military heroes were not Irish, but English; since their forefathers had gone from England to Ireland centuries

before; just as if a pedantic babu might say that the great Emperor Akbar, or the scholarly and refined Shah Jahan, were not Indian rulers, but Mongols and Tartars. The Irish people and the Indian people were in the Empire, but not of it. Its great glories did not thrill them; they honored the memory of Red Hugh O'Neill, or Shivajee, far higher than that of Marlborough or Nelson. They certainly did not wish the Empire well, for they were never given a fair chance of wishing it well. They could not help seeing and noting that all over the world the most diverse races had been reconciled to British rule, had proved loyal to the British flag, had the fullest confidence in the justice and honesty of British Statesmanship, and felt themselves uplifted by a sentiment of brotherhood and kinship in a great Imperial Community. But Ireland and India stood apart; distrustful, disaffected, and sullen.

Now what were the causes of this anomaly? It is the duty of any unprejudiced inquirer, interested in the welfare of the British Empire, to ask himself this question and to think out the correct answer. Was there anything in the system of government employed by England, in Ireland and India, that was different from the system which obtained in the rest of the Empire? I do not offer this problem for solution to those hopelessly inane and truculent disputants who yell: "We gained India by the sword and it can only be ruled by the sword;" no more than I should stop to argue with the man who tries to persuade me that London is ruled by a few hundred policemen.

To get the correct solution our inquirer would find that everywhere, *except in Ireland and India*, it has been the policy of England to trust the people, to take political freedom and the utmost play of local opinion as the watchwords of Imperial rule, and to place self-government and self-determination in the very forefront of her administrative system. And he would be perfectly correct in concluding that it was the failure to apply this policy to Ireland and India which has been at the root of all the political troubles in these two sections of the Empire. He would have been justified in addressing England in these terms: Do in Ireland and India what you have done in Canada, Australia and South Africa; trust that sound principle of government which has never yet failed you, and never will; make up your mind that there is just as much human nature

in Ireland and India as anywhere else; that repression, no matter how well camouflaged, spells reaction; that coercion, or even the mere suspicion of it, breeds resentment, antipathy and disloyalty; and, above all else, that self-government is the sole and only remedy which will produce in Ireland and India, as it has produced in your other Dominions, the concord, friendship and strength which are the first-fruits of every willing partnership.

In the absence of self-government nothing in Ireland was normal, and everything in the administration of India was an anachronism; three hundred millions of the human race being ruled by an office-holding artificial aristocracy of strangers, in the first decades of the twentieth century!

It must be clearly stated here that it is neither meant nor insinuated that either Ireland or India was suffering from actual oppression or wilful injustice. The grievances against England were spiritual, not material; still they were none the less real. The lack of sympathy between rulers and ruled cut far deeper into the popular consciousness than any administrative extravagances, injustice, or over-taxation would have done. It cannot be denied that the British spirit was repugnant to the great majority of the Irish and Indian peoples, while the Irish spirit and the Indian mentality were incomprehensible to the great majority of Englishmen; and the saddest thing of all was that the gulf between England and these peoples seemed never so impassable as when England was most intent on doing justice to them.

A great defect of the old system was that it destroyed all sense of responsibility; it encouraged the Indian and Irish peoples to rely upon external agencies instead of upon their own exertions; it permitted, nay, invited them to throw upon anybody and everybody but themselves the blame for their moral and material shortcomings. They might well complain that they had been taught to forget that the ultimate regeneration of any people depends entirely on their own practical efforts in their own country. They became so absorbed in the contemplation of all that England was going to do for them that they completely overlooked their primary duty of doing something for themselves. The result of this mode of thought was almost a hopeless stagnation; a slow but certain drifting back to the dark ages. For-

tunately, this retrogression has been stopped by the New Constitutions, which now give the people what they never had before: not only a free hand but also practical and experienced assistance in shaping their own destiny and development. This cannot and will not fail to arouse in them a fresh and lively interest in their native land; and, in the long run, not only to unite them in bonds of union with their fellow-countrymen, irrespective of creed, caste, or class, but also to unite them more closely to the British Empire, by ties of mutual helpfulness and sympathy, far, far stronger and more enduring than the unnatural, the bitterly-hated and the poisonous bonds which joined them before.

In order that this happy result may be attained as speedily as is compatible with the obstacles which red tape throws in the way of all desirable reform, a better and more correct knowledge of the Indian people should be taught in English centres of education; and on the other hand, the people of India should be given to understand that all Englishmen are not quite like the officials and soldiers whom they may have met and in whom their knowledge of India is limited.

But it is a strange and melancholy fact that there is not to be found in any school or college in the British Empire, a true, well-written, correct and unprejudiced History of India or History of Ireland. There are plenty of so-called "histories" of these countries; but, as a rule, they are nothing more than carefully-concocted masses of misrepresentation, distortion, special pleading and falsehood. Among these works, a certain History, written by a retired Indian official, stands out as might the bronze head of a Caesar among the flabby and vacant masks of obscure criminals in a chamber of horrors. The author of this work wrote strictly to order; those who ventured to differ from his statements were, like Mrs. Micawber's relations as described by her immortal spouse: "In the aggregate impertinent snobs and in detail unmitigated ruffians." The publication of his book cost him nothing; it was not history, but propaganda; his business was to make black white and white black; and, even had he known it, he could not have afforded to tell the truth.

The histories of Ireland which have appeared in English are a disgrace to the invention of printing. The point of view of the English

historian is that while rebellion was not only justifiable but laudable when it took place in Poland, Hungary, Italy, Bosnia, or Virginia, it was the most detestable of all violations of law, human and divine, in Cork or Limerick; and that, while Koscuisko, Kossuth, Garibaldi, Stonewall Jackson and Robert E. Lee were demi-gods, and—like Mrs. Squeers—"next door but one to archangels," men like Lord Edward FitzGerald, O'Connell, Smith O'Brien (of whom Thackeray fell foul with such brutal and clumsy ferocity), John Mitchell, and Michael Davitt were scoundrels of the blackest and deepest dye, for whom the hanging, drawing and quartering, which some of them were condemned to suffer, was far too gentle and merciful.

The Irish writers of Anglo-Irish history are worse; and they seem to know of nothing in the history of England but her injustices and cruelties to Ireland. Such writers are worse than useless. The best history of Ireland, in English, has been written by a lady, Mrs. J. R. Green; and the most reliable history of India by Mr. Talboys Wheeler.

With regard to the question of nationality, there are some English writers who have not hesitated to lay it down that there is no such thing in existence as an Irish nation, and that there are no Irish people in Ireland. If it suited them to do so, they could also prove that there are no French people in France, nor Chinese in China. They would not be worth referring to here if they did not sometimes apply their specious sophistry to try to prove that there is no such thing in India as an Indian people or Indian nation. But it will be invari-

ably found that these hack writers are the tools or successors of those who have long feared the birth of an Indian nation. Their offence is like that of those wretched criminal quacks who make their livelihood by preventing new life from coming into the world.

The days of such criminals are numbered, their occupation is gone. They well know that good understanding and mutual toleration between England and India, which will naturally follow a correct knowledge of each other's opinions, feelings and sentiments, will not only render the existence of political feticides unnecessary, but will look upon them and deal with them as the most mischievous public malefactors.

There is no reason whatever why Ireland and India should not now become, in reality, what they have been often poetically designated in complimentary sentiment and flashy oratory: the brightest gems in the British Imperial crown.

That there are troubles and difficulties ahead before they have quite settled down to the work of efficient self-government is only what they must expect. It is an old story. When the Prince of Peace adjured the evil spirits to come out of the man possessed, they did not do so before they had "rent him sore so that he was as one dead." In the same way, the evil spirits of absolutism, repression, arbitrary sway, vested interests and racial antagonism, are certain to take advantage of every opportunity to deprive of legal force and efficacy the best efforts of our British, Indian, and Irish Statesmen, in the interests of good will, harmony, prosperity and peace.

MUSTAPHA KEMAL PASHA

By MR. J. N. CHANDRI

It was forty years ago and the Crescent and the Star was still floating over Salonica, that a petty official in the Salonica Customs Office died, leaving a small daughter and an infant son, to the care of his young wife. The daughter grew up and married according to the Turkish custom. The widow wished to send her son to a mosque-school and fit him for the career of a hoja. But the boy's ambitions lay elsewhere. He was fascinated by the uniforms of the army officers who walked about the streets of Salonica. In time he passed the preliminary tests and joined the Military Preparatory School at Salonica. There the mathematics teacher became so fond of this soft boy, that he left off calling him by the given name Mustapha, and dubbed him 'Kemal', a Turkish word meaning rightness. Little did he dream that his favourite pupil was one day going to justify the title bestowed on him in his younger days.

For the first twenty-eight years of Kemal's life, Abdul Hamid II, loomed above his head like Damocles' sword, ready to fall at any time. Abdul Hamid was a despot of despots. His absolutism has hitherto been unsurpassed, in the world's history. At a time, when convulsions were besetting Europe, when in the clouds of revolution, crowned heads were disappearing from the European stage, Turkey which is on the fringe of the rebel countries remained untouched. Why? Abdul Hamid like all absolutists kept on a spy system—a system of espionage superior even to the much-detested Russian. Its organisation was so thorough and its working shrouded in the utmost mystery, that whether Ottoman subjects were aware of it is doubtful. These spies spotted with mathematical precision dangerous men and removed them as swiftly and silently, as the *krypteia* or the secret police of Sparta did away with the abnormal characters among the helots, from this world. No Turk who was suspected of having heard of the French Revolution, was suffered to remain in the land. Such was the Sultan's rule. But these measures could not keep democratic ideas out of the capital but they served to keep them under ground. In a country where the best brains are diverted to the army, it is but natural, that

these 'revolutionary doctrines' should find a rich soil in the mentality of the military. On the surface, the Turkish army continued to be a splendid military organism, but beneath, it was in a ferment of forbidden political ideas. The repressive measures gave an impetus to the establishment of secret societies. They spread with alarming rapidity among the soldiers, who formed the bulk of the educated in Turkey. The secret 'Society of Liberty' was established by the students of the War Academy, whilst the pupils of the Military College of Medicine, formed the 'Society of Progress'. Both of them were premature, for Abdul Hamid was still on the throne, ruling the land with his naked mailed fist.

Hardly had Mustapha reached the School at Monastir, before his mind became tainted with political ideas. A copy of Kemal Bey's—the illustrious dramatist—proscribed play 'Watan' (The Fatherland) fell into his hands. Abdul Hamid had caused every known copy in existence to be burnt. He took a good care to exile his subjects who were believed to have read the play. He drove away its author, in spite of his high place in Modern Turkish Literature to England. But 'Watan' inspired Kemal, gave him the first ideas of democratic government and above all made him a bitter opponent of the Sultan, at a time when Abdul Hamid was at the zenith of his power.

From the War Academy Kemal graduated at the age of twenty-two, as a lieutenant into the army. No sooner was he out of college than he engaged a small apartment in the Stamboul section of the city, to serve as headquarters for the secret 'Society of Liberty'. He permitted an acquaintance who represented himself as penniless to sleep there during the night. The acquaintance whom Kemal so wholeheartedly trusted turned out to be a spy. The young lieutenant was thus involved seriously. He was arrested and taken to Yildiskiosk, where he was severely interrogated. For three months, on the orders of the Minister of Police, he was confined in a narrow cell, when the customary sentence of exile—the usual punishment for a misbehaved, headstrong, youthful army officer—was inflicted. He was

sent to Damascus, to captain a cavalry band. But Kemal's enthusiasm was not to be stifled. He organized in Syria branches of the Society of Liberty. The restless energy of Kemal tried to find other outlets for her flow. Moreover, he wanted to be on the other side of Turkey, where he may easily keep himself in touch with the politics of the world, which was impossible in the isolated and uninhabited desert regions of Syria. First he escaped to Alexandria, from where he reached Salonica, and worked at the latter place *incognito* for four months, before his presence was discovered by the authorities. Mustapha was sent back to his post, where he remained, till there occurred a change of War Ministers, when he transferred himself again to his native-place. Back in Salonica the two societies were merged into one—the "Committee of Union and Progress"; and then the European politics took terrific turn, from which the Near East has not even now recovered.

Britain which hitherto supported the Sultan deserted him and concluded a treaty with his enemy Russia in 1907. This was the immediate cause which drove the Turks to rebellion in 1908. Abdul Hamid was dethroned. But next year he made an attempt to recover his lost position and when the counter-revolution failed how he was literally dragged from the heights of Gallipoli, to the dungeons of Salonica, is a wellknown story. The Committee of Union and Progress, assumed the government of the country, though only in name. The *de facto* ruler of Turkey was Enver Pasha. He succeeded, in the full sense of the term, Abdul Hamid. It was now that Mustapha, bitterly disappointed in his hopes, broke into a sudden personal quarrel with Enver, which remains to this day. Shortly after, he withdrew from politics. For the next few years his life was one of a wanderer. Frequently he was transferred from his regiment, until on the outbreak of war with Italy he was definitely placed to command the forces at Tripoli. When the Balkans were ablaze he was placed in charge of the Straits. Already his marvellous military abilities were asserting themselves and by this time he had so well studied the psychology of a soldier, that he not only made himself to be feared and obeyed, but also made himself popular. An Italian writing about his powers of understanding human nature says that he can only be compared to Napoleon. Just before Turkey took sides with

Germany in the recent world conflict Kemal was an attache at Sofia. When he heard the news, he threw up his post and returned to Constantinople. But his presence in the capital was fraught with the gravest dangers. He was popular both among the common folk and the army and a bitter opponent of Enver. He was also suspected rightly—as later events will show—of having friendly feelings towards the Allies. Speedily he was despatched at the head of the 19th Division to guard the narrow waters. Soon his military powers and the unvarying luck with which he is credited found him at the head of the whole Turco-German forces of the Peninsula. His victory at Anaforta, where he beat back the Allies, is as brilliant an achievement in his military career, as his recent conquest of Smyrna. It at once made him a hero in Germany, but his own countrymen were ignorant of his triumphs at the time. In the Year Book of the Committee of Union and Progress of 1917 the story of Kemal's successes was told. Two years later the Constantinople papers began to print it. Even the first few chapters recounting his glorious deeds were enough to make the already popular General still more popular. Enver realizing the harm of which he was unwillingly the cause at once suppressed them and caused the copies of the Year Book to be destroyed. Von Sanders, the German Commander was also seriously perturbed. Both of them devised measures to put Kemal out of their way. As soon as the Allies had evacuated the straits, he was sent to the Eastern Front, to co-operate with Falkenhayen. But he speedily came into conflict with his companion over a plan to recapture Baghdad. He resigned his post, returned to Aleppo and from there sent a telegram explaining his position. In a memorable statement he exposed the hypocritical German methods and showed how the central powers were doomed to failure, in which event, he clearly showed how their country would fare very badly.

Enver, who was intoxicated with Kultur had no ears for Kemal's warnings. Instead of heeding to the sound advice of his subordinate, he disgraced him by making him a companion of the Crown Prince (later the Sultan) who was then on a tour in Germany. A year passed by. Ghazi Mustapha's prophetic utterings were gradually being fulfilled. The Allies were steadily gaining ground. Enver now recalled him and gave him the command over Palestine.

But it was too late for Allenby had already broken through. The Turkish armies instead of retreating in confusion and disorder fell back in an orderly manner, doubtless due to the abilities of their general. They stopped at Adana, where a cipher telegram informed them, that Raouf Bey was on his way to conclude an armistice with Britain.

Mustapha Kemal, now practically deprived of his post, returned to Constantinople to find the city in chaos. The Committee of Union and Progress had fled. The feeble Liberal Party set up Damad Ferid Pasha on the throne vacated by Enver. The capital had been taken possession of by Allied troops. The Turkish Navy had been surrendered under the terms of armistice, while the German Empire's armies were rapidly disarmed and demobilized. The last remnant of hope in some Turkish minds regarding Britain's friendship towards their country was dashed to the ground by the latter's Dispatch to Porte dated March 9th 1919. Henceforth it was not Russia that threatened to overwhelm her. Anglo-Hellenism menaced her till a few months ago, when tables were turned against the mother of European Civilization. Kemal divined in a moment the fate of his country under such conditions. His one ambition from that time was to save her. He knew that some of the Allies will prevent him in his plans of regenerating his motherland, if he remained to prosecute them in Constantinople. Accordingly, he went to Asia Minor with due permission of the War Minister. He began to organise a national party, which will have to be summoned under the Mudros armistice to settle the country's future. Damad became alarmed at his activities as they went in opposition to his own personal ambitions. A telegram was sent recalling him. But Kemal quietly ignored it and was dismissed from his post. Kemal was not to be quieted in such a manner. Now Asia Minor was torn by factional disputes and dual rule. The Sultan's Officers arrested the rebels and deported them to Malta, while Kemalists retorted by driving their enemies forcibly out of the land. For a time this continued. At the darkest hour in her history, Turkey was divided. But soon one of the rivals gained the upper hand. Mustapha's efforts to build up a patriotic party was not in vain. Scores of nationalists, who fled on the famous night of March 10th, began to return rapidly and Mustapha established a national parliament,—

after his own heart, at the mud town of Angora, a few miles from Constantinople. He abandoned Grand Constantinople as the capital, for he wished to be free from allied surveillance. On April 23rd the Grand National Assembly met and ratified the 'National Pact'. Where Abdul Hamid reigned as Sultan, Ghazi Mustapha Kemal Pasha succeeded as Field Marshal and from that memorable day he became the undisputed ruler of Turkey.

Demand Ferd Bey lived long enough to see the Sevres Treaty, the work of Hellenopolists. But when it became apparent that Damad no longer guided the destinies of his country, he was dropped. Had the Sevres Treaty been accepted, not only would the Ottoman Empire itself be a thing of the past, but Turkey itself would be nowhere. But the treaty itself was not abandoned without a struggle. War now began between the dismembered Turkey and Greece backed by England. The armies of the Hellenes were at one time within 45 miles of Angora and for 21 days the Turks were terribly hammered. But the Ottomans bravely resisted. It is indeed a military marvel how they sustained these severe blows. Some day it will be appreciated as one of the historic battles of the world. In Kemal's career, it is as brilliant an episode as his recent victories.

The Paris Conference was the result. Suggestions were placed before Athens, Constantinople and Angora, for a Greco-Turkish armistice, pending a peace conference, "at a town to be decided upon." The Grand Assembly replied demanding the evacuation of Asia Minor and the integral acceptance of the National Pact as the preliminaries for the conference and suggested Ismid, at the head of the Sea of Marmora, as a suitable scene for the meeting. But the conference was not summoned as the belligerents could not agree. Hostilities were renewed. Britain, now almost openly, assisted Greece. But righteousness asserted its superiority once more. The recent achievements of the Turkish Field Marshal will only be too fresh in the memory of the readers. The Turks have succeeded in almost gaining every point which they claimed.

Mustafa Kemal is tall, limp and fair, with blue eyes, thin lips and a little hard mouth, all suggesting firmness and a grim determination. Sir Ch. Townshend, writing of him, says in the *Times* "Piercing blue eyes, fair hair, a diminutive close cropped moustache—these are the salient features of Kemal

Pasha—the force behind the Turkish push, that impressed me when I met him face to face, at Kenia only a few days ago. He is adored by the army and the populace. His orders are obeyed implicitly, his rule an iron one beneath a velvet glove.... Kemal is a close student of military history.....is always at work and possess a wonderful grasp of European politics

and affairs; this is all the more remarkable as his education was purely a military one, at the *Ecole de Guerre*". Another English journalist writes of him, "He is a man of iron, in a situation which would break any man of less durable metal. Kemal is a man who sees things as they are. To me he is one of the hardest and soberest leaders in the world to-day."

THE INFLUENCE OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS ON MASS EDUCATION IN INDIA AND ENGLAND.

By MR. K. G. SIVASWAMY, B.A.

1. Preliminary.

New social forces by colliding with the existing institutions, always educate a nation. Complexities of modern social life growing in proportion to man's intellectual advancement and a higher standard of living are forcing on the state a social policy of producing the efficient citizen. But in the early periods when life was more rural and self-sufficient, and the duty of the state was only to keep the peace of the country, religious ideals, economic prosperity or depression, new currents of thought, invasions from outside, the life of a saint, in short all movements in social life form the educational agencies leading to social progress. The progress of a nation always implies a change and a change for the better as a result of newer forces acting on the existing institutions and the social life of the nation. When these new currents are stronger and more energetic, the nation may take to them with an avidity which by destroying the older order which was serving certain definite purposes of life, may lead to temporary disorder in the society. It may take a longer time for the nation to assimilate the newer institutions to serve all purposes of work, recreation and social dealings while the crumbling of the old bonds and discipline will set free an amount of energy which without its usual scope to act,

may take the nation into wrong and vicious channels. Progress has been surer by adjustment than by clash. For, sometimes, absence of vigour and a slavish stagnation in the institutions of a nation may lead to their total destruction on the onset of any energetic wave of new thoughts and modes of life. Then dislocation of normal life and social misery lead to the growth of reforming opinions sometimes liberal, sometimes revolutionary, for the extrication of the society from such a plight. The remedy may become worse than the disease, for social adjustments are things of growth which rarely admit of being created by a stroke of the statesman's pen. So a series of social experiments are carried on so that the society may find its normal level. Such conflicts as the above stir the minds of the masses and prove a practical education to them. The experience they gain in the period of transition becomes fused into their very lives. Both the history of England and of India fairly illustrate the truth of the above statements.

2. Before the Industrial Revolution.

The English society till the first half of the 18th century, though subject to several changes in its modes of life and institutions, was not upset or broken up in its social ranks and occupations until the the Industrial Revolution.

True, many invasions of foreigners, religious movements and economic developments had taken place. True each of these had left its indelible marks on the life of the nation. But the home was not broken, neither the character of rural life changed. It was true that the manorial system led to the concentration of agricultural holdings under a lord but the tenants had their usual enjoyments and gifts and plied only the same agricultural life. Women spun at their homes. The son obeyed the father and received the rudiments of learning under the ancestral roof in his hereditary calling. The daughter assisted the mother in her domestic duties. The feudal system put an end to the communal system of holding lands thus destroying the freedom of the farmer but it was only a half-way house leading to peasant proprietorship in the Tudor period. Christianity refined the life of the people, but instead of the worship of stones and trees, and the sacrifice of oxen before the altar, newer gods and newer obligations were introduced. The existing ritual was transformed to a newer system of ritual. The parish priest became one among the rural tenants. The Peasant's Revolt in the 14th century was a temporary wave of feeling owing to the rise in prices and the enclosures for pastures but the country settled into peace with the development of woollen industry. The Reformation destroyed the medieval system of the church but only introduced into England a state church with its episcopal hierarchy. While in the Reformation period in Germany the need for the universal education of the Bible was recognised, in England under Henry VIII the Bible should be read only by the rich men and the nobles. Also the canons of 1604 laid down that education should be under the church, for the propagation of sound doctrines. The medieval guilds of merchants and craftsmen which jealously watched their interests were no doubt abolished in the Tudor period; but the apprenticeship among the craftsmen in towns and villages did continue. The Renaissance literature in England with its display of words and imagery, only enriched the folk music and lore but never made it extinct. The commerce and trade of the 16th and 17th centuries introduced better costumes and foods, better housing and a costlier standard of life but they gave no death blow to rural associations or employments. The Puritanic period of Cromwell

might have entered into the precincts of common life but being short-lived could not thoroughly change it. Neither the growth of a wealthy aristocracy by commerce and trade in the early 18th century created any conflict between labour and capital as the local occupations were undisturbed.

3. After the Industrial Revolution.

But a new change, rather a Revolution, threatened the whole social fabric in the latter half of the 18th century. A big storm was gathering from the 16th. The Renaissance had introduced a newer system of learning superseding authority and belief and implanting a spirit of enquiry by one's own powers of observation, experiment and reasoning. The introduction of the Greek learning led to the study of mathematics, physics and chemistry. An understanding of the laws of nature and their applications to the material improvements of daily life led to many inventions and discoveries. The invention of the steam engine revolutionised the methods of industry. From 1750 labour-saving appliances began to increase. The vast coal and iron fields of England provided great facilities for the manufacture of machinery. With the development of machinery large capitalists began to invest their capital for large scale production in huge factories. Men, women, and child labour began to be exploited for the work. The apprentice in the old crafts could not understand the manufacturing processes in a factory. A study of drawing, mathematics, applied physics and chemistry were essential to understand the processes of manufacture. The introduction of machinery also disturbed the social organisation in England. Much labour was set free without any work. The enclosure of lands for large farming under modern methods of agriculture led to the eviction of tenants whose lands were bought by the rich landlords. Towns began to grow in places where the proximity of coal and iron facilitated the manufacture of machinery. Hand spinning and hand weaving could not compete with machine labour. Men in domestic industries were thrown out of employment. A migration began to flow in search of labour. Of all baggages "man is the most difficult baggage to be moved." And in the new towns the supply of labour was so large that many were

thrown out of employment. The joy of home, the sweet associations of village life, and the innocent enjoyments of the village green had to make way for the congested, hard and cold life of the towns. Neither the modern developments of the urban life for the education and recreation of labour had then grown. The result was that young children were left to the mercy of the town life without the discipline of the home, women labour was exploited, overcrowding and factory labour affected the physique of the working classes, and caused many diseases, and the concentration of wealth in the hands of the capitalists created that class conflict between capital and labour.

4. New Ideas of Freedom.

Into this social ferment created by the Industrial Revolution, when labour was struggling against the new forces of machinery, was introduced the spirit of independence and liberty from France. Thomas Paine wrote on the "RIGHTS OF MAN" in England. Political societies were started on the model of the French Revolutionary movement. Hampden clubs were started to study political questions. The period from 1825-1836 was one of hopes, trials, and experiments for a new social order among the workmen. Labour tried to organise itself against the evils of capitalism but the State prevented any such association by the Combination laws till 1824. It tried its hands at political reforms as a cure for social ills and pressed for universal suffrage, annual parliaments and vote by ballot. Not understanding constitutional methods of agitation, it began to riot and such riots were put down with a strong hand by the State. Socialism dimly dawned under the leadership of Robert Owen. Himself a labourer, then a manager of factory, he organised a system of education for the working class children and a co-operative store to supply articles of consumption. His utterances ushering a new era of co-operative commonwealth, appealed to the imagination of labour. From 1824 Labour began to organise itself in Trade Unions.

5. Press and Platform.

This dawn of a new democracy against capitalism in the economic world, and conservatism in the political world brought the press

and the platform into prominence. The *Edinburgh* and the *Quarterly Reviews* were the first in the field. Cobett in his weekly *Register* sounded a note of warning against the impatient rioting of workmen for the redress of their wrongs. Cheap literature and newspapers were very much in demand during this period. The *London Journal*, *The Family Herald*, *The Reynolds' Miscellany* were sold by 'thousands every week and patronised by factory girls, clerks, and apprentices in the back streets'. Religious, social and political meetings also began to grow from 1780.

6. Democracy and the Church.

The same spirit of independence evinced itself against the traditional authority of the church. The dawn of an awakened mind in labour could not tolerate the forms and ceremonies of the traditional middle class church which had no appeal to its class mind. Under John Wesley the Bible was preached to the masses of people. Psalms and songs were written in the popular style which appealed to the religious devotion of the labourer. Many low classes dissented from the church. Preachers were recruited from the labourers. Bible study classes were formed. This new movement of devotion led to an extension of sympathy for the labouring class. The Evangelical and other Religious movements of the 18th century began to organise charities and schools for them.

7. Need for Universal Education.

The evils of industrialism awakened many philanthropic gentlemen to ameliorate the hard conditions of labour by the education of their children. The politicians also thought that the best antidote to the new revolutionary ideas was "a pious education which inculcates obedience to authority and traditions." Economists of the two schools of thought,—individualists like Adam Smith who believed in unrestricted competition and collectivists like Robert Owen who believed in the co-operation of the workers for their uplift and advancement—both alike preached the need for a systematic education of labour as a penance for the social evils. The general tone of educational reform lay along religious rather than secular, lines. And this new spirit of education exhibited itself in the growth of the

Sunday and Adult Schools which are to-day ministering a liberal education and healthy recreations for the people in every part of England.

8. Labour and Liberal Education.

The industrial and the French Revolutions created a yearning in Labour to understand scientific, political and economic questions. In the early decades of the 19th century arose the Mechanics' Institutes attended by labourers desirous of imbibing the modern sciences. The co-operative movement in this period was actuated by a real desire to spread education among its members. It was more idealistic then and has not settled down to working out its own efficiency. So the co-operative societies supplied the Reading Rooms and the Political Clubs for discussion of current topics. Many working men began, in the newness of their enthusiasm, to combine together for literary studies. But the new desire of the early 19th century could not live on on a sustained manner. Much of the work started by Labour as the reading rooms and primary education classes were taken up by the local authorities. Primary education was not diffused enough to create in labour an extensive interest in humane education. The university lectures started for the masses of people became dominated by the middle class. Labour itself became absorbed in practical problems of organising itself. But the spirit has persisted; and to-day Labour by its educational associations, and with the help of the Universities has organised a vast system of education through Extension Lectures, Tutorial classes, Summer Schools and Working Men's Colleges. The demand for educated working men is immense. Trade Unions, the Labour Party, local county councils, co-operative societies, all need men from the labouring class trained in political studies who can be safely trusted to work for its amelioration.

9. Main Feature of the Indian Social Movements.

Much of the educative value of the social movements in England lies in the competitive struggle for life; this struggle has led to the organisation of Labour and its efforts to improve its average intelligence and capacity. In India many of the social movements are movements of adjustment of the various races which began to pour in from times immemorial, and of the

native tribes who were in different stages of development. It is a misnomer to say that the Indian society has been unchanging through centuries, ever keeping to its hall-marks as indelibly fixed by its ancient law-givers. The main problem before India has been and is the creation of social unity amid divergent races. Sometimes the movement has been to keep the society intact from the intrusion of alien customs detrimental to social growth and from becoming atrophied by degenerate morals and manners. Sometimes the problem was one of assimilation of foreign customs so as to draw into the Hindu fold many of these foreigners. The authors of the movement, by sheer force of persistence and tenacity of will, by their personality and zeal, have been able to introduce vast changes in the Indian society. The result was that these new changes have degenerated into forms with the death of these leaders; and slavish worship and imitation have crept into these institutions. Social progress is quickened by commanding personalities, trusted and followed by the people. But the ideals they place before the masses may be too high to be steadily and consistently practised by them. The average capacity which suddenly blossoms into extraordinary power under the inspiration of such leaders becomes too low in their absence. The startling contrast of the capacities of the leader and his followers leads to hero-worship and generates a slavish mentality which wants to achieve things by the efforts of their hero rather than by their own earnest diligence. The other method of social progress is the slow-moving, slow-working of the masses themselves, who under the guidance of noble souls and the interaction of life's difficulties, gradually evolve themselves and thus acquire habits of self-discipline, intelligence and a spirit of social brotherhood. It has been given to England to shape this average character in the midst of a competitive struggle. It has been the misfortune of India to look to great men and admire them, ever listening to high ideals of life but rarely able to act up to them, for the human mind acquires habits of group discipline and sacrifice by doing things itself step by step and from precedent to precedent.

10. Period of the Sutras.

The earliest movement in India for the uplift of the masses may be fixed from the 8th

or 7th century B.C. when great lawgivers as Gotama, Baudhayana, Apastamba, and Vashista formulated rules of conduct for different ages of man and for different professions. The freedom of the Vedic period had degenerated into license. The incoming of the foreigners as the Persians created the need to fortify the Hindu customs against the onrush of the alien civilisations. The free mixing with the conquered tribes necessitated a strict code of morals for the Hindus to prevent their easy lapse into low habits. The Vedantic school of thought which arose out of the simple communion with Nature, laid stress on simple habits, pure and truthful living and meditation. All these causes tended to the inauguration of a great movement fixing the rules of conduct and life for the Hindus. These rules have taken such hold over the country that they have become ingrained in the Indian character. Gautama says:—"The householder who delights in the law should not indulge in intoxicating drinks, should not cause others to drink, should not sanction the acts of those who drink knowing that it results in insanity." Again he says "meat can never be obtained without injuring living beings and to injure living beings does not produce heavenly bliss." The dancing and singing of the Vedic period were put an end to. Girls were to be married early, widow remarriages were stopped. Rules of conduct and education were fixed for the different professions. This complete training of the will, to put down gross passions and exercise self-control, to prepare a vast country for vegetarian diet, to prohibit drinking for all, to inculcate virtues of truthfulness and hospitality—this is one of the greatest revolutions which the world has ever witnessed. Many of these features have become wrought into the texture of Indian life. The easiest appeal even to-day to the Indian mind is to such ideals of simple living.

11. Buddhism.

The next social movement which has deeply affected the mass life in India was the Buddhist movement. The Vedic rites had degenerated to mere external ceremonies for appeasing different gods and which were exploited by the priestly class for their self-aggrandisement. Outside the Aryan fold there was the large growing population of various tribes who were worshipping tribal deities and leading a low life. If any social unity is to evolve, it cannot do

so from the Aryan religion which has become too rigid and too wooden. But there were the wandering Sannyasins who proclaimed the "immanence of God and the solidarity of Man." It was this school that supplied the necessary stimulus for the new religion of Buddhism to unite all Indians, Aryan and Non-Aryan, in one fold. The new religion of Buddha set at naught the formal aspects of Hinduism such as the rituals, the superiority of the priestly class, the caste divisions and idolatry. Buddha gave a secular turn to Hinduism. He proclaimed that it is not the performance of rites but righteous action alone that leads to happiness in this world and the next. His doctrine of nonkilling and brotherhood made the most effective appeal to the masses. Under his chastening influence various non-Aryan tribes left off their cruel and barbarous habits. In the language of the people he preached, for then only he could convert to the new faith. After him his work was continued by the Buddhist monks who propagated the new faith with a missionary zeal. All this tended towards the creation of a single nationality in India. Asoka, the great Emperor of the Maghada Empire, embraced Buddhism and under his royal patronage the new ideas of Buddhism spread throughout the Empire.

12. Neo-Hinduism.

But Buddhism lapsed into idol worship and formal ceremonies as many of the foreigners who embraced it, such as the Sakas, the Scythians and the Parthians, adapted it to their crude notions and rituals. From the first century B.C. Buddhism was on its decline and Hinduism made a bold bid to include in its fold all foreign Buddhists and newcomers into its fold. Hinduism had learnt much from Buddhism. It assimilated the Buddhist doctrines to itself. While Buddhism was taking to disputations in philosophy and fighting in its own camp about the methods of worship, Brahminism elaborated its idol worship to a marked degree as to make an impression on the incoming foreigners. The Puranic stories representing the gods with human motives and ambitions made a concrete appeal to the minds of the foreigners. Their gods were Hinduised and included in the Hindu pantheon. As always usual with the new converts to any religion, these foreigners vied with one another in building Hindu temples and

patronising the Brahmins. Cadphises II, the Indo-Scythian King of the Punjab, changed his name to Vasudeva. Some of the Saka Satraps in Guzarat and Central India embraced Hinduism. The institution of centre of pilgrimage in places sanctified by the incidents narrated in the Puranas appealed to the social impulse in the mass mind. Temple festivals were organised on a grand scale. Social festivities were formulated for the Hindu householder. From the third century A.D. during the rule of the Guptas, Brahminism began to grow into ascendancy. Brahmins travelled from Kanouj, their prominent centre, to all parts of the Northern India to Hinduise the non-Aryans. The Huns who were slowly settling in our country after a long fight with the later Gupta Emperors, became captivated by the Puranic Hinduism and were admitted as Kshatriyas into the Hindufold. A genealogy as the Agnikula, Chandrakula or Suryakula was supplied to them by the Brahmins to be grafted to their old traditions. Thus their blank past was filled up. Many non-Aryans in Bengal, Hindustan and Guzerat under the attractions thrown out by the Brahmins imitated Hindu modes of life and became the upper classes in the Hindu social system. The basis of caste were shifted from race to functions. To quote the words of Pringle Kennedy, "under the attractions of the superior Hindu civilisation and the teachings of vagrant Brahmins or ascetics, the upper classes separated themselves from the lower, imitated Hindu modes of life, assumed the status of a caste, were supplied with a mythical genealogy by the Brahmins and were recognised as an integral part of the same community." This phase of social awakening cannot be better summed up than in the following words of P. Bose. "To the lasting honour of the Brahmins, be it said, they spread their civilising influence throughout India. It was they that lifted up the aborigines, taught them to lead a settled life, made them more humane, in one word more civilised than they had been before. This the Brahmins did, not by brute force but by force of character and intellect. They penetrated to the remotest South, to the North and the East. And wherever they went they carried the light of civilisation. Whether it be the Dravidian of the South, or the mountainous tribes of the North their traditions, their religions, their dialects, their manners and customs all bespeak brahminical influence."

13. Bakti Movement.

With the decline of royal patronage from the 8th century A.D., consequent on the break-up of the Hindu Empire Brahminism shifted its centre of influence from the court to the masses. Eulogising its own greatness to the latter to compel respect from them, Brahminism again narrowed into mere codes of ceremonies which they only should initiate. The ancient learning became its monopoly. Caste divisions became marked. The Hindu intellect declined. But the new religion of Islam introduced into the society a freshness of view, aggressive propaganda—a contrast to the Brahminic fortifications against the spread of knowledge, and the spirit of equality and brotherhood among all those who embraced it in contrast to the Brahminic claims of superiority. This led to the introspection of the Hindu mind about its own ideals of life as represented in its ancient literature, the vast distance between the Vedantic doctrines of brotherhood and oneness and the pedantic performance of ceremonies. Saints arose in different parts of India to inculcate ideals of brotherhood and devotion, Ramanuja in the south who popularised through the vernaculars the Sanskrit learning, Dnyana Dev and Ramanand in Maharashtra followed by a series of Baktas from low classes, Kabir in Hindustan followed by masses of people Hindus as well as Muhammadans, and whose disciples Tulsidas and Surdas wrote the Ramayana for the people, exhausting all possibilities of poetic art, and Guru Nanak in the Punjab. The movement has been called by Ranade as the PROTESTANT MOVEMENT OF INDIA. The saints who by popularising the Grace and Mercy of the Lord infused new hopes and new ambitions into the masses never laid stress on penance or performance of ceremonies. Worldiness was the character of the movement. Many of these saints were married men. Through them Kirtans were instituted with all musical accompaniments in praise of the Lord Krishna. Bhajans were organised with choral music in praise of the Lord. The congregational form of worship took the place of solitary meditation. This movement of Bakti brought into the Hindu fold many barbarous tribes who ceased from all their frightful sacrifices for the deities and took to the worship of Lord Krishna. As the movement spread it became more and more sensuous. Social festivities and enjoyments in

honour of the saints increased. Vallabha-charya, one of the saints of N. W. India taught that "the Deity was to be worshipped not in hunger, but in costly apparel and choice food, not in solitude and mortifications but in the pleasures of society and enjoyments of the world". Chaitanya in Bengal preached the doctrines of love and brotherhood and the existence of the divine in all our actions. Two of his disciples were Muhammadans. This movement of Bakti liberated the mass mind from its inert sluggishness and created hope and confidence in their own powers, as the idea has been instilled in them that the Lord helps them in all their actions. No one is the chosen of God. His Grace sheds on all. The common worship of these saints, common literature as the Ramayana and the Gita created a national unity in the Maharastra. The social fusion created by the saints in the 14th and the 15th centuries led to a national awakening in Maharashtra; the principles of the new faith infused a moral courage to dare and to strive. The result was the political struggle of a united nation to achieve Swaraj under Sivaji's flag. This national spirit led to the growth of the Maharatta Empire, the immediate predecessor of the British Empire. In the Punjab the followers of Guru Nanak and Guru Govinda became united under the banner of Sikhism, the new martial religion which abolished caste and believed in a close brotherhood. Again it was these Sikhs that fought against the Moghul empire and the British East Indian Company.

14. Later Vaishnavite Sects.

We find then from the 17th century vast masses of people in different parts of India adoring several saints. But again the Hindu mass mind lost its freshness. Miraculous stories began to grow about these saints. The repetition of the mere name of God was considered the way to attain salvation. Bhajans, Kirtans, and Kathas are even to-day having their rounds throughout India in praise of these saints in the same monotonous mechanical method by professional people with audiences dozing or enjoying the sensuousness of the music. Again the Indian mind reverted back to its old groove of helplessness and admiration for its past. New Vaisnavic sects have arisen out of the lower classes, specially in Bengal and the United Provinces in the 18th and 19th centuries, who influenced by ideas of social

betterment for which orthodox Hinduism held no prospects followed spiritual Gurus claiming descent from medieval saints. There are different leaders for the different communities who are even to-day respected by the masses and who conduct occasional tours with the pomp and grandeur of royalty. Some of them inculcate moral truths to their flocks. Some live on the prestige of their institutions. And some lead a life which is the reverse of the godly.

15. Indian Society on the Advent of the British.

What was the character of Indian Society during the latter decades of the 18th century? Bound down by traditions and ceremonies, which had become wrought into the texture of the Indian life through the course of ages, the Indian rarely looked beyond his own village and paid an unquestioning obedience to his Sastras. He had an implicit faith in the miraculous stories about the saints and Acharyas of the different epochs of his religious history. What was handed down traditionally from father to son in the several caste groups, was the little learning he possessed. The learned class engaged themselves in studies of logic and grammar, mere intellectual gymnastics. The social science they studied was the Dharma Sastras, dry codes of conduct regulating every minute part of daily life. The literature they learnt was of the later Hindu period when attention was paid more to form than to ideas, when dryness of the soul was made up by the quibbles of the intellect and the use of a hyperbolical language ever resulting from court patronage of poetry. Vedas were learnt by rote. Elementary education was confined to unintelligent memorising of devotional hymns, some moral couplets, and knowledge useful in the transactions of daily life. The village industries and agriculture were sufficient for the maintenance of its inhabitants. The authority of the caste panchayet was obeyed implicitly by the lower classes and to question it was a sacrilege. The standard of life was low and the absence of struggle for life kept the people in friendly relations. The tenant never thought of his right for a larger produce so long as the returns from the land after paying the rent to the landlord were sufficient for his simple living. Their leisure the villagers devoted to hearing

Kirtans, Kathas and Puranas. The low class had their own festivals and enjoyments. A plentiful crop was utilised for a social feast in the village which was also partaken by the non-brahmin after the feeding of the Brahmins was over. With a slavish mentality which cannot think for itself, and a self-complacent and quiet rural life, the Indian society was like a stagnated standing pool, joyous that it did not flow into new thought and fresh life, and happy in its encircled moss of rites and ceremonies, and unconscious of new ideals?

16. English Education.

New forces, quite of a revolutionary character, began to act on the Indian society from the early 19th century. Institutions which served the purposes of life when life was simple, could not usefully discharge the functions of society when it has grown more complex and more varied in its activities. The rapid spread of English education from 1834 created a class of intellectuals whose mind broadened by the study of English history and literature, became infused with the spirit of equality and brotherhood among men. These English educated Hindus could not easily bring round their minds to tolerate the institution of caste which, by preventing mutual intercourse which always leads to sympathetic understanding and levelling up of life, and denying equal opportunities for all which gives scope for individual improvement, involved a social wastage of brains and service. The history of the national struggles in England, slowly shifting royal power into popular hands, with growing mass organisation and discipline, created a sense of boldness and confidence in the Indian mind to strive after the building up of the Indian nation through steady effort and unity. The study of a rational system of ethics and philosophy, and natural and physical sciences, led to a doubting mind which could not facily believe in miraculous stories and the inviolable sanctity of the Sastras. The religious ceremonies of the Hindus in the name of one God which pervades all animate beings hardly tallied with their practices, their self-centred seclusion in their family interests, and apathy towards neighbours. The meaningless recitation of Mantras and hymns looked childish and silly. The manifold social vices in the name of Hinduism, the enforced widowhood, the degenerate morals in temple worship and

management, the burning of widows, the pollution of the Panchama, shocked many a mind.

17. British Industrialism.

British Industrialism was another tremendous force which crushed down the simple economic system of the village. The Company's policy of deliberately hampering the Indian industries and encouraging only the export of raw products, led to the total extinction of that supplementary income which made up the villagers' small earnings from agriculture. The development of trade with England and the large imports from Europe led to an increase in the standard of life of the people. The new exports demanded were commercial crops as cotton, oilseeds, groundnut and this naturally led to a larger acreage under these crops. The entry of India in the international trade has increased very largely the traders and middlemen who form the distributing agents of the exports and the imports. English enterprise began to establish factories in India from 1850. The material progress of the West naturally roused up the ambition of the people to improve the industrial condition of India. The Indian lulled into passive inactivity through nature's bounteous supply of his needs, inordinately simple and contented by the tradition of ages and the insularity of his life, and bound by caste rigour which hardly gave individual scope to take a chance and struggle in the world, found in this new force of Industrialism an inroad into the economic wealth of his country to which it should either become a prey or he should gird up his loins, compete, struggle and produce goods on a par with the other nations of the world. Human nature being what it is, its desires inordinate to make life comfortable, which form the impetus for man to work and improve, thus gaining him knowledge, and training him in habits of strenuous action, any movement to turn back the society to a simple and self-sufficient life, to isolate India from the world, and pit her against the onward march of material progress, can hardly succeed, and if it does, will only bring back the old stagnation, the habits of inaction and sloth, and the narrow and unthinking mind which refuses to boldly plan and dare. Large scale factory production with all its attendant evils of dumping, unequal distribution of wealth, and class conflicts, in countries consumed by the desire for wealth, power and privileges, is a beneficent

force for inert India to rouse her up from the slumber of ages and infuse into her the spirit of activity and resourcefulness. The problem of Industrialism without the introduction of capitalism—India knows how to solve it for herself, endowed as she is with a social type which likes to co-operate and not to fight, which conceives of duties first before claiming privileges, and which is saturated with the spirit of non-violence, making all allowance for the Indian weakness and apathy to fight against oppression and wrong.

18. Contact with English Life.

The contact with the English life told harmfully on the Indian society in the beginning. The high caste Indian 'cribbed and cabinned' by the mechanical discipline of puritanic caste regulations burst into an immoderate desire for the fashions and luxuries of English life. "We have heard from men of that time that students of the Hindu College (Calcutta) would assemble in batches of 10 or 12 in the College square and openly drink wine and partake of meat in the Mahommedan shops. The greater a man could show courage in defying the customs of the society, the greater was his credit and better his claim to be called a reformer." (Page 180: *Life and Times of Ramtanu Lahiri*). The high English style of living, the free intercourse between English men and women, their manners, their daily life, their food and dress, became all to be imitated by the English educated class. India would have lapsed into atheism and rank materialism, become another edition of western civilisation, slavishly imitating it like Japan, but for the fact that the English education was confined to the few, that the conservative instinct of the masses could not be easily disturbed, and that organisations like the Brahma Samaj, Arya Samaj, and the Theosophical Society, emerged at the right moment to instil in the educated minds the greatness of the Hindu religion, its characteristic note of simple living and prayer to God, its correlation with modern science, and its foundations in righteous conduct and brotherhood of man.

19. Influence of the Christian Missions.

No better testimony to the individuality of the Hindu civilisation can be given than by the Christian mission themselves, who have failed with all their zeal and persistence, with all the

material influence, power and status of a great empire and the wealth of a capitalistic nation behind it to back them up, to pull down Hinduism and convert the high castes. Before 1813 the Christian Missions were hindered in their work by the East India Company which feared exposition of its vile profiteering methods by candid missionaries. The Charter of 1813, while declaring its policy of neutrality in regard to religious beliefs made provision to grant licenses to missionaries going to India for religious and moral work. This gave freedom to the missions to continue their activities in India. Their early crusade against the Hindu social system opened the eyes of the thinking public to many of its defects and turned back their minds to the main principles of Hinduism as enunciated in the Gita and the Upanishads. That the missions have greatly promoted the cause of English education through their colleges and thus sowed the seeds among the youths, for that spirit of independence and equality, for rational thinking, and for noble ideals of working towards national ends, is an incontrovertible fact. Their work in uplifting and refining the low classes has been a great civilising force in a vast continent like India which has not yet solved the problem of mass elevation with all the work of religious reformers from period to period and the various civic agencies of to-day. A wholesome tendency of the present day Christian mind is the better understanding of Hinduism owing to the spirit of sacrifice for truth and righteousness evinced by thousands of Hindus for national advancement.

20. The New Awakening in Christianity.

Christianity is recognising to-day the national characteristic of the Indian mind which is more Christian in its outlook and tradition. There is even a feeling among enlightened Christians that the proper interpretation of Christianity can only come from unsophisticated India unknown to the grab for power and wealth, ever thinking of its duties and ever forgetting its rights, and ever accommodating a variety of races and beliefs without any aggression on its part. There is a new awakening in the Christian community to understand other religious view points, for the way to brotherhood lies through a sympathetic imagination. Christianity is coming to recognise the doctrine of Karma in the communal

sense in the fact that each one is responsible for the sins of his community and that Christ's death on the cross is only the punishment he suffered for the wrongs of his people. Points of agreement between different religions are now-a-days more earnestly sought after, than points of difference. More things can be learnt through love and devotion than through intellect. Some of the branches of the Y.M.C.A. arrange for lectures, discussions and study classes on all religions, thus bringing together the different followers of God through different prophets. Though the tremendous force of the several churches in India in binding the Christian community to a life of charity and brotherhood is a well-known fact, if only they make them community churches where no one traditional belief of a separate mission will be propagated, but the whole community will be free to join it to work for its welfare, in no long time will they become a power in Indian Nationalism. "Under this plan of community as contrasted with denominational organisation, that is, each city or town would have not a large array of churches, each primarily interested in presenting its own particular copyrighted idea of the universe and man's salvation, to the public mind, but a single institution with many branches perhaps, as closely identified with the needs and purposes of the community life as the school or library or community centre. To get rid of the denomination as the unit of spiritual integration and substitute therefor the community is the first plank in our programme of reform. The community is an institution composed of the public group of citizens, held together by common social interests, rather than a private group, held together by common theological beliefs or view points. It would represent a gathering of all who are living a common life and seeking a common ideal of human welfare. It would be composed of a single group of unified institutions co-operating to the one end of a better world for better men." (John Heynes Holmes in the *Unity*, Chicago, quoted in the *World and the New Dispensation*, Calcutta, July 7th, 1921.)

21. Influence of British Administration and Policy.

British administration and policy, by transplanting western institutions, were slowly transforming the Indian life. The centralised

system of administration gave the death blow to the Panchayet which was mainly functioning for the whole village. Taxes were collected by the revenue officers, the British courts began to administer justice. The police looked to the watch and ward. Thus the functions of the panchayet were gradually absorbed by the unitary system of Government. The ignorant villager began to learn the art of being in the good books of the officials for they had the power to put him in difficulties. Meanwhile the new international trade which forced the cultivator to grow commercial crops and import foreign goods for clothing and other necessities of life, have created a demigod in the middleman contractor on whom alone he became dependent for the sale of his raw produce and supply of domestic requirements. The new openings of government employment from 1844 were depleting the villages of their intelligence and leadership as young men left their homes for study and government service. And thus was created the class, who in no way responsible to the people but ever looking to the English official for favours and patronage, acquired the habit of fawning and cringing before them but dominating over the masses. Servility to superiors always goes hand in hand with the bullying of the inferiors. Towns began to grow in places where administrative offices were opened, where factories were started for exploiting and exporting raw products and in centres of inland and foreign trade. This led to the migration of labour to towns, and the rise of wages in villages. Prices of necessities also rose owing to the competition of foreign markets and the growth of inland trade through railways. The standard of life has also increased.

The introduction of railways, telegraphs, and post offices destroyed the village isolation. contracted this vast continent into a single unit and brought together the various peoples. Thus was slowly undermined the superiority of the castes. The new employments in towns, the openings in government service for rich and poor, for the high and low castes, the new trades, the contact with the outer world, all created a spirit of independence in the villager. The struggle for life overthrew the joint stock family system. So huge and so all embracing was the bureaucratic system that it passed into the tissues of the Indian blood, and the implicit homage he paid to its hierarchy of officials

became a part of his character. A post in the Government service became the highest ambition of his life. Meanwhile with the growth of courts, the villages became centres of factions and cliques. Litigation became one of the necessities of daily life. And what first began only as an outer vesture having no relation with the village life, gradually absorbed all the functions of the village organisation, extinguished its solidarity and self-sufficiency and became the vital machinery to minister to its needs and preserve its peace. Though the need for practising civic virtues was gradually taken away by the service of the official agencies, the bestowal of the voting right, by the Reform Act, for the provincial councils, the Assembly, the Local Boards and municipalities for large masses of people, must surely produce in course of time a sense of self-confidence to combine for common welfare and to serve public ends.

22. Growth of the Press and the Platform.

The growth of the press and the platform in the popularisation of the new spirit of nationalism and industrialism is a great factor to be reckoned with. In the early decades of the 19th century the English organs of public opinion were as much feared by the government as introducing new-fangled idea of public criticism of officials and undermining that halo of prestige which alone was governing the teeming millions of India. Lord Hastings, owing to a hostile opposition from his council, laid down that certain personages and subjects should be free from the criticism of the press and that editors would be prosecuted before the Supreme Court for such criticisms or deported. But in 1835 Lord Metcalfe carried out the reform contemplated by Lord Bentinck that no editor should be deported. Lord Lytton's Vernacular Press Act muzzled the freedom of the press but it was repealed by Lord Ripon. From 1890 the number of newspapers and periodicals began to increase. The Press Act of 1910 which was passed to arrest anarchist propaganda was really misused to forfeit the securities of papers indulging only in legitimate criticism; but the growth of opinion was irresistible and executive highhandedness in muzzling public criticism because it is hostile to it, has been put a stop to by the repeal of the Press Act in the present year which gives only the right of prosecuting the Editor before a court of law for sedition. The daily paper has

become almost a necessity and its influence is enormous in shaping public opinion.

23. World Movements.

The world movements have been exerting a great influence on India owing to the contraction of the world by the annihilation of space through rapid communications. Indians have been closely watching the struggle of European nationalities who have been exhibiting themselves as specimens of a barbarous civilisation which brings its own ruin on their own heads in their attempts to destroy the enemy. Bolshevism in Russia, Sinn Feinism in Ireland, the Egyptian movement of independence, the Japanese maltreatment of Korea, the Negro struggle in America, the hatred of the Indian in South Africa, have all their lessons to the Indian mind, of the evils of capitalism, the vices of a narrow patriotism, and the need for building up a social democracy broad-based on the recognition of man as man, and the whole human family as a single integer. The struggle of Labour towards a better life and higher education has its counter part in India. Many a social worker becomes fired with enthusiasm to uplift mass life through a study of the social Settlements and Community centres in England and America. Many Indian educational movements of child-training, teaching universities, compulsory education, technical education, continuation and Adult Schools, are directly influenced by the State and non-official efforts in the West. The Co-operator turns to the West for a study of the several forms of co-operative activity. The agriculturist and the industrialist again turn to the west for a practical study of their sciences, with a view to their adaptability to India. Every activity for social uplift gathers to itself the knowledge and the experience of the early pioneers in the field who are mainly to be found in Western countries.

24. New Movements in India.

The contact then with the western social organisation has created a ferment in the Indian society and a growth of reforming opinions in all departments of life. This new awakening in India from the latter half of the last century may be summed up as the striving towards a perfected democracy founded on culture and brotherhood. In religion, politics and social life, it first expressed itself in clearing away

the brambles and the bushes, and in weeding out the obstacles to healthy growth. In religion it led to the overthrow of the priesthood, the autocracy of the Sastras and the cruel domination of superstitions and ceremonies over men's minds; and ushered in the era of new thought based on science and rationalism, aiming after a righteous life and emphasising the value of devotion and meditation. In politics it originated the national organisations for bringing an alien government under the pressure of public opinion, and establishing representative institutions in the country. In social life its current was irresistible and slowly began to uproot the narrow division of castes, the inferior status of women and the social evils as Sati, early marriage of girls, and enforced widowhood. All the movements stood for the liberation of the intellect from the authority of the infallible Sastras, for the freedom of the individual to have the fullest scope to grow, and a higher conception of duty to God and man. All in turn led to counter movements to preserve the past, to sing its praise, and perpetuate its lifeless institutions as based on eternal truths for all mankind and for all ages, but which perhaps the doubting rationalistic mind had the impudence to question. As usual with all new thoughts, the pioneers had to fight a terrible and weary way against the conservatism and the superstitions of the people. The value of the religious movements

lies in the fact that they turned the Indian mind inward to a study of its own ancient past when life was not clogged by ceremonies and men were guided by simple ideals of truth and service. Rationalistic materialism would have overwhelmed India had it not been for the saving virtues of these movements which, while reforming the social system, stuck to the characteristic of the Hindu civilisation, its devotion to God, its simplicity of life, and self-control.

(To be continued.)

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THE ROMANCE OF GYA.

THE HOME OF THE XXXVII INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

I.

In one of the Puranas is related the following story. A giant demon named Gya Asura performed a rigid penance for a thousand years. The gods anxiously fearing that they could give no sufficient recompense for his piety came to him and asked what reward he wanted. His request that he might become the holiest of all things was granted with the result that all who

saw or touched him went to Heaven. Yama, the God of Hell finding that he was monarch of an empty realm appealed to the gods. They persuaded Gya Asura to allow a sacrifice to be performed on his body, but the demon was not yet laid. Yama then brought a sacred rock from his home, which he placed on the demon's head and all the gods sat on his body, but still the demon moved. At last Vishnu was called

in; he struck Gya with his club and put an end to his life. Gya Asura begged as a last boon that the gods should abide for all time on his body, and that this should be the holiest of spots. This story of the origin of Gya embodies the grand lesson that it has to impart and indicates the nature of its importance. It is essentially a land of sacrifice and purification. Its history is studded with examples of self-annihilation for the realization of the ideal. Failing to find enlightenment in penance and fast our Sakye Muni, later known as Buddha, began a vigil of high meditation under a Pipal tree some six miles from Gya. He was assaulted by fiends and demons of all kinds and by the spirit of sensuous desire—all of whom he conquered. The victory put him in possession of real Enlightenment or Buddhi which as he later on declared consisted in the subjugation of the burning passions of the heart. At a small distance from here lies buried alive Buddha's great disciple Karhapyā still nursing the unconquerable hope of meeting the Maitriyā or New Buddha (Is he not born?) on whose arrival he would issue forth and attain Nirvana.

Gya does not figure in history as a centre of political activities, it will be in vain to turn over the pages of its annals for any battle that might have been fought here. But its insignificance in this respect is more than compensated by the great religious importance that it has enjoyed from time immemorial. The numerous places associated with the lives and teachings of the great founder of Buddhism and his disciples have made it the Holy Land of this religion. There is hardly a village in Gya in which the relics of Buddha have not been turned up by the ploughshare and which has not drawn the notice of the most careless travellers to the heaps of images that are found collected under the Sacred Pipal tree. The names of the places having had prominent connection with Buddhism are legions and no archaeologist would take less than a month to have a birds' eye view of them. Though Buddhism has, as a living religion, disappeared from this place yet its followers throng at least once every year to discharge their religious rites. In the eyes of the Hindus Gya is one of the great places of pilgrimage and has special sanctity. It is their belief that the spirits of the deceased obtain deliverance from hell and admission into Paradise when their children would make offerings for their soul in Gya.

II.

The district is bounded by the river Sone on the north western side and by the borders of Patna, Monghyr, Hazaribagh and Palamau on the other sides. The width of the river Sone generally exceeds two miles and in places runs to three miles. One peculiarity of the river is the height of the eastern bank where the strong westerly winds which prevail during the hot weather heap up the sand from the river bed to a height of 12 to 14 feet above the level of the country. The most noticeable feature of its course is its meagre stream of water at ordinary times as compared with the enormous breadth of the river bed, its vast size, and its paroxysmal violence at periods of flood. The river is spanned by a huge bridge which is not only the largest bridge in India but is surpassed in length only by the Tay Bridge.

The district of Gya has two natural divisions one covering the alluvial plain of the north and the other consisting of the forest and mountain belts of the South. As the northern part is full of the artistic remains of Buddhism and other relics of ancient Hindu civilization so the wild South displays the panoramas of Nature. Passengers coming from Calcutta as they enter the mountainous regions on the borders of the district feel as if they were travelling in a city of forests whose inhabitants were the silent listening trees and whose music the murmur of the fountains. The labouring clouds resting on the top of the hills are a reality here. The vast columns of water falling from the high unassailable peaks looks like a downpour of gold in the rays of the setting sun. No pen can describe the beauty of these parts which may on a small scale be appreciated by taking a view from the Brahma Juni Hill of Gya itself. On a clear day in the rains the eye travels past the rugged ravines and rocks overlooking Gya, to a country green with crops and groves of palm trees, with hills rising on all sides from the level plain. To the north the temple crowned hill of Ramsilla stands out in the near foreground and beyond it is the high crag of Pretsila, and in the distance the outlines of the Barabar hills can be seen.

Among the hills of Gya are several picturesque waterfalls, the most beautiful of which is that at Kokalat in the long ridge running from east to west, 10 miles south of Nawada. At Kokalat a hill torrent tumbles down a long

series of cascades, buried in thick woods and extending far up the side of the precipice some nine feet high near the foot of the crag and then hurries down over a rocksand bed to the plains below.

The town of Gya is locally divided into two parts—the old town of Gya and the new town of Sahebgunj. The former contains the residences of priests who preside over the Gya pilgrimage and is regarded as a place of peculiar sanctity. The latter is the trading quarter and also the seat of administration. It is a modern town with many straight broad streets such as are seldom seen in other parts of Bihar. Besides the public offices, it has a Juma masjid and a public Library called the Halliday Library and the Manu Lal Library. There are three Dharamsalas in Gya—(1) One just opposite to the railway station. It is two storied and can accommodate 300 men. (2) The second Dharamsala is in the old town and can accommodate 500 men. (3) The third is at Bodh Gya close to the temple for Buddhist pilgrims.

The old Gya presents a complete contrast to the modern town. Many of the buildings are situated on rocky points. The spires of the temples, the lofty houses and the numerous ghats leading down to the Phalgu with the crest of the Braham Juni Hill in the back ground form a very picturesque view from the opposite bank of the river. It is a town of narrow streets and crooked alleys always shut in by high masonry houses and overhanging balconies.

III.

Gya practically emerges into the light of history in the time of Bimbisara (519 B. C.) whose reign synchronized with the preaching of Buddha. Gautama came to Gya at the invitation of its inhabitants. He lectured to the people for sometime before he passed on to Bodh Gya where he underwent the memorable spiritual experience leading him to enlightenment. Much of his life was spent in this district after he began his mission and it contains many of the scenes of his earliest preachings. With the reign of the great Asoka Gya again comes into prominence. Overcome with remorse at the horrors of the conquest of Kalinga, Asoka became a Buddhist and signalized his adherence to that religion by constructing a temple and monastery at Bodh Gya and by showing the deepest veneration for the sacred tree under which Gautama had obtained en-

lightenment. But Asoka's support of the rival Brahminical creed by the brief inscriptions in the caves in the Barabar Hills recording his presentation of these rock-hewn cave dwellings to Ajavika, a sect of non-Buddhist ascetics, is a proof of his tolerance. After Asoka's reign though the currents of history seem to have flowed on without affecting Gya yet it was during this period (Hindu period) that the innumerable monasteries, stupas and statues were built.

It was at this time that the fame of Gya transcended the boundaries of India attracting pilgrims like Hiuen Tsang from distant regions and persuading the Tibetans to reproduce in their northern climate the surroundings of the monasteries at Gya.

The history of Gya during the Muhamadan period is not very important. The whole district was parcelled out among a few Zamindars who never paid the imperial revenues until compelled by superior force. During the 18th century the district was run over by the 'Maha-rattas and other wandering tribes who followed the Rob Roy's principle of keeping what they could lay their hands on.

Gya to this day would have had an uneventful history except for the upheaval of 1857 when the peace it enjoyed was rudely shaken. Ever since the commencement of the convulsions in N. India there had been indications of an unquiet spirit pervading all classes of community. In the city itself the fiction that the bones or blood of oxen and swine had been mixed with the flour of the bazar was industriously disseminated and attempts were made to corrupt the soldiery stationed there. Though in the beginning no overt act of hostility took place yet the Collector feared that in case the mutineers entered the district the Zamindars would join them if they got the upper hand though none were likely to hazard life and property before that. On the 31st of July 1857 he received an order from the Commissioner informing him of a defeat of the British arms and desiring him and other civil authorities to come to Patna sacrificing every thing in order to occupy a central position. Leaving the Jail of criminals and the treasury containing seven lakhs of rupees, Mr. Money, the Collector, started for Patna, but feeling acutely the shame of this abandonment of the city to anarchy and plunder he returned and was glad to find every thing intact. But

he discerned that if once the mutineers got into the city the allegiance of the people would be transferred to the other side. Therefore he began to collect pack-bullocks in order to carry away the treasure safely to Calcutta. But very soon he heard that a party of the rebels had commenced their march upon Gya. The treasure was placed on pack-bullocks which started early in the morning. Having seen the convoy safely started Mr. Money returned to his house but suddenly he heard shouts and yells and a servant came rushing in to say that the Jail was loose and prisoners were near. He had just time to mount his horse which was ready saddled to catch up the convoy. As in other places so in Gya the removal of the treasures seems to have been the signal to the disaffected to break out into open revolt. Mr. Money delivered at Calcutta the treasure he had saved but in the absence of any authority the scoundrels of the city with whom disorder and riot are a trade and profession had destroyed the houses of the European residents and had burnt the Kacharis. Babu Jadhu Singh took possession of the western corner of the district and declared British Raj to have come to an end. His power was so formidable that the troops after troops sent to quell him were beaten back. The Jahanabad thana was surprised, the Government buildings burnt and the Daroga cut to pieces. It would be useless to narrate the history of how peace was evolved because the instruments used by the Government are well known to us.

IV.

The Bodhi tree of enlightenment under which Buddha sat has had an eventful history. In his unregenerate days it was cut down by Asoka who remained to lavish unstinted devotion on 't when he became a convert to Buddhism. His queen jealous of this attachment and grudging the ornament which Asoka offered to the tree had it cut down again but it was miraculously restored to life. The intense veneration in which the tree was held is evidenced by the fact that when a branch of it had to be cut for sending to Ceylon elaborate preparations were made. A gold bin was constructed to receive the shoot; the whole way from Gya to Patna was testefully decorated and the tree itself was gorgeously dressed with garlands of gems.

For a third time it was destroyed by

Sasanka, a fanatical king of the sixth century imbued with Brahmical ideas. But Purnavarnam restored it and placed a well of 24 feet all round as a barrier against future aggression. The present tree is claimed to be the same as stood in ancient times though Botanists hold that it could not be more than a century old. The old tree must long ago have perished; in fact the present tree is a lineal descendant of that under which Buddha sat.

The Diamond Throne.

Under the tree is a sandstone also known as the Diamond Throne which still retains its original position. It derives its name from the fact that it is believed to possess indestructibility, stability and capacity to resist all worldly shocks. The throne itself should be ascribed to the time of Asoka as the geese and other ceremonial ornaments are exactly the same as those found on the capital of Asoka's pillars. But the pedestal on which it rests seems to belong to the Indo-Scythian times (2nd century A. D. Reign of Havistaka Kanistaka) if we judge from the round faces, full lips and easy pose of the figures inscribed on it.

V.

It is the belief of Hindus that it is incumbent upon every Hindu to visit Gya and there make offerings for the souls of his ancestors. By so doing, the spirits of the deceased obtain deliverance from hell and admission to the Paradise of Vishnu. From the moment the pilgrim starts from his home, the deliverance of his ancestors begins, he is said to be making a ladder to Heaven for them and himself. To save the spirits of the dead is the first duty of a son, and the performance of the Sradh is regarded as a certain means to secure that end.

There is no doubt that the sanctity of Gya dates back to an early age, when Buddhism still had its royal patrons and was in a flourishing condition. The evidence of the Scriptures is specially valuable in this respect as they clearly show that the places of pilgrimage existed at a date long anterior to the time when the present temples were erected and Gya was known as a pilgrim city as early as the 10th century A. D.

The first ceremony to be observed by the pilgrim is to shave at the river Punpun and on arrival at Gya itself he is conducted before

the Gayawal who is his family priest and worships his feet. The Gya then begins and the pilgrim visits, if he is piously inclined, and has time and money to spare, all the forty vedis, which lie within the holy ground extending for some fifteen miles between the Pretsila Hill on the north and Bodh Gya on the south, and which centre in Gya itself. It is absolutely essential, however, to offer pindas or balls of rice to the spirits of the dead in three places, viz., at the Phalgu river the Vishnupad temple, and the Akshyabat, or undying fig tree. The Phalgu is said to be the embodiment of Vishnu himself and is also peculiarly associated with Sradh ceremonies, as Sita here offered Pinda to Dasrath, the father of Rama. The Vishnupad temple in the heart of Gya is one of the most sacred of all the Vaishnav temples in India; most of the Sastras enjoin that no one should fail to visit this holy spot at least once in his life-time. The third vedit, *i.e.*, the Akshyabata tree is also held in equal sanctity.

The pilgrim seats himself on his heels in front of the officiating priest. Twelve Pindas are formed of rice and milk not larger than the large marble balls used by boys. Then on the top of the Pindas are scattered kusa grass and flowers. The twelve Pindas typify the twelve ancestors for whom the Pinda is given. The pilgrim twists kusa grass round his finger to purify his hand. Next, water is poured into the palm and a part of it sprinkled on the Pindas. The pilgrim then takes some threads off his clothes and lays them on the Pindas. This act is alleged to be emblematic of the presenting the bodies of the departed ancestors with garments. Meanwhile texts and prayers are repeated.

The Gayawals—a special class of Brahmins—serve as priests on the occasions of Gaya Saradh. They have been enjoined by the Shastras to have their livelihood in the gifts of the devotees. Though void of learning they are worshipped and respected by all. They have become fabulously rich owing to the large influx of pilgrims in Gya. Their number being large, they have in their employ a number of servants at the important railway stations whose duty is to bring pilgrims.

By tacit consent or as the result of immemorial custom the whole of India has been parcelled out among several families of the Gayawals, and as a rule the pilgrims start from

their home knowing the names of the respective Gayawals. Sometimes, however, the pilgrim does not know the Jurisdiction in which he falls and in these cases the servants of the Gayawals quarrel as to who should have the pilgrim. In many cases the question can be settled at once by reference to the Gayawal's Khatas or books in which the names of the chief pilgrims and their villages are recorded.

When they come to Gya, the pilgrims lodge in licensed houses owned by Gayawals. In this case the pilgrims are lodged free and are carefully tended by the Gayawals' servants, and if the houses are owned by others they have to pay rents. All the ceremonies connected with the Sradh are not performed by the Gayawal. He deputes Brahmin Acharyas to do the work for him. The function of the Gayawals is merely to have their feet worshipped, to receive the pilgrims' gift and to certify that the offering made have been effectual. Without this last ceremony of certification and feet worship performed the Sradh would be impossible which is the reason of the pilgrims trying to placate the Gayawals by large gifts.

Formerly it was the custom of the priest to keep the votaries' thumbs tied until he consented to give a sum adequate to his circumstances, but Government has declared that all contributions must be voluntary. People however from distant countries who do not know the customs are still often much abused. But the checks on this kind of violence have rendered it much less frequent. The Gayawals now confine themselves to the more specious methods of flattery, solicitude about personal comfort, and appeals to worldly and religious benefit. A poor pilgrim can still satisfy all authorised demands at a total cost of Rs. 15 to Rs. 20.

Though the religious importance of Gya from the Hindu point of view begins with the Gya Isura Legend related in the first section, still elements of Buddhistic and Demonical origins have been discovered in the Sradh. One of the most important of the ceremonies observed at Gya is the worship of the foot prints of the various gods and specially those of Vishnu. This is explained and commented upon by Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra thus: "In all Buddhist countries carvings of Buddha's feet are held in great veneration. In many temples they occupy the most prominent place; and

when the Hindus got hold of Gya the popular feeling in favour of the most sacred footprint ran so high that unable to set it aside, the Brahmans recognized it, under the name of Vishnu's feet as most sacred object of worship at that place. With regards to the Bodhi tree it is said that the Brahmans adopted the tree as a suitable object for veneration on the decline of Buddhism and in this way made a profitable use of the worship it received from the Buddhist.

Though these portions of the Gaya Sradha are Buddhistic in origin it is impossible not to perceive how much more markedly present are the primitive elements of worship. The most striking feature of the Gaya Mahatmya is the emphasis laid on the necessity of propitiating Yama and of delivering the ghosts of ancestors from the lives of fiends and evil spirits. The conception of the state of evil roaming spirits, who are to be propitiated by offerings and worship as is not distinctly Brahminical and it plays so prominent a part in the sacred book of Gya that it appears plausible hypothesis that at least in some respects the Gaya Sradh represents the adoption by Brahmanism of the popular demonolatry which preceded it and has existed side by side with it to the present day.

VI.

In Gya as in other places of Behar the people are engaged in agricultural pursuits. Though not so large as in the adjoining district of Patna the proportion of persons engaged in industrial occupations is very much greater than in north Bihar districts where indigeneous handicrafts are of far less importance. It has been suggested that the reason for this is that after the fall of Delhi some members of the Muhamadan nobility attached to the Moghul court retired to their Jagirs in Patna and Gya and brought in their trains large members of artisans and traders who settled down in these districts. But the trade and industry of Gya are more the boast of history than an actuality. We give an account of some of the manufactures that have been crushed under the atrophying influences of the Government.

"Cotton weaving was formerly a large and prosperous industry which was of such importance 100 years ago that in addition to the Central depot at Patna the old East India Com-

pany had three cloth factories in the district of Gya besides five subordinate factories and 22 houses for the purchase of cloth. According to Buchannan Hamilton the agent of the company entered into engagement with 2,200 weavers dwelling in the villages of Gya. Each man on becoming bound to the company received two rupees and engaged not to work for any person until he had made as much as the company required. The agent ordered each man to make a certain number of pieces of such goods and he was paid for each on its delivery according to the prices stated in the tables." The above will indicate the nature of the zoolum to which the useful trader succumbed.

The woollen fabric industry may be roughly divided into two branches: (1) The manufacture of country blankets of rough texture ordinarily used by the poor classes, (2) The manufacture of carpets called indiscriminately Kabris and Galichas which are of superior texture and require more skilled workmanship. The former is manufactured by the Gareris (Shepherd) who having nothing to pay for the wool which they shear from their own sheep can sell their manufacture cheap.

The places noted for blankets are Ambala and 'Chilki'—a little south of Aurangabad. Carpet weaving is confined to Daudnagar where some Muhamadan families monopolise the trade. The carpets they produce are generally made of cotton but frequently wool is mixed with cotton. Silk weaving is carried on at Manpur on the outskirts of Gya and on to a certain extent in the Gyawal bighas mahalla in the town itself. The silk industry could not stand competition with the silk coming from Murshidabad but is still able to eke out its existence on account of the urgency of the demands of the Hindus who require silk—indispensable at the time of worship and for wrapping up the dead.

Stone carving is another industry which owes its life to the pilgrims coming to Gya. The principal seat of the industry is at Pathalkali 19 miles N. E. of Gya but there are also some workmen at the foot of Mangal-gouri hill near Gya itself. The art is said to have been introduced by some workmen of Jodhpur who were brought to Gya to build the Vishnupad Temple and their attention having been attracted by the possibilities of the quarry at Pathal-

kalti eventually gave up the idea of returning to their homes.

The following account of the wood carving at Gya is taken from a monograph on wood-carving: "In the old city the wood-carving industry must have reached the apex of the beautiful as shown by the examples which belong to the earliest periods of this art. Unhappily this excellence has not been maintained in the pieces of later date. I went to the remotest recesses of the native quarters and had the opportunity of admiring some of the really beautiful wood carving which must have originated from the splendid examples of the old carved stones on the Buddhist and Hindu temples. I visited the house of Rai Bihari Lal Barrick Bahadur where the best specimen of ancient carving can be admired. Near this house is another house evidently very old displaying some beautiful carvings of the more minute style. The natives themselves have

great veneration for this building owing to the beautiful construction of its varandahs beams and breezes and pillars. Many other fine examples have been destroyed by several coats of tar having been foolishly laid over them"—Chevalier.

From the preceding account it must be evident that the art of wood carving is almost extinct in this district and is only found in the old town of Gya and not in the modern quarters.

One of the few industries which has not suffered from the competition of design or machine made articles and which still is in a prosperous condition is the manufacture of brass utensils. These are made in the town of Gya at Marufganj Gyawal bigha and Baniadganj and at Kenar in the head-quarters subdivision. The braziers of the towns also manufacture figures of Hindu deities which are bought by pilgrims in considerable quantities.

BLACK AND WHITE IN ART.

By MR. W. G. RAFFE

Whether in art or nature, the universal prevalence of black and white is among the obviously common and everyday experiences of all seeing people. All-pervading symbols in art and nature, as facts in life, the company and contrast of these objective colours (if they may be so termed) and their world-wide subjective associations, whether of long tradition or of new-born science, penetrates and chequers our web of existence with their ubiquitous presence. Yet long familiarity does not lessen mystery for that of blackness and whiteness, in our daily sight, is yet as deep as life and long as time, if we would search to its inner source. With black against white we can gain the sharpest possible contrast we can imagine, or by mixing them obtain closer harmonies, joining the distinctive qualities of each—which we know only by their contrast—until they merge in neutral and indistinguishable grey, in dawn

or twilight of some Laodician phase of life or art; or, still single, either may conquer with overwhelming intensity all intervening colours and shades of brief day.

Our daily evidence of colour is alone made visible in nature by segregated powers of white light, splashing fountain-like with incredible speed on varied forms of matter opposed to its passage, their many shapes and phases transforming the one force, breaking into rainbow hues of colour before childrens' delighted vision just as the mighty Universal Life-Force surges against this world of ever-changing forms, of itself a part, bursting its single vehemence into multitudes of lives and moving forms, seeding, flowering, blooming, fruiting, before each long wave retreats into the Ocean that hurled it forth.

Manifestations of black and white begin and end many operations of nature in her seasons

and ages, by land and sea, in day and night, for lightness and darkness are the world's everlasting paths. By them it comes and goes, breathes and dies; in them its hours are numbered; in their stern austerities arise and fall stars and suns. Deep velvety blackness of tropical night is vanquished by unendurable white brilliance of solar day, its power bleaching every unliving thing to its own lightness and whiteness, destroying while creating all colours, for when opposed by insurgent life forces swelling in all living forms, sunlight can but richen and ripen their coloured lives. Life, as electricity, is itself dark and cold until opposed by resistance, when it breaks into visibility and light, yet is no more real or unreal in nature, than when still darkly invisible. Black smoke and bright flame generate together from a single source, leaving ashes, black, white, or grey.

Blacks and whites of nature appear in forests, as in fir and ebony; dwell under them as chalk and carbon in coal or diamond, marble and jet; are gathered from bird and beast and insect, in feather, ivory, pearl, in glossy black skins and white furs, and again from plants in cotton, while the sea gives up its salt, wrested from the stormy clouds. As mankind takes from nature material for his clothing, and his shelter, so he selects for his works of art, blacks and whites for pigments, the dark lead oxidised for white, and white ivory charred for black. So also are subjective materials selected from his daily experience and contact with life, for his works of art, freshly rich and strong as real and true art, refined and purified by him for modern human usage and delight. Black and white are among the earliest pigments used by primitive man, in his simple and straightforward decoration. From decoration into clothing continued plain simplicity of often unrelieved black or white, or at times white mitigated the stark severity of otherwise monotonous black, as ceremonial arts of religious worship grew and became standardised when growth ceased—thus producing clerical vestments or popular bridal attire, while religious philosophies of different nations used black, some white as the symbol of mourning, with its opposite for happiness, according to the degree of idealism contained therein. Even modern attire, for business or "dress" has degenerated into dull uniformity of European convention imposed by a grey level of life and

thought in daily trade, where commerce has produced such callings as miller and miner, as well as parson and surgeon, whose customary attire is by unconscious evolution of the decorative instinct peculiarly fitted to their occupations.

Black and white are beloved by science as well as art, for in them essential facts stand out more clearly than in nature's camouflage of colour. Snow-wrapped ground and naked trees of an English winter alternate with varied and enticing bounties of summer's colour, garbed in differences of deceiving hue, yet winter's contrast best display bare facts of our wide countryside. Even in man-made streets of civilised towns, sooty blackness of foul sulphurous smoke is slowly whitened by storm-dark rain, by driving snows and bright bleaching sunlight.

Over all, the physical body of man itself has during long ages risen up nature's scale from dark to light in its surface colour; so also is his destiny set, as his mind rises from nature to art, his inner vision opening after long reflection from the outer light of the vision physical. Not without wisdom were commandments given, forbidding image-making, whether Mosaic or Mohamman, for too often man's mind sleeps when his eyes are open.

Both leader and prophet well understood disturbing influences of moving forms and iridescent colour in their illusory beauty, hence the whiteness of the mosque and the barrenness of other temple sanctuaries, Babylonian, Mexican, Egyptian or Greek, sternly denying even a religious subject for the outward gaze, reflecting all thought inward to develop intellectual mental vision in their disciple's devotion. Yet each holiest place was reached always by way of outer courts blazing with all life's colored splendour symbolised in rich reds, deep purples, green and blues of sea and sky, decked with gold and silver plates, all ignored and left behind by those eager souls who would attain to the innermost sanctuary. Conversely, modern churches, more social in their worship than the East, would use soft radiance of colour in glass and paint to arouse mystical rather than intellectual devotion in their congregation. Bounding all colours stand back and white, containing and demarking them, their light and shade constituting when fully understood a true practical key to skill with a painter's palette; even as love and hate bound and contain all other emotions, and as their comprehension is

the source of drama, religious or profane, and the actor's guide to an art which, at its best, explains rather than imitates life; and towards which end simplicity of stage production is now happily tending. For beyond all colours, all emotions, all experiences, are those deep simplicities of life, last realised and seldom attained, clearly defining each other in energy full of the quintessence of life as of art, in a clarity of form unrivalled, marking the epitaph of the eye's beloved but ephemeral colour; brilliant in great facts gleaming truly like each unmoving single starlight stands bright against the deep abyss of everlasting night.

From nature into human life, then into inevitable art, march these tremendous powers of black and white, ever ready to obey the understanding mind. Reflecting in smaller spheres the mighty grandeur of creative energy pulsating through the Universe, the slower arts of man, in motion and emotion, plan, design, create and form with a similar but lesser finite intelligence. True art, marked by genuine human purpose, is creative design consciously forming by craft a work of living art, planned by living man for living people. Black and white are the Alpha and Omega of symbolic graphic art, as they are the nadir and zenith of visible creation, whence glowing webs of colour stretch between, a distracting and impermanent rainbow illusion, joyously ephemeral, splendid and fleeting as music, no sooner born than dying away in the memories of which music is made.

A work of graphic or printed art has but a few moments, perhaps, in which to give its message, but its echoes may travel down the ages. In the increasing use and popularity of monographic art, we may happily discern a real love of real art growing among the masses of modern people. In the spread of the modern etching or metal engraving, in the worldwide lithograph, and the unequivocal wood engraving, oldest and grandest craft of them all, may arise a great hope for those arts and subjects which, like poetry, appeal closely to thinking minds and clear discerning eyes, more than careless glances of unexperienced eyes, bewitched by the flashing magic of colour rather than by delicately refined abstractions of mental joy, given on the black and white which demands cultured appreciation and understanding.

Savage or uncultivated minds notably rejoice in multifarious and oft discordant colour, the

good combinations produced by uncivilised tribes being mainly the result of few available materials or pigments, sifted by long selection, rather than by any conscious individual choice. The use of black and white in art has spread wider only in recent years, yet now is so general in civilised lands as to pass unnoticed, while the uneducated eye can barely recognise a copy of a natural familiar object, if presented in such abstract mode as black on white. Mankind has long left cave pictures and pictographs as symbols, marks of ownership, or communication, and now uses highly abstract symbols in black on white, in letters of a world-wide "alpha-beta," from which we build even more abstract words as the material and medium of vocal art; as printed symbols of sounds which we learn, not rationally but traditionally, and call it speech and song. Thus our symbols live only in sounds of the living, moving air, and thus poetry can outlast cathedrals and palaces. Sound, at its best and finest intellectual pitch in rhythmic, sonorous, well designed poetry; sound, that sleeps in its symbolic art-endowed form of script or print, living only in vibrating sound from the lips of the singer, then kindled with twice-reflected life in the white magic of imagination. As with poetry, so all other art is but dead ash unless its inner forming fire be caught anew in moving imagination of the formative will in its beholding recipient. For art, like love, needs both giver and receiver to live, the light and the lightened, yet each the others' efficient cause, ever tending to equalise.

So it has come to pass, by seeming chance rather than by any kind of premeditation, yet in fact by sole virtue of deeply underlying truths of the essential nature of blackness and whiteness, whose qualities pervade all life and mind, that so many of our truly living modern arts and sciences are presented to younger eyes in symbolised forms, clearly black against white. Sciences based in mathematics, as well as all the arts of words, are given in black and white, while even the notation of the aerial art of music is so given, and the pianist renders his chords to living sound on a keyboard from which colour, to attain better craftsmanship over the machine, has been banished. In all written and printed poetry and prose, written and printed music and song, in drawings from some master's pen, or in the mighty printing presses reproductions of them, each is seen in terms of black and white. Even colours of a painter's masterpiece

may be rendered so, losing its illusion of colour, to reveal its design and composition in uncompromising monochrome, or question its accuracy of drawing, by way of the camera lens, which, as the searching eye of science, sees more than the eye in Natures' millions of facts and moods. The art of writing grew from incised line, in sunlight and shadow, to nutgall ink, spread over parchment or palm in bygone centuries, when earnest students laid the broader foundations of modern arts and sciences, in engraving and printing; in astronomy, chemistry, physics, medicine, navigation, building, and a score more, to keep their thoughts visible for posterity. The greater the contrast, the more enduring their considered words, and the sharper their lesson.

With yet more conscious knowledge of the power of black against white, in its direct appeal to mind rather than senses, were made fine Indian ink drawings by Zen priests of ancient China, as they slowly endeavoured to symbolically portray, through parables on nature, those almost unportrayable abstract truths of their profound philosophy. Knowing art as truly *opposite* and not as an imitative copy of nature, wisely they used their most abstract and *unnatural* medium, as have later masters, for rendering results of abstract thought visible in forms calculated to convey their lessons of the Infinite, which their art at once preached aloud or enshrouded in mystery, according to whatever degree of understanding intelligence and experience was possessed by its observer. In printed black and white may be enwrapped all earthly wisdom, physical, scientific, emotional, moral, artistic, as charts and guides for inexperienced souls on their long journey.

Those artistic forces inherent in black and white are aptly paralleled by their moral equivaluations and deep psychological significance. Real in every philosophical sense, ever they endure, symbolising twin forces of Good and Evil, of creation and destruction, of life and death, male and female; all display the opposing yet mutually upholding train who rend in their struggles the short peace of man's world, yet promising to those whose vision is clear a peace that is greater for their balanced unity. Not at random were chessmen of ancient Eastern players delicately carved from ebony and ivory, one set portrayed as definitely attacking the other, who as clearly stand at defence, to wage mimic soul-fights for instructing learners of Wisdom, on a field itself divided as time into conventionally

equal nights and days. Nor by chance was black given first move on the field, necessary as that of the pen of the modern illustrator on his white sheet. By imposition of pattern, surfaces are divided, and decoration is born, a delight to the mind; by ceaseless division of the undivided, comes eventual comprehension of experience and life. "Divide and conquer," says art to the inquiring mind, "one thing at one time, yet one thing often". For is not art the psychological expression of the emotions of humanity, and is not the search for truth and wisdom the greatest of all desires?

Black and white, themselves cold and expressionless, yet may fully stir every passion; themselves colourless, may suggest every colour; light gleams briefly between the town dark-nesses that are at once the womb and the grave, and so they rule, enveloping and developing in light and then in darkness dispelling all. They are two great mutually defining expressions of Life-force, in nature and life, in art and mind, in character differing, in their necessity to each others, existence, as male to female. In the evolutionary struggle of the hands comes perfection in craftsmanship, but only human art enshrined therein can sway convincingly in great psychological battles of minds, whose end is that Wisdom which alone is greater than all art. Bounding the myriad colours of life and art, white the synthesis and black an absence—perhaps—of all colours they display the extremes of possibility. As with art, so with emotions; love, an alchemic distillation and synthesis of all happiness; hate but a shadowy dark absence of those joys which colour life, swiftly fleeting, gay or sombre. These extremes of life, reflected in such craft media in a master's hand, may in their facility of rapid expression for art suggestive to mind rather than representative to eye, offer a great medium to those artists who understand their clear and penetrative psychology, even greater than that offered by voluptuous pigments' play, which fill the roving eye yet lull imagination to sleep before sensuous feasts of ravishing colour. How much more frequently, forsaking its ephemeral appeal, each questing heart may find through art's black and white magic of printed words and designs, some peaceful rest for higher fastnesses of sublime thought!

Through their wonderful psychological and complex correspondence with all of life, as black and white swing magically through the loom of life in swiftly rhythmic dancing of space and

time, some slight comprehension of relativity in life and death may be gained from their mirrored understanding in art that is truly wise. Life, nature, earth are themselves negative and feminine; art the positive, energising moving creator, the understanding planner and designer of new forms, new modes, new uses, of the negatively resisting material of daily experience, through physical materials of craft which bow soon before the determined attacks of purposeful minds. Between life and art is restless swing and disturbing conflict, until understood and conquered by deliberate gradual increase of rhythm to their own pulsation, when like knows like, seen in its own mirror, though ever relative and ever moving, but yet caught and comprehended by more swiftly moving mind.

Through impulses of creative art, digested experience is combined with flashing intuition, garnered in fields of pain and lit by a few sparks of passing happiness, and the slight essence of days is moulded slowly, and painfully, often heroically as sacrifices in works of sublime art, for joy and encouragement of younger souls. Yet inner experiences of man, in light or dark-

ness of his soul, like the dazzling whites and grimly awful blacks of nature, have no exact parallel in man's art; they can be at best suggested only, through some divine alchemy of his thought, transmuting his experience of daily joys and hourly miseries with resistless eternal flames of understanding intelligence. Through thought alone can be triumph, for bright as molten metals may glow in incandescent gas, or black as nethermost abysses of imagined space may darkly gape, the proudly fighting spirit of man can yet outstretch, outshine, surpass and conquer them all, his thought and understanding reaching beyond the stars, battling through to learn a little and love much of that eternal feminine mystery, which at once darkly challenges and comforts him, delays and encourages him, despises and worships him, thwarts him and yet remains the sole means of great achievement, for in the twain only is life's wheel made full circle, as the old Chinese symbol of Yang-Yin, which shows two curving halves of identical shape, one white, one black, as complementaries filling its circle, as North and South poles of life and death range, separated only for a Time for their understanding in Wisdom, then once more merged into One that is neither.

SCENES FROM MALABAR.

By MR. N. K. VENKIDI, B.A.

II

The Land of Charity.

Away from the hustle of busy life, in a quiet corner jealously guarded by a line of hoary mountains and an angry sea lies the beautiful restful land of Travancore. It is the classic land of charity. Hospitable India has no worthier offspring than pretty little Travancore. This is the far-famed land of feasts and festivities, the merry land where the hungry have excellent fare and the idle rich the luxury of eye-filling sights all the year round.

This is the land primeval, of fanes and shrines. Ye Gods and little fishes, preserve

the glory of this uncontaminated nook of ancient Ind; for ever, preserve the honour of this crown of hospitable Ind!

The Temple of Vaikam.

In the celebrated temple of Vaikam in North Travancore, dwells the most omnipotent deity of Mahadev who is the lover of feasts much more than the Lord of the Universe. Therefore, there is no easier means of access to his holy heart than the feasting of hosts of the beloved of the Mighty One—the twice-born Brahmin! The grander the feast, the easier the access, the warmer the reception. Indeed there is hardly anything beyond the reach of

one who can thus please the puissant Lord. But feasting is not an easy thing. It means an unquestioning faith and munificence regardless of expense. Imagine a concourse of people big enough to consume one hundred paras (20 lbs. make one para) of cooked rice at a single meal! And rice is only one of the various items and not the most important of them that go to make up the feast technically and euphemistically called the *Breakfast*. No amount of pain is thought too big nor any expenditure too extravagant to make the sacred *Breakfast* the glory of gustatory delight. The variety in the vegetable menu beggars description and few are the mouths that can resist watering when the air is thick with their appetizing fragrance. Truly has cooking been developed into a fine art in the temple.

All this sedulous manufacture of pleasures is meant to minister to the comforts of the thrice-happy Brahminical tribe. Blessed are they, for they alone enjoy the good things of the Earth and the dreaded Lord of destruction, the great Mahadev, is their preserver, saviour, patron, nay, their very bread-winner whose omnipotence is equalled only by his beneficence towards them. This mighty Lord often strays in stilly nights into the houses of the sceptical rich to round them up and wring from them promises of performing the sacred *Breakfast* ceremony in the temple. These nocturnal calls of the Omnipotent Deity are so successful that the day without the *Breakfast* is a rare phenomenon in the Vaikam temple. And remember that many have seen this Invisible King going his round of visits on darksome nights in the guise of a tall, old Brahmin walking with a crutch, with his head bent down as though with the burden of his immense wealth of flowing snow-white beard.

It was only the other day that a pious pilgrim to the holy shrine was robbed of a goodly portion of his hard cash and some valuable jewels. That ardent votary, therefore, began to moan the loss of his wealth in vociferous imprecations against the daring thief who ventured to despoil a devotee of Mahadev and that under his very nose and in ceaseless supplications to the all-powerful for the restoration of his stolen things. Never did a believer in *Vaikathappan* suffer long or pray in vain. The old brahmin with his snow-white flowing beard appeared and behold! the money and the jewels lie at the feet of the weeping votary.

Many caught a glimpse of him this time but none so fortunate as to have more than a glimpse.

Such wonderful happenings are bruited about far and near. Few dare question their veracity and with the vast multitude, hearing of them is believing in them with absolute unreserve. Then does the number of the Faithful go boisterously mounting up and the fame of this epicurean Divinity has nearly reached the ends of the Earth.

Such is the Mighty One of Vaikam. Small wonder, then, there is no end to the numbers of seekers of truth, lovers of feasts, worshippers of indolence, sufferers from disease and several species of uncritical humanity flocking to the temple at all seasons of the year. You have no idea of the miraculous cures that are wrought in the temple. Even the unfortunate owner of the most obstinate dyspepsia who is dead to all kinds of gustative enjoyments who never enters his dining room without his scales and who never eats a morsel without emulsifying it can fearlessly gorge himself with the puddings and pickles and the heavy preparations the holy *Breakfast* that never fail to tickle the gastric nerves and cause an overflow of gastric juice! Then does he know the glory of an emancipation and what it is to eat with an appetite and digest the food without the aid of a score of bitter pellets and a dozen doses of the tongue-deadening tincture gentian! In the temple horror of eating is cured by gluttony.

And what is the secret of this apparent magic! The merciful Lord never allows his gifts to sit heavy on the stomachs of his devotees. There is none but profits by them. From within the sacred temple one can swallow down a mouthful of strychnine and yet Death may not claim him.

There is a story, the veracity of which none dares to question, that long long ago, during a grand *Breakfast*, when it was time to serve up a costly dish of pudding the cooks made the horrifying discovery of a dead serpent floating in the huge vessel in which the liquid delicacy had been prepared and kept! These rascally scullions decided with reckless promptitude to keep the serpent anecdote a secret and to serve the pudding as though nothing had happened. The unsuspecting Brahmins ate it with great gusto but no sooner had they finished eating than the unfailing messengers of Death snatched them off with terrifying suddenness. There

they lay! But the Lord of the Temple appeared in the familiar figure of aged Brahminhood with a cup of magic water which he sprinkled on all the dead and behold! they came to life everyone of them and fell to finish off their meal as if nothing untoward had happened to them. Indeed, they knew neither the tragic tale of their death nor the wonderful tale of their resurrection.

In the meanwhile these murderous cooks were watching the whole scene in simulated sympathy and bewilderment. A terrible fate was in store for them and they knew it! But the mighty One is also the merciful One and He did no more than neck them out through the western gateway and its massive doors closed on these roguish fools with an angry clanging bang. That gateway stands closed to this day as a monument to the treachery of cooking humanity and the vindication of the omnipotence and omniscience of the great divinity sitting enthroned in the temple.

Therefore you needn't be afraid at all of eating to excess at the sacred *Breakfast*. Your business is to eat as long and as much as you can and to leave the rest to the care of the kindly Giver of all the delicious dishes that you enjoy. No stomach was ever too squeamish to digest anything eaten in the divine Presence. But there is one thing which you must not omit to take with you to the famous shrine and that is Faith, unlimited and unfathomable Faith in the existence of Mahadev, then in his omnipotence and last but not least in his beneficence. The wrath of the Terrible will surely fall on the unbeliever with disastrous consequences.

If you be sceptical which is very likely in this ultra-scientific age, you will be well advised to shun the spot where reigns the divine lover of feasts with his countless hosts of fattened votaries whose only business in life is to eat and enjoy and pray. Sometimes it so happens that a stray atheist develops an irresistible desire to eat at the *Breakfast* and ventures into the temple with sanctimonious hypocrisy. He does eat and enjoy and thinks proudly that he has deceived all the world including the great God under the cover of a false piety and walks out of the consecrated locality highly satisfied with this dexterous performance of a cunning feat. But the poor idiot of an unbeliever does not know that the vengeance of the All-seeing follow him like

a shadow waiting for an opportunity to pounce on him and make the denouement as exemplary as possible. Not all the hosts of heaven can save him!

It was only the other day that a certain Namburi Brahmin after having worshipped the God in chuckling scepticism and filled his maw with all the good things of the *Breakfast* with peevish voracity was returning home across the backwater in all the pride of a victory that had just been won. As the Namburi's breast was rhythmically beating in complacent ease and security, a furious gale suddenly sprang up and a voracious whirl-pool sucked up the canoe and the unbelieving Namburi with it. Many heard the repentant cries of the helpless Brahmin proceeding from the subterranean regions like the ubiquitous voice of the king of Denmark but who could save him who had incurred the displeasure of this mighty God on Earth! Covet not, then, the sweet thing of the temple if you cannot acquire sufficient merit to deserve them, if you cannot walk the way of the Faithful.

And now my Mahadev! If my impertinent pen has dragged Thee into the blasphemous mire of light literature, it is because, Thou the Omniscient One hath been pleased in Thy Infinite Mercy to set this irreverent scribe to dance to the tune of a frolicsome strain and not because this lump of worthless clay could set Thee at defiance! Thou Terrible One of the Fiery Eye, my Cyclopean God of unfathomable Mercy, of unfathomable Fury, Thou the adored, the ever adorable Prince of healers, benefactors and miracle-makers who in Thy Infinite Wisdom wert pleased to infuse a spark of renewed life into this dilapidated me when I sought the rejuvenating, exhilarating atmosphere of Thy Pharmacy, Thou My Lord Saviour to Whom I owe my life and all that is mine, be not wrath with me for thus painting Thee in the hues of light-hearted ingratitude, for the fault is Thine although the mischief be mine. Thy will be done.

A Comfy Capital.

Now, gentle reader, such are the possibilities, pleasures and perils embedded in the far-famed temple of Vaikam. There is hardly anything which you will want here if you are prepared to make a sufficient payment in faith for it. Do not go to Vaikam with the instinct of

absolute gratis. If, however, you are unable to shake off this attractive aspect of modern psychology, cease thinking of Mahadev; set out, instead, to Trivandrum, the comely, comfy capital of pretty little Travancore. Here everybody and everything stands a good chance; atheists, nihilists, cosmopolitans and communists, loafers, liars, and gossipers, all ply their trade in ceaseless activity, for the great Lord Krishna more familiarly known by his cognomen of Padmanabha will surely give them their daily bread without their prayerful command "Give us our daily bread!" The Palace of Padmanabha is built of the imperishable material of Annadanam (boon of food) and the bounteous Swamy's example of beginning charity at home illuminates from end to end the enigmatical land of smiling Travancore.

Trivandrum is the princely city of free meals.

But you cannot partake of this god-given gift unless you have managed to be born within the Brahminical fold. This is condition inviolable. One can, however, satisfy it with a little timely whispering into the ears of the Immortals. None the less, you find that thousands having failed to take this simple but essential precaution betimes, now go about shouting "There is lack of charity in the land of charity" in unrighteous and amusing indignation. And there may be a lamentable lack of it in this famed land flowing with milk and honey or there may not be. Be that as it may: one thing is certain and it is never called in question—that in the land of charity there is plenty of courtesy, loyalty and cocoanut-tree—of which more hereafter.

A PSYCHOLOGICAL ESSAY ON MEMORY STATES AND HOW TO RECALL THEM.

By MR. A. WORSLEY

INTRODUCTION.

On June 8th, 1921 at the request of the Board of the Special Neurological Hospital, Tooting, I read a Paper on this subject to the Staff. Since then it has been suggested that my Paper should be reproduced in essay form so that it may be available for those interested in this subject. I do this with some misgivings because the subject is worthy of treatment on much broader lines than can be embraced within the limits of a fifty minutes Paper. To do justice to the topic demands a book of some size which I have no time to undertake, so I must be content to present in this essay what is a mere sketch of parts of the subject.

What is explicit in memory cannot even be categorized in an essay of this length, and what is implicit has never yet been categorized by anyone. This sketch, therefore, must be confined to some logical, epistemological, and physio-psychic aspects of how memory functions, and must remain a mere field-survey of the

ground occupied, or affected, by memory. It may be useful in forming a concept of the subject from a particular point of view.

I have included a few partial analyses of Memory States.

MEMORY STATES.

THE PROBLEM.

If we wish to review the transformations which occur whenever some actual physical object enters into the physio-psychic sphere of cognition, and passes thence into the domain of memory—that treasure-house of cognised things—we are met on the very threshold by the same class of trouble which confronts the historian. He has to sort out, from an enormous mass of doubtful matter, the facts upon which he is about to rely. We have a more difficult task, for we have to consider three different classes of psychic processes and functions of the mind, truths:—(1) the tangible objective facts, (2) the

and (3) the relations between the two. These last have no first-hand evidence of their validity. They are not objective facts but are mental interpretations of objective facts, which are, as such, open to all kinds of misrepresentation.

If the tangible objective facts and also the processes and functions of the mind were both clearly substantiated and irrefragible, we could, doubtless, build up some bridge of hypotheses to connect them. But, unfortunately, the tangible facts of the objective world belong to an order of truth which cannot be compared with the processes and functions of the mind. There is no bridge over that gulf until these tangible facts are transformed by physio-psychic processes and become cognised. But at this stage we can secure no first-hand evidence that such cognised objects are valid representations of the objects themselves. If we mix up three classes of truths, and treat them all in a kind of hotch-potch as though they all possessed equal validity, we can reach any kind of result. To avoid this confusion I have treated cognised objects as signals from the objective world, for we do know one thing about them, and that is that it is as signals that they function or act upon us. Here we are on sound ground, and, even though it may not satisfy our other requirements, at least it will prevent our falling into a morass.

The decadence of philosophy in Britain is in no small measure traceable to G. H. Lewes and his contemporaries. For they taught that philosophy is a useless study in which great minds may waste their time, but in which no real progress is possible. This is a "*fin de siècle*" pose, due, doubtless, to the pedagogic view of philosophy shared by the academicians of the closing decades of the 19th century. With them, philosophy had become a purely formal study in which Students could be examined; it was not a live issue, a growing corpus of knowledge enriched by our day to day experience of men and things. The writers of those days who expounded to us the "unknowability" of certain spheres of thought, generally failed in their classification of truths. They would not grant any status to what was of limited validity or of relative validity. But what verdict would have been passed on the early mathematicians who discovered surds, and the existence of variable and indeterminate quantities, if they had made similar declara-

tions with regard to mathematics—the most exact branch of philosophy!

Let us take up the position that "unknowability" is also a relative term, and claim that objects are known to us as signals awaking certain states of consciousness, although the objective "itness" of the logical existentials may be quite unknown. In this sense the necessity for knowing the objective nature (if there is such a condition) of the items of objective reality does not arise. We can get on very well without this knowledge, just as in Chemistry there is much work to be done even while we remain unacquainted with the ultimate analysis of "elements", or what were once thought to be elements, in general. What really engages our attention as a live issue is the process of transformation from signal to response. At least we have the subjective field open to our observation and the whole complex of Subject-Object relationship. Those who study Psycho-Physiology from a professional standpoint know that they have a live issue in their hands. They do not make of it

* "A sad, pedantic exercise,
"Like dull narcotics, numbing pain."

On the other hand they become completely engrossed in their work, and are apt to lose their bearings in the great ocean of actual experience surrounding them. Let them reflect that the size of this ocean is no measure of its depth or navigability. In the actual world of our experience we test allegation, or theory, by observation. We apply a form of pragmatic sanction. Does it function or act? If so, then we may say that it is subject to certain observed laws which are operative within certain ascertainable limits. Or, if an allegation is made as to the existence of something, we ask "has anyone had experience of it?" If so, it enters the world of human experience and become actual in that sense. But we must beware, for this actual world may not be real in the full sense of the word, and we must not seek to carry over its dicta "*en bloc*" into the world of reality as conceived. For instance illusions are actual in experience but are mere counterfeits of reality. Moreover the real world suffers tort when it becomes actual in our experience; because, in the first place, the senses can only cause to be conveyed to the brain whatever factors of reality they are able to sense. Reality is therefore certainly limited, and is probably distorted,

by the nature of our sense organs. Then, of this partial world thus sensed, the mind can only apprehend what it can succeed in modalizing within the forms of its apprehension. That there is a gulf between the Actual and the Real has been admitted ever since idealism began, if it ever had a beginning. But we cannot now discuss the question as to whether the world of reality, as conceived, is totally free from error. Such conceptual worlds are as numerous, and as contradictory to each other, as is the human race; and they cannot all be flawless if any of them are so. But reformers always forget that their ideal world is not, and cannot be, the real world in which we live, and in which their crazy regulations have to function or act. On this rock they all founder. Passing by these topics of eternal interest, and undismayed by the limitations of our knowledge, let us then get to work, making the best use of the materials at our disposal. Something will come of it, even if that something does not fulfil all the extravagant desiderata of the pedants. The philosopher has been well described as the Truth-Seeker. If he was already in possession of the entire truth, his *raison d'être* would have vanished; he would then become a mere examiner of students—a role dear to the heart of our academicians, but far removed from my concept of Philosophy.

When we contemplate the subject-object relationship in its entirety, we find that we have at one extreme the mind of the subject, the proper field open to psychological research, and at the other extreme the existentials of logicians (or the items which make up the world of pure objectivity). But this latter extreme is not open to investigation for the simple reason that any attempt to investigate it brings it at once into relation with the subject, and thus causes it to lose its pure objectivity. Hence of these existentials we can only point out that they do exist, and at this point logicians and metaphysicians are standing on the same ground; and we should not forget that the unknowability of these existentials is to some extent determined by definition. For we have so far defined Object and Subject that the very names shut out any knowledge of Object as Object. No sooner does the subject enter into relationship with these existentials than we become aware that they act as signals awaking certain states of memory. Cognition is thus impossible without Recognition. But this recog-

nition is not the cognisance of actual identity, it is a cognition of something *like* something "had before" and this has been called the "Doctrine of Likeness and Difference" (*Samia Visamia*). This intelligible object differs from a mere objective existential in that it has become clothed, through the act of memory, with some of the same characters that pertain in memory to previous impressions of similar character. Thus we clothe the objective existential with quantity, quality and relationship, and it becomes an intelligible object. It is this act of sensing and remembering, or recognising, through the similarity of it to similar sense impressions in our experience, that determines our *prima facie* judgment on men and things. This is the field open to the functions of Psycho-Physiology, and this field is not closed to us in any respect by the knowledge that the next field, belonging to Pure Objectivity, is closed to us. It is indubitable that language and grammatical usage determine in no small degree the manner in which we may apprehend things, the content of our apprehension, and limits that content by its own forms. And the world of relation, of Space and Time, existing, as it seems to us, by the support of mathematical ratio, is only to be apprehended by us as modalized by the forms of our system of mathematics, with its names and definitions, outside whose limits we can apprehend nothing about quantity and quantitative relationships. Hence we must never forget that the subject modalizes his object in every conceivable way, and can only apprehend it as thus modalized by his senses, memory, language, etc. Thus the objective world, whatever its real character may be, must clearly suffer tort in the process of apprehension, and cannot be what it seems.

Twin, Triple, etc., Impressions.

Memories are probably strengthened by twin, etc., impressions. Certainly our recognition of any signal is perfected and assured when more than one class of sense organ is affected by an external stimulus springing from the same signal. One would be rather puzzled at seeing a flash and some smoke on a neighbouring hillside if no sound reached the ear. But the sound of an explosion would quite satisfy the desire to know what had happened. Teachers have long recognised that pupils do not readily apprehend, or remember, purely

abstract instruction, and bring to their aid as an example some visible object so that sight-stimuli may aid the apprehension, and memory have two sources. So he who wishes to learn by heart, let us say, a poem, will be well-advised to repeat it aloud and not merely read it silently. Every signal which has become an intelligible object to the mind is recallable in memory as a complex of all the stimuli from all the sense organs which were engaged in that particular action during that particular moment of experience. A good instance was given in the public press the other day, although one must not place any weight on anonymous statements, of a man who was unexpectedly confronted with our largest species of bumble bee when he was walking in the middle of London. He narrates that just as the bee passed close to his face he distinctly smelled the smell of the common, of heath and so forth. No doubt the sight and sound of the bee and the smell of the common were all represented by memory as one complex of previous sensation. Herbert Spencer in his "Autobiography" gives an instance from his own experience of two similar memory complices. In one of which (Vol. II., pp. 68, 69) particular sounds recalled particular memory in cases in which the two had been once fortuitously associated in experience.

There is an interesting analogy between the association of characters in Flora and the association of memories in Fauna. From a scientific point of view this is an improper analogy, because we can show no causative connection between the observed processes; yet it is interesting to compare the two, it is not unscientific so to do if we can refrain from generalizing on the subject and are willing to treat the matter as without any ascertained bearing on the subject. Some 12 years since I pointed out that the association, or linking together, of certain characters in plants, determined, by way of limitation, their genetic variability. This class of investigation is now being pursued by all who study genetics. It is also true that the association of memories determines in advance what our judgment will be when some external excitant recalls those memory states. The System of Reference of every individual is a collection of memory complices, not of isolated or discreet memories resulting from single-sense impressions. From this point of view the far pursued analyses, so dear to Pure Psycho-

logists, will lead us astray, unless controlled and corrected by the synthetic concepts of Physiologists and Philosophers. A Memory State may be awakened by any excitation of any organ of sense which is recognised by the mind as having been "had before". But if the remembered moment of experience existed as the resultant of impressions on two or three senses; if, for instance, Sight, Sound and Smell had all operated in the action, then we cannot expect to awaken that memory state unless we set to work in a decent and orderly manner. For, if we do not, then contradictions will arise in memory. The smell might have been recognised, but, if the Sight and Sound impressions cannot be brought into accord with that recognition, we get such responses as "had before", "not had before", "had before but not synchronously", and we fail to awaken that particular Memory State in which all the impressions were registered in one moment of experience. Long since, as a boy, I lived in a country house which had an orchard of plum trees. Now, when the time comes round when the stems of the plum trees look black through the masses of white blossom, I go into my own orchard and enjoy the beauty and faint scent of the plum-blossom. But does this recall a memory state entered round my old home? Not at all, or to a very slight extent. And why not? Because the eye takes in much more than the plum trees, and the whole entourage of my present orchard contradicts the appearance of that first orchard held in memory. No doubt the blossoms smell just as those others, but the recollection of "had before" does not harmonize with the moments of experience had in that orchard long ago. It is contradicted by the sight impressions. But it is easy for me to recall that scene. I have only to close my eyes for a minute and smell the blossoms again when the memory of the orchard of my early years is awakened with the greatest clearness. I have repeated this process for a number of years with the same response. The habit of some men who close the eyes when striving to remember something will certainly help them at times. We should treat our memory decently, and remember the words of Scripture—"Vainly is the snare set in sight of any bird". If we cannot therefore represent to the senses that particular synchrony of which memory is cognisant, we should at least take care to shut out any excit-

ant of a nature not included in that synchrony. Criminologists have stolen a march on Psychologists in this respect, for the French Police confront the alleged murderer with an exact reconstruction of his crime, make him go through his moment of experience again (in so far as *mise en scene* can be made effective), and watch how his emotions portray themselves as his memory confronts him with what he would forget. It is certainly true of the animal world that the association of certain objects with pleasurable and painful sensations appears to dominate their actions and thoughts. This is demonstrably the case with babies in the suckling stage. The dog is pleased not only with his food, but with the person who brings it to him; and the same is true of tame fish, and of various other domestic or partly tamed animals. This method of classification, by the mere association of things, sounds, and persons, with events, is just the same form of emotional association that we note in the classification of the human emotions into pleasurable and painful; and in the blind lumping together into the pleasure-giving class of other objects that only bear a *prima facie* resemblance to the object from which pleasure was actually experienced. For instance, the crying baby is easily satisfied with such a barefaced fraud as an Indian rubber teat, made in ruthless imitation of its mother's teats. The time may come when discrimination enables us to reject counterfeits of what gave us pleasure. The earlier stages of this discrimination seem easy enough, but its ultimate stages demand the most critical acts of recognition.

Our senses and our feelings develop habits of their own, and the brain becomes habituated to the receipt from them of certain linked impressions, or synchronous sets of impressions, which it learns to associate with certain times, places, and conditions. It is in this way that we obtained from the mind certain intuitive or instinctive responses. To the habitual series of synchronous impressions the brain responds with satisfied complacency, an "all is well" response. But to an unusual set it responds with surprise and alarm. Mental distress is evident, and danger is apprehended.* Here we

*Compare the conduct of a guard-dog in the entourage of a house. It by no means follows from his barking that he knows that he is a guard-dog. He is alarmed and distressed by any unusual set of synchronous impressions, such as the presence of a stranger unattended by the master. An earthquake

enter into the disputed ground of Substitution, strangely neglected by most logicians. We must not confuse the substitute with the counterfeit, for if our class is epistemologically valid, it admits of the substitution of one item for another without any question arising as to counterfeits. In fact the substitution of a counterfeit would take us outside our class and invalidate the logical process of thought. But we might sacrifice quality in some sense, by substituting an inferior item, and this without invalidation. I only notice this interesting issue in Logic, because it does bear upon the awaking of memory states; for we can seldom, if ever, hope to awaken memory by re-presenting the original signal of which memory holds the record. On the contrary, the best we can do is to substitute another item of the same class, and one which will certainly vary in quality from the original signal. Sometimes we may succeed with a counterfeit, in cases where the patient is not very critical.

Conscious mental classifications based upon likeness and unlikeness, which we may call reasoned classifications, are supplemented by unconscious classifications for which we have no name, and which are only known to us as pleasurable or painful emotions. In so far as Psychology is applicable to this class of experience, it appears that because pleasurable sensation has been associated with a particular thing, all things bearing a similar appearance will also excite these same pleasurable emotions. This is a blind lumping together of apparently similar things into unnamed classes.* Strictly speaking these unconscious, or unreasoned, classifications form a category of two classes—(1) the pleasure-giving objects, and (2) the pain-giving objects—divided into as many subdivisions as there are objective signals and subjective responses. Our likes and dislikes are

put my bull dog into such fury that it took me a long time to calm him. Yet the same guard-dog taken out into unaccustomed surroundings pays no heed to strangers, for then his "set of accustomed impressions" are centred on walking with his master amid a number of objects of no importance to him, and the continual changes which these unimportant objects undergo, by way of substitution of one set for another, make it impossible for him to include any of them in his accustomed set of impressions. But it is not so with a sporting dog, for, in his case (say in the shooting field) long series of similar sets of accustomed impressions are continually repeated.

*It cannot be called reasoning yet it is a common psychical process, and has some sort of *prima facie* presumption in its favour.

governed by our emotional experiences of these two classes, and very seldom (if at all) by any process of reason. Here we are treading on the border line of instinct, for our habits of thought are matched by the habits of our senses and emotions. Both classes of habit enable us to do easily what was at first difficult, and the mind readily responds to the habitual stimulus of some particular pleasurable sensation already known by past experience as pleasurable, just as the Alcoholic or the Opium Taker readily falls under the sensuous charm. Such habits, capable of giving sensuous pleasure, are often far stronger than the Reason, which vainly tries to combat them.

Now our memory of events and objects, and our classification of them, constitute the reasoned part of our experience, just as our emotional habits of lumping together into the two categories of pleasurable or painful the effects upon ourselves of those external stimuli which we have not taken the trouble to name, constitute the instinctive or unreasoned part of our experience. The two in combination form the "I" (ego) of experience. It is to this "I" that every subject instantaneously refers every fresh experience for purposes of classification and recognition. Bear heavily upon this word, and put out of mind any popular and faulty usages thereof. Recognition is the knowing over again by reference to past experience.* Hence I call the totality of the recorded experience of the individual his System of Reference. No mention can be found in pre-war books of this "System of Reference." I coined the term some eight years ago, and it has since been accepted by some authors.

Imagination has no other material for its structures than are provided by this System of Reference. If the "System" is in a state of confusion, the imagination may be vivid, but it must be out of touch with actuality. But he whose system is valid in its classification, can build up, out of the material held in memory, reconstructions of actual experience. By varying quality and relation, without going beyond the limits of his classes, he becomes a kind of Prophet of Probability, not able, perhaps, to foretell the future, but at least clear from those vain imaginings of things that cannot possibly happen in this world of ours.

States of Memory. (Rasas).

Let us consider the "Beauty State" as an example of States of Pleasurable Memory. The Hindu view is that the home of Beauty is in the mind, and that the subject transfers the quality to the intelligible object, which he clothes with quality, quantity and relationship, in response to some signal from the unknown world of objectivity. It is the memory of pleasurable sensation experienced in mind that, under the external stimulus, awakens this rasa, or Beauty State. Hence Beauty does not lie in the object, but is dependent upon the pleasurable experiences which similar kinds of signals have awakened in the subject. Now, inasmuch as no two men have had exactly the same experiences, no two men will be found in complete agreement as to Beauty. But there will be some kind of general, or racial agreement, because we are not treating of a special Beauty State, but of the Beauty State in general, and, inasmuch as there is some kind of similarity in our experience taken en bloc, so there will be some kind of agreement as to Beauty generally. But if we take a special Beauty State, such as the relative beauty of some particular women, we find that grave differences of opinion show themselves. Particular experiences vary, and memory is very insistent.

With regard to this theory of Beauty, it still leaves something inexplicit. Secondary sexual characters such as the peacock's tail feathers excite the Beauty State in ourselves, as well as in the pea-hens. And the same is true of the colour-markings on butterflies, exhibited especially after impregnation, both which traits demand explanation in so far as they affect ourselves.

But the rasas evoked by memory are apt to be contradicted by actual present experience. This is called disappointment.

A conflict then arises, and one feels inclined to ask whether it will be necessary to wait until the number of disappointments rises to an exact numerical identity with the pleasurable experiences held in memory, before these latter are effaced and the Pleasure State can no longer be awakened by this class of signal? Probably those experiences suffered at the most impressionable age will never be effaced by the actual experiences of latter life, no matter what contradiction the former may suffer at the hands of the latter. Again, the Pleasure State of

*See the Pratyabhijna-Darsana; "Recognition is a cognition relative to an object represented in memory."

memory may be contradicted in actual present experience by the indiscriminating acceptance of counterfeits, in other words, by the misinterpretation of objective signals—an epistemological error which would have baffling and perhaps unanalysable results. But a hopeless confusion can be reached by allowing some trivial memory to overshadow the important factors in a memory-complex. A memory-complex might result from three separate, but synchronous, sense activities, such as taste, sight and sound. In some individuals a recurrence of the same taste and sound signals might recall this particular memory state in which sight had also played its part. In such case the subject might suffer from the hallucination that the object previously seen was now actually present again. This state of affairs is, in my opinion, the cause of many hallucinations. I watched an interesting example of this class of hallucination in a dog. My bull-dog was taking part in hunting a rat in the garden. We lost it, but presently I saw it hiding about four feet up a privet hedge. Holding the dog I drew him to the place and shewed him the rat. Directly he saw it he made a great bounce at the place but missed the rat. Someone killed it, and the dog swallowed it. Now this dog's subsequent actions showed that he retained a memory complex of the following kind, i.e., (1) a pleasure memory of taste and gratification, (2) a memory of the visual appearance of the particular place in the hedge in which he had seen the rat (sight memory), and (3) a sight memory of the rat itself. The next morning, directly he was let loose, he went to the same place in the hedge, "set" himself, and charged furiously into the hedge. Doubtless he felt disappointment at finding nothing to swallow. For six consecutive days he repeated this action. Thereafter he never did it again, and would pass this place in the hedge without even looking up at it. This is a case in which the sight signal of a particular part of a hedge was recognised as a pleasure signal, recalling a memory-complex of pleasurable sensation. It is worthy of note that it took six disappointments to erase the connection between the place in the hedge and the pleasure state of memory, which was itself the resultant of but one event in experience. This is not a case of disappointment due to accepting counterfeit for the real thing, nor to the substitution of some similar thing of less quality, but rather to a lack of

qualificatory discrimination, in which he had taken the position which the rat had chanced to occupy as of more importance than the rat itself. But after all such mistakes are common enough, and are quite on a level with locking the stable doors after the horses have been stolen.

We should remember that very few men have clear and logical minds. In most cases recognitions have never been properly classified in mind, and as a result, memory when awakened, calls up confused visions. Feat is not distinguished from counterfeit, and no logical outcome is possible. Doubtless you will have long since recognised that nearly all your patients fall into this class. Professor Bosanquet in his "Logic", gives an instance of failure to awaken memory. He cites the case of a man (presumably not a musician) who asked that a particular air written by a given composer should be played, but failed to recognize it when it was played. Putting to one side all chance of error on the hearer's part in having associated in his mind certain names with a special melody, and also dismissing any peculiar method of rendering the melody which may have baffled him, the reason of the recognition of the name and the failure in the recognition of the tune probably lies in the fact that his memory was specially trained to remember names, but not melodies.

Counterfeits, Hallucinations, etc.

It has been well said that Knowledge consists in rightly interpreting the signs given to us in experience. Failure in recognition is mere ignorance; recognition without discrimination leads to the acceptance of counterfeits, and in some cases to hallucination. I have only second-hand evidence of the following ghost-story. A lady of middle age and normal intelligence entered her house one evening, without turning on the lights, and saw a slender and stately lady dressed in a silk costume of a past century glide silently up the stairs and disappear. She was much alarmed at what she had seen, and her medical man found her suffering from nerve shock. It was suggested that this ghost was a representation by memory of some picture which she had noticed and dwelled-upon recently, and that she had misinterpreted some signal (such as the moving of a curtain caused by the draught from

the opened door) for a moving figure, and had thus conjured up the vision of the portrait. If, indeed, she was at the moment still under the influence of a particular Beauty State, a representation of this nature was to have been expected. A few days' search in the Art Galleries and houses which she had recently visited resulted in the ghost being located. At first she was too much alarmed to face the ordeal of viewing the ghost, but her fears were overcome, she recognised the ghost at once and her mind became calm.

Now this was a life-sized portrait, represented in hallucination as a life-size moving figure. But in childhood the eyes wander, not only over the angels and fairies of real life on the Stage, but over pictures of all sizes both great and small, representing those winged mammalia which the fancies of artists (and others) have depicted for us. Impressions made at the most impressionable age of childhood never fade from the memory, and the Representationists and Spiritualists of to-day have recently re-produced the small fry for us, in the monthly magazines, as live fairies and so forth. In this post-war age of credulity, hallucinations of this kind have been accepted as facts by well-disposed people. But we should remember that the world of our experience would become utterly irrational if we habitually confused some particular object with the memory of any kind of object. Discrimination is the first necessity of Knowledge. Kapila taught us that long since.

Age and Youth.

If we admit, for the purpose of this discussion, and to save ourselves from being led away into bye-paths, that we have no memory of previous existences, we shall be asked to account for that feeling of immortality which humanity has experienced in all the ages of the historical, legendary, and mythological periods, and which feeling is, according to some authors, the basis upon which religious beliefs have

grown, with their roots well down in the ground of human experience. Our reply may well be that a human being can have no experience of a finite nature in connection with Time. He did certainly experience, but he cannot remember, commencing to be, and, as dead men tell no tales, he cannot record his experience of ceasing to be. Hence his memory is always and at all times of being, and never of the start and finish of his own particular entity, and a "feeling of immortality" is the only kind of time-feeling which his memory can stimulate and keep alive. Reason may teach him that he is mortal, but his personal experiences are totally opposed to that teaching. From this it follows that Memory is not necessarily on the side of Reason.

Memory States may be awakened by the repetition of what has been experienced, by signals "had before" and therefore recognized, but not by arguments or rationalistic interpretations of things. Young persons whose experiences are limited both in number and in variety, cannot have that long repertoire of memory states that older persons possess. But, for the very reason that they are fewer, they may be clearer and more easily recalled. Some old persons, harbouring memories of innumerable experiences, must have exercised the keenest faculty of discrimination between this and that. For if not, their lengthy category and its classes would be in utter confusion, and their memory of no avail. But such processes of keen discrimination must tend towards making the key, which will awaken these memory states, a very complicated instrument.

That state of ecstatic delight, in which the devotee remains in pure contemplation, is a memory state.

Just in so far as it is a memory state, it can only be maintained when memory is, in some sense, complete. For otherwise this ecstatic state would be temporary. We may safely say that, in our experience, all pleasure states are temporary, but in some cases, they are of long duration.

THE LIFE AND DUTIES OF THE KING IN KAUTILYA.

By MR. M. VENKATARANGAIYA, M.A.

Monarchy was the normal form of government in our country in the days of Kautilya and he was a strong advocate of it. The republics mentioned by him—Licchchhika, Vrijika, Mallaka, Mudraka, Kukura, Kuru and Panchala—are confined to only a portion of North India (p. 378), while even these disappeared under the firm rule of Chandragupta. Kautilya himself favoured the suppression of all of them and the establishment of the triumphal rule of a single sovereign over them all (p. 381), although he realised that in so far as oligarchies ensured freedom from anarchy and continuity of policy they might under certain circumstances be superior to monarchies. (p. 35). Hence in a study of the structure of government in those days attention has to be paid mainly to monarchy.

The importance of the King at the head of the State was so great that steps had to be taken from the very beginning to see that the holder of the royal authority deserved the position to which he became the heir. This was the significance of all those regulations adopted in regard to the birth, the education and the early life of the heir to the throne. Accordingly, as soon as the chief queen attained age suited to her becoming a mother the priests offered to Indra and Brihaspathi special oblations to prevent the conception by her of an undesirable child. During the period of pregnancy all instructions of midwifery with regard to gestation and delivery were observed as a security against any physical deformity of the child. After delivery, the priests performed the prescribed purificatory ceremonies and when the prince attained the proper age he was trained by experts (p. 33). All these were the precautions which the King had to adopt to see that the royal family did not become extinct through the conduct of princes given to a life of dissipation (p. 33). In spite of these there was no guarantee that the son born would be of the sort desired. He might belong to any one of the three classes, "Those of sharp intelligence, those of stagnant intelligence, and those whose minds are perverted." (p. 34). This was all the more reason why the king should

be very careful in attending to the above precautions.

The proper education of the prince was one of the most important duties for which the king had to make the requisite arrangements. For "it is only the prince that is well educated and disciplined in sciences", that will enjoy the earth unopposed (p. 11). One point in educational psychology was correctly enunciated by Kautilya *viz.*, that, "instruction and the study of sciences can tame only those who are possessed of such mental faculties as obedience, hearing, grasping, retentive memory, discrimination, inference and deliberation, but not others devoid of such faculties" (p. 10). It is not the creation of new faculties but only the proper utilisation of those already found in the child that should be attempted by education; and it was on these lines that the education of the prince had to be proceeded with.

It was immediately after the ceremony of *chaula* that the prince began his education. He first learnt reading, writing and arithmetic. The elementary stage of his education was completed by the time that he attained the age for Upanayanam. Then he was invested with the sacred thread and thereafter he commenced those higher studies appropriate to one of his status in life. The subjects taught to him were the triple Vedas, the science of *Anvikshiki* (which comprised the philosophy of Sankhya, yoga and lokavata), the science of *Varta* (which treated of wealth and non-wealth), the science of *dandaniti* or politics, *Itahasa* (which included Purana, Itivritta, Akhyayika, Udaharana, Dharmasatra and Arthasastra), and the Military arts concerning elephants, horses, chariots and weapons (p. 10). The education that a prince was expected to receive was thus comprehensive and liberal, and it gave him the culture and efficiency required to administer his kingdom. In order that the knowledge imparted and the training given might be perfect, specialists alone were employed as teachers, and among them were not only those who were versed in theory but also those who conducted the actual details of

administration. This was quite essential in regard to economics, politics and the Military arts (p. 10). The prince was kept under strict discipline during the period of study. He observed celibacy and followed a regular programme of work—separate hours being set apart for obtaining proficiency in each of the above subjects. Close contact and association with professors was regarded quite as necessary as hearing their lectures. It is no wonder that when so much care was taken the prince obtained through his education the necessary self-control which 'alone gives to a king power over all the earth' (p. 11). Even after the prince ascended the throne certain hours were every day set apart for study (p. 37).

There was a possibility of all this knowledge and training not being of much avail in case the prince had a perverted mind. He might then fall into evil ways. He could then be rescued only by faithful companions capable of winning him over (p. 34). If he still persisted in his evil habits of debauchery, drink, gambling and hunting it was the duty of the king to terrify him out of these with the help of the people specially appointed for the purpose (p. 34). A father really interested in the welfare of his kingdom and the reputation of his family had thus a heavy responsibility to discharge in properly bringing up his son.

A new stage commenced in the life of the prince after the period of study was over. If he was possessed of good and winning qualities he was appointed commander-in-chief or installed as heir-apparent (p. 34) or employed in doing work of a less responsible character (p. 35). Otherwise the relations between the father and the son might become unfriendly and even positively hostile; for, 'princes like crabs have a notorious tendency to eat up their begetter' (p. 32). In some cases the hostility might be due to the perversity of the father who showed undue partiality to his other sons and wives (p. 35). Under these circumstances the mutual relations of the father and son became a matter of immense importance.

A hostile son was severely punished in secret or kept under close guard, or exiled into a foreign country or made to dissipate his life in sensual excesses (pp. 32, 33). One or the other of these alternatives had to be resorted to by the king to safeguard his own personal interests. If the father happened to be in the wrong the son became a voluntary exile, collected the

necessary resources to strengthen himself and then used force to take possession of the throne, 'enjoyable by both and not by the father alone' (p. 36). In this struggle the prince might succeed or be overpowered by the father. All this shows that in those days the relations between the father and the son were of a delicate character which might sometimes have caused disaster to either or both.

Ordinarily on the death of the king the throne was inherited by his eldest son (p. 35). There were however many exceptions to this rule, and between the death of one king and the accession of his son there always existed possibilities of revolution. When the king had only one son who happened to be wicked he was not installed on the throne (p. 35). In that case the heir-apparent's son or his sister's son was preferred (p. 35). This was not the only kind of difficulty to be faced. Dangers to the peaceful succession of the eldest son might be due to the ambition of cognates, princes and other chiefs of the royal family, the intrigues of a scheming and selfish prime minister or the invasion of a neighbouring prince. With the illness of the monarch commenced all these difficulties and very much depended on the faithfulness, the loyalty and the presence of mind of the prime minister as to how far and with what success they could be overcome. Such dangers happened to be all the more serious when the heir was a minor or when the king died in the course of an expedition in a foreign state. The Minister had to preserve all possible secrecy regarding the illness and the death of the king and make an announcement of the latter only after securing the safety of the throne against attacks from different directions. The Bharadvaja School advocate the usurpation of the throne by the Minister himself and in the history of our country we have numerous instances of such usurpations. But Kautilya strongly condemns it, and wants the Minister to work honestly on behalf of the rightful heir. He put down enemies by the use of force. When the heir was a minor the Minister provided the other Ministers and the Military Officers with increased subsistence and salary and made promises to them and to the rest of the officials that the boy would on attaining age increase their emoluments. During the period of minority the Prime Minister governed the country as the Regent, brought up the prince properly and when he came of age handed over the administration to

him. Thus, after passing through all these vicissitudes did the heir-apparent occupy his father's throne (pp. 254—257).

The king enjoyed his office under normal circumstances for life. But when he incurred popular disfavour of an extreme character he was liable to be deposed. He might happen to violate the recognised rules of religion as for instance by ordering his priest to teach the Vedas to an outcaste person or to officiate in a sacrifice undertaken by such a person (p. 16); or he might unjustly rob the merchants and the other classes of his subjects of their wealth (p. 17). Such conduct on his part led to the organisation of conspiracies for overthrowing him from power. Plots like these had a chance of success as they could obtain the support of officials in authority, and as there were available at all times candidates for the throne who could secure a certain amount of popular sympathy a righteous king of a neighbouring kingdom, an imprisoned kinsman of the deposed monarch, a wild chief or a brave upstart (p. 16). A king could therefore retain his throne in complete safety only by strictly conforming himself to *dharma*. Kautilya makes several references to political revolutions (p. 174, 177, etc.).

While an unrighteous monarch suffered from the fury of popular rebellion, even righteous rulers had to safeguard their lives from other kinds of personal danger like murder, assassination, secret poisoning, etc. Personal safety had to be secured primarily from against the plots of the king's wives and the king's sons (p. 32). So many instances are quoted by Kautilya of kings assassinated in the royal harem that he is justified in laying down all those elaborate rules regulating the king's relations with the harem. The king entered the harem only after making careful enquiries about the purity of his queens; and for this purpose many aged persons and eunuchs were specially appointed. The queens were always kept away from the society of (false?) ascetics with shaved head or braided hair, of buffoons of prostitutes, and even of women of high birth. Every person in the harem was to live in the place definitely assigned to him. The passage of all kinds of commodities from or into the harem was restricted and every such commodity had to be carefully examined and scaled so that dangerous weapons and poisons might not be carried inside (pp. 40—42). Each compartment of the palace in which the king resided was assigned to a particular set of

people and all promiscuous intermingling of them was prohibited. Only those whose fathers and grand-fathers had been royal servants, those who bore close relationship to the king, those who were well-trained and loyal and those who rendered good service were employed as the personal servants of the king. The bodyguard of the king was also selected on a similar basis. Physicians and experts capable of detecting poison always attended upon him. Food was prepared for him in a well-guarded locality under the supervision of the head cook and was partaken of by him only after he made an oblation out of it first to the fire and then to the birds with a view to discover if there was any poison in it. Medicines, liquor and other beverages were carefully tasted at first by tasters and then taken in by the king. The same rule applied to the water in which the king bathed, the scents, the dress and the flower garlands used by him. Very careful precautions were adopted for testing the chariots, the beasts of burden and the boats that conveyed the king from place to place, the tanks and rivers which he got into for sport and the forests in which he hunted. As assassins often appeared in the garb of saints and ascetics he gave interviews to all such men only when attended by an armed bodyguard. When he went out roads were cleared of all crowds and all suspicious persons. Special bands of the police surrounded him when he visited festivals, fairs, processions and sacrifices. It was thus and by many other similar means that he secured his person against all external dangers which, in Kautilya's opinion, was the primary duty of the king (pp. 42—45).

The king was ultimately responsible for the strength of the state and the prosperity of his subjects. He must always have a high ideal of life before him and discharge the duties pertaining to his position with regularity and promptness. He should always be alert and consider that in the happiness of his subjects lay his own happiness and that in their welfare his welfare (p. 39). He had a regular time-table of work to follow and a conscientious monarch had rest only for four out of the sixteen parts into which the day was divided (p. 38) and during the remaining parts he was occupied with some work or other requiring close attention.

An analysis of the daily routine of the king as given in Kautilya shows that he was the real head of the state and that his control extended to

every department of administration internal and external. He looked after the defences of the country which necessitated the daily inspection of elephants, horses, chariots and infantry and the daily consultation with the commander-in-chief. He controlled the finances not merely in a general manner through the chamberlain and the collector-general but also in detail by looking to the collection of state dues from the superintendents of different departments. The supervision of the affairs of the towns people and the country people or the internal civil administration was carried out by him. He regulated the foreign policy of the kingdom, decided questions of war and peace by sending out secret agents on their errands, giving interviews to them, carrying on correspondence with absent Ministers and deliberating with the State Council and the resident Ministers. Such deliberation would of course be also necessary in tiding over those unforeseen calamities caused by drought, flood and epidemics. (pp. 37-38).

The despotism which is said to be a characteristic of Indian kingship lies in the concentration of so much power in the hands of a single individual. Whether the king personally looked into all the details of administration or gave much discretion to Ministers and heads of departments is a question the answer to which is bound to vary with the character of the particular monarch who happened to sit on the throne. There are however one or two references in Kautilya which make us infer that at least in his opinion the duty of the king was to see to the proper carrying out of administration by his officials. Personally he had to attend to the business of gods, of heretics, of brahmins learned in the Vedas, of cattle, of sacred places, of minors, the aged, the afflicted and the helpless and of women—business where personal devotion and sympathy were the ruling factors (p. 39). Other duties were generally delegated

by him to his Ministers and other officials. It is this that gives so much importance to the wisdom which he had to show in making the appointments of public servants. In briefly summing up the duties of the king this aspect of the matter is rightly emphasized by Kautilya when he says, "it is the king who attends to the business of appointing ministers, priests and other servants, including the superintendents of several departments.when his Ministers fall into troubles he employs others....." (p. 322). The despotism of the king acquired real strength mainly because of this right which he possessed of appointing and dismissing all public servants.

In the India of the days of Kautilya the king was not regarded as the sole fountain of law. Tyranny when there was one consisted not so much in the making of new laws of a harmful character as in the unjust and cruel execution of the old laws,—made possible because of the king's sole right to appoint and dismiss Judges. The king's writ or *Sasana* formed only one of the four classes of laws subject to which Justice was administered in courts (p. 150). A study of the chapter on royal writs (pp. 70—75) also shows that the majority of them dealt with particular questions or facts and were addressed to particular individuals and were not therefore in the nature of general commands characteristic of law.

In spite of this absence of legislative omnipotence the king was the real centre of the state and everything depended upon him. "When the king is well off he pleases the people by his welfare and prosperity; of what kind the king's character is of the same kind will be the character of his people; for their progress or downfall, the people depend upon the king; the king is as it were the aggregate of the people" (p. 322).

COTTAGE INDUSTRIES IN INDIA.

By L. N. GOVINDRAJAN, B.A.

I. IMPORTANCE OF COTTAGE INDUSTRIES.

In countries where capitalistic system has been pushed to an extreme, widespread destitution is found in the midst of greatest abundance. The association of poverty with progress has become the enigma of our times. It is the central fact from which spring industrial, social and political difficulties that perplex the world and with which statesmanship and philanthropy grapple in vain. The cry has been raised in India "Do not let us toil through all the wearisome stages of the industrial revolution, destruction of the guilds, elimination of small workshops, the factory system, *laissez faire*, physical degradation, trusts, the unemployed and unemployable, and what may be to follow."

The decadence of the old arts and handicrafts, the vitiation of public taste consequent on the import of machine-made goods, the degradation of the autonomous artisan to the position of unskilled wage-earner, and lastly the migration of the rural population to crowded cities, are some of the evils resulting from the introduction of the factory system in India, and the question has been raised "Is Europe going to make Asia an East-End?" While the economies of large scale production cannot be denied, we need not on that account despair of the future of cottage industry as effectively supplementing machinemade goods. Popular taste requires hand-made goods in many cases. For example, the varieties of dhoties and sarees made by expert handloom weavers cannot be displaced by manufactured goods. Again the proximity to the market and to the customer gives the cottage industry a decided advantage over the factory. Now-a-days facilities are being provided to bring mechanical appliances and motive power within the reach of small autonomous producers. If electrical energy generated by waterpower is transmitted over long distances, many a home industry can be placed on a sound footing.

II. EXISTING COTTAGE INDUSTRIES.

One of the most striking features of Indian industrial life is the vitality of the old domestic industries. They have survived even to-day, because they are adapted to the peculiar environment of this country. The methods used by artisans are very much the same as in days of antiquity. But in many instances they work with superior raw materials or with better tools. The weaver has taken to mill-yarn, the dyer to synthetic dyes and so on. The industries are, consequently, neither so primitive as often alleged, nor are they in a decadent condition. They have survived with astonishing tenacity and it would be wrong policy to leave them to their fate.

(1) Artistic Industries.

In former times the crafts of India reached a high degree of perfection under the patronage of the rulers of the country. The disappearance of the personal relation between worker and patron has had a disastrous effect. There is now no incentive for the craftsman to excel in his art. He is in the hands of a dealer who does not require articles that will appeal to cultivated taste. If we go to one of the modern shops of India there will be plenty of enamels, flimsy wood-carving and shallow brass-work, but little of the wealth of beauty which the Indian craftsman used to lavish on the simplest articles of daily use. The creative power of Indian craftsmen has been partially destroyed by western Commercialism. Attempts to revive the artistic talent of the craftsmen have been made. Schools of Art have been established at Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Lucknow, and Lahore, and show-rooms are being maintained at public expense for the display of the arts and crafts of the country. But there is no one to instruct the craftsmen, to criticise his work, and to supply him with new ideas and designs. Lack of advertisement and of organised attempts to create foreign markets are other difficulties

that stand in the way of the extension of these artistic industries.

(2) Handloom weaving.

Of all the cottage industries, the most important is handloom weaving. But the products of the weavers are being rapidly ousted from the town markets by large mills, and this competition is following every new means of transport into the remoter villages. In this keen struggle for existence, cottage workers must secure the advantage of wholesale buying of raw materials. Secondly attempts should be made to standardise the product which can be advertised and sold without the need of personal inspection. It is difficult to foresee whether the cottage worker can be saved from factory competition or not. If it is possible at all, it will be with the aid of co-operation alone. It is beyond the possibility of doubt that the cottage worker is happier, healthier, and a better citizen than the manual worker of a factory. The effort to save him may fail; but it is worth trying.

(3) Metal Working and Pottery.

Next to handloom weaving, metal working is the most important. In this field while goldsmiths are flourishing, brass and copper workers have felt the competition of imported enamelled iron ware, glass and crockery. For pottery, India possesses great facilities. She possesses great natural resources in raw material for the manufacture of different kinds of pottery. Clays, including fusible clay required for cheap pottery and finer raw material for glazed earthenware are to be found. No successful systematic survey of Indian clays has however been made, and in the interest of the development of this great industry it should be made with much scrutiny without delay.

(4) Sericulture.

Sericulture based on the mulberry tree is an important cottage industry in Bengal and Mysore. Disease among the worms seems to be the silkgrowers' chief difficulty. The indigenous method of silk reeling being crude Indian silkweavers find great difficulty in preparing native silk for the loom. Attempts should consequently be made to improve the quality of local silk, which is now full of knots and loose ends and is of unequal strength.

(5) Dyeing.

Dyeing was at one time a very thriving industry. But the Indian dyes though better and more lasting have been replaced by cheap aniline dyes. The change in taste brought about by the brighter synthetic dyes renders it difficult to find a market for the thinner and duller though perhaps more pleasing colours of vegetable origin. The British Government has set apart a large sum for the revival of the dyeing industry in England. There is no reason why the Indian Government should not follow this example.

III. SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT.

(a) Training of Artisans and Masterworkmen.

It is sufficiently obvious that the artisans are conservative and devoid of ambition. The first step towards their improvement is to educate them and make them appreciate a higher standard of living. Of course efforts are being made to develop cottage industries. But they have been feebly conceived and ill-carried out. The crying need of industrial India at the present time is the provision of facilities for the education of the artisan population. It is because Labour is uneducated, inefficient and unorganised that cheapness of living in India which is a powerful weapon in international competition is of little avail.

In schools of handicraft, the first essential element is that the pupil should by degrees acquire a thorough knowledge of the craft and manual dexterity in carrying out its processes. As the tools are not automatic in their action, the quality of work turned out depends entirely on the skill of the workmen, which can best be taught through a graduated series of exercises.

The fact that the artisan can make a living under the cottage system has attracted the attention of the educated classes in recent years. The room for employment of capital in these industries has been recognised by them. Provisions should therefore be made for the instruction of a small number of pupils of the higher classes of the social ladder, who have reasonable prospects of being able to command sufficient capital to start and manage the trade eventually themselves.

(b) Marketing of Cottage Industry Products.

The indigenous small scale industries have so far survived the rude shock of foreign competi-

tion mainly because of their ability to satisfy marked local demands. The toy industry of Germany, the straw plating work of Luton, and many cottage industries in Japan generally show the possibilities of development of small industries if only sufficient attention and skill be paid to the marketing of goods. The industrial achievements of modern Japan are not only due to the attention paid to the technique of production of fanciful articles, but also to the business organisation which takes care to create a strong demand for them in foreign countries. Unfortunately in India no attempt has been made to cater to foreign markets so that even the demand for the articles of India actual or potential is not adequately known to the producers. It may be suggested that the Department of Industries working in conjunction with other business organisations may take the responsibility of providing means for introducing the improved products of cottage industries in extensive markets even outside India. Taking into consideration the success which has attended the sale by Government agency of goods prepared by native weavers employed as a famine relief measure a venture on the part of the Government to undertake the discovery of new markets for certain selected industries will not

be attended in all probability with serious risks.

(b) Marketing of Cottage Industry Products.

Financial assistance to cottage workers is of urgent importance. The difficulty of finance can best be solved by co-operation. It is admitted on all hands that in the field of industrial co-operation, credit societies have attained a large success, especially among urban artisans, and in particular among weavers. The Director of Industries may grant small sums and supply tools and plants on the hire purchase system. In view of the fact that co-operation, improvement of agriculture and cottage industries are so closely linked together in this country, the officers controlling these branches may with advantage keep in close touch with one another, discharging at the same time their respective functions effectively. If only the training of the artisans and master-women is undertaken by the Government and proper attention is paid to the provision of finding suitable markets for the cottage industry products and if banking facilities are afforded to the small industrialists, there can be no doubt that the peculiar environment of this country will encourage the hardworking artisan population which is indeed the mainstay of the land.

WET OR DRY INDIA.

WAYS AND MEANS FOR A PROHIBITION PLANK

By MR. M. A. DORESWAMY IYENGAR, M.A., B.L.

The Prohibition Movement is not a fight solely against the imperfection of human nature. It is not exclusively a religious or a moral problem. Nor can logic alone destroy intemperance from the world. Man is not born with a congenital proneness to indulge in drink. It is purely an 'acquired' imperfection instilled into mankind by a corrupted environment. Whoever be responsible for such corruption, there are now certain forces that sustain and thrive

upon it because they hold a 'Vested Interest' in Intemperance. Our whole problem is to destroy the power of these "Interests". Their power is not entirely due to their 'Satanism.' That is the mistake usual with religious and moral reformers whose extremism has not a little strengthened the hands of the enemies. These "Interests" have a certain amount of theoretical basis for their existence. They also employ a logic to plead their

case before the tribunal of Public Opinion. We have to set up the Public against these "Interests" by destroying this poison of sophistry subtly injected into their system, and also strive to win over the latter themselves by delicate, though energetic, negotiations. Temperance cannot be solved like a problem in Euclid. We have to employ all sorts of practical experiences. The method of 'give and take' will be very successful. Success will be long, laborious and piecemeal. It depends upon patience, persistence, readiness for compromise and scientific organisation. But the fervour, elevation and zeal of the moralist or the man of religion should never be banned, especially in backward countries where the national response to a purely political stimulus is faint.

The "Vested Interests" bonded against Temperance are the following :—

1. The Government—whose interest is three-fold.
 - (i) As Legislator—Inertia is the general rule with governments. Even in matters of utmost urgency where the government is prepared to act it proceeds like a snail.
 - (ii) As Revenue-Receiver—Excise is one of the richest sources of revenue to the State.
 - (iii) As Administrator—The political administrator is always sceptical about the practical success of moral legislation. He believes that the drink evil can never be abolished by any paper scheme.
2. The Individualists—who resent State action against individual freedom to drink.
3. The Liquor-Capitalists.
 - (i) Contractors—who have already invested their money in the concern. Their interest is temporary but their opposition is proportionately greater.
 - (ii) Trading Capitalists—who find a rich avenue for business in this.
 - (iii) Subsidiary Industrialists—like the tappers, potters, cartmen, tavern house owners etc.
4. The Victims—who have become slaves to the drink habit.
5. Moderate Consumers of drinks as

articles of comfort and for purposes of medicine.

6. Miscellaneous Opponents—This class is composed of a variety of interests. Illustrations :

- (i) Personal Equation—The personal opponents of a leading Prohibitionist may show their hostility by opposing his chief hobby.
- (ii) Party Fight—If Prohibition becomes the chief plank of a particular party its opponent might oppose it just in order to canvass the support of all anti-Prohibitionist forces in the country.
- (iii) Opposition to a particular motive—In India at present the Government and even Temperance workers are opposing Gandhi's anti-liquor campaign on account of its supposed object of paralysing the Government.
- (iv) Opposition to particular methods—such as picketting or social boycott, e.g., India.
- (v) Opposition to particular persons—e.g., churchmen. In the West many secular forces—even Prohibitionists—fear church initiative lest it uses it to enhance its reputation and influence.
- (vi) Religious Opposition—may be expected in India from certain Tantric cults, and advocates of religious neutrality might join hands with them.
- (vii) Repugnance to Extremism—Extremist elements on the Temperance side apart from provoking extreme opposition from the "vested interests" will alienate the sympathies of moderate people and render the cause of reform more difficult.

Legislative Prohibition and Persuasion are the two methods open to a Temperance Worker. The Government must prohibit or the people must abstain. But both the methods are complementary and necessary at the same time. Legislation is the fruit of Persuasion. And persuasion has also the duty of ensuring the practical success of Legislation. The parties to be persuaded are (i) the Public at large and (2) the "Vested Interests." The creation of a

strong Public Opinion against drink is in any event of the greatest necessity. When the Public remain hostile or apathetic the Movement will fail even with the co-operation of the "Vested Interests." And when the Public are once won effectively, even the bitterest opposition of the latter will be of no avail to retard the march of Temperance.

We may proceed to review the various methods of Legislation and Persuasion in order to select the best among them. But nothing but a bare catalogue is possible here. The methods are of diverse kinds. Some aim at (1) coercive prohibition, others at (2) exposing the sophistry of the "Vested Interest", some others at (3) destroying the root causes for the existence of Intemperance, and while others at (4) creating conditions for the secure establishment of Temperance. Let us begin with the Legislative Methods.

I

A. Total Prohibition—is of course the goal of Temperance work. Excepting in the religious codes of the Hindus, Mussalmans and Jews, and excepting for an abortive attempt by Tippu Sultan of Mysore we have not seen anywhere complete abstinence and total prohibition. A total prohibition implies the prohibition of the production, exchange as well as the consumption, except for welldefined legitimate purposes, of liquor. In recent years Russia and America have moved in this direction, but it must be admitted that conditions have nowhere ripened as yet for total Prohibition to be permanent success. Many look upon the idea itself with misgivings. When the community is not ripe to swallow the pill of total abstinence legislative coercion will lead to smuggling, illicit production and illicit consumption. It is said that in U. S. A. doctors are ready to oblige any number of friends to use drinks by giving prescriptions. Cases are occurring daily in which even the police are abetting with the breakers of law. The 'kick' of the 'wetters' is growing in strength daily. Some of the intoxicants can be easily brewed at home and it is impossible to check it. The defining of the exemptions leads to endless legal complexities and litigation becomes rife. Even when public opinion heartily supports the Government still the dissentient minority may circumvent law unless people acquire a conscience against

liquor. It becomes an imperative necessity for Government also to undertake an extensive propaganda in this direction along with non-official agencies.

B. Partial Prohibition—is the alternative in the absence of total Prohibition. This can be done in a variety of ways:

(a) Selective Prohibition:—Opium, morphine, cocaine, alcohol and other dangerous things may be strictly prohibited. In America the tendency is to obtain exemption for light wines and to prohibit spirits only. Something can be said in favour of this position. There is no need to prohibit harmless drugs. The educated classes who use superior drinks as articles of comfort and luxury only do not require State action so much as the masses. But the invidious distinction may be resented in these days of Proletarian equality. But this is a minor consideration. If Prohibition is to be a matter of practical success rather than of theoretical satisfaction this sort of selection of the liquors is absolutely necessary everywhere and at all times.

(b) Restriction on the cultivation, importation, manufacture and sale of liquors. This would dry up the very source of the poison. Mere restriction on consumption without any ban on manufacture or importation becomes a farce. The aim of Restriction unlike that of Prohibition is to make the brewing of drinks more difficult. This can be worked out in a variety of ways having regard to the conditions of time and place.

(c) Regulation of sale of liquors with reference to the seller, the number of shops in a particular area, the location of shops, the hours of sale, the quantity sold to each individual, and the rates of sale. This is perhaps the easiest method and practically every Government begins with it. But it is not far-reaching. It enables us to diminish the quantity of liquor consumed. But in actual practice this result has not followed especially in India. Paradoxical as it is the greater the restriction the greater has grown the consumption. The causes are not hard to seek. "The revenue under each head of excise has risen steadily with the increasing prosperity of the lower classes and the improvement of the excise administration" (Imperial Gazetteer, IV, p. 253). Besides, as Strachey points out, if this policy is carried too far it leads to smuggling and the substitution of cheaper and more noxious drinks. So long as

the ignorant habitual drunkard is not educated out of his habit or coerced into abstinence, the policy of making liquor too dear and too difficult to obtain would only lead to a greater waste on his part of energy, time and money. This would only aggravate tenfold all the personal and social evils of drink. As a matter of fact this remedy is more appropriate for educated classes and not for the masses. Hence no temperance reformer asks for it, or is satisfied with it. It can be safely ignored and given up.

(d) Regulation of consumption. The State may regulate the quantity consumed by the people. The Harrison Anti-Narcotic Law of America (1916) aims at this. It restricts the sale of drugs like opium, cocaine and morphine even to medical men. Its chief features are (1) Registration of doctors and druggists to prescribe and sell respectively, (2) Official forms only to be used for prescription and purchase of drugs, (3) Prescriptions to be full, strict, only for a definite quantity, with the doctor's full address, etc., (4) Prescriptions not to be repeated, a new one each time, (5) Scrutinising medical preparations regarding the proportion of narcotics used. In Burma only registered persons are allowed to consume opium. But this remedy too like the last one is not far-reaching. In America the doctors and even the police are abetting in the offence of people circumventing this law.

(e) Removal of conditions favouring the growth of drink habits, such as for example, wretched factory conditions, fatiguing work, absence of general education and so on. Similarly the government can remove all the legal obstacles, if any, on the path of the Temperance worker.

(f) Interdiction of certain classes of persons such as juveniles and women. Practically all countries have tried to prevent juvenile smoking and many countries juvenile drinking also. This may also be extended to womankind. The only trouble is the difficulty of carrying out this interdiction.

(g) Local Option. This can be effected in a variety of ways. See the latest Punjab plan at the suggestion of Mr. Johnson by which a Municipal council is enabled to close on its own initiative two-thirds of liquorshops within its area, and the rest on a referendum of 50% of its electorate. Of all the devices of Partial Prohibition that of Local Option is the best and the safest. It avoids hasty compulsion, recognises

local variations, puts each locality to a rigid test, makes for thorough-going experimentation, and discounts bureaucratic pressure. Drinking will disappear if either the people abstain or legislation prohibits it. Local Option enables both these to work harmoniously. It is easier than in the case of the State for both the people and their local council to influence each other. But the vital defect of the schemes of Local Option so far devised is that the Municipality is apt to merely reproduce in itself the attitude and the action of the State towards Temperance. If the Municipality deals with intemperance by the same methods described above which State adopts all the defects attaching to those methods would continue to exist. But it is possible for local governmental institutions to pursue a more effective policy than does the State. Along with legislative regulation the municipality might undertake extensive moral propaganda. In addition to coercion it might also attempt persuasion of the "Vested Interests". It is better fitted than the Central Government to try this. It is also easier for a municipality than the State to divest itself of its interest in intemperance. Such a transformed scheme of Local Option is the best practical method, to begin with, of promoting temperance.

It becomes clear now that legislation cannot bear fruit unless persuasion also is undertaken simultaneously. Usually all persuasion is carried on by non-official agencies. If this could be supplemented by official propaganda as well prohibition becomes a complete success.

II

A. PERSUASION OF THE PUBLIC.

It is essential that the community should be won over for the cause not only for effective Temperance legislation but also for bringing the "Vested Interests" into a proper mood. Some of the methods are—(1) systematic mass propaganda through lectures, articles, conferences, exhibitions, novels, cinemas, etc. A national organisation must incessantly din into ears of the public the evils of intemperance. Usually 'aristocratic' men undertake all this work with the result that the propaganda is wasted upon the educated classes only. But a nation dwells in its cottages. To influence the educated classes is no doubt to influence the Legislator, the Nation at large. Whoever be the worker

the appeal must be carried to the very doors of every man of the lower class. In India the vast swarm of beggars may be harnessed to the work. (2) Vows of Abstinence. The Temperance Organisation can register people to take such vows. This ensures some individual responsibility. (3) Setting up women against drinks. Sometime back in U. S. A. the women organisation resolved that women should refuse to marry non-teetotallers. Even married women can effectively bring their husbands to proper reason if they only try. Everywhere habitual drunkenness is becoming a cause for divorce. The unprecedented majority got by President Harding in America was mostly made up of women votes. Even in propaganda women workers are more effective. If picketing is unobjectionable it is best to employ women for it. If high class women go to the poor Victims and to other "Vested Interests" success comes sooner. (4) Religious propaganda. Religious institutions and religious teachers can push the movement with the masses farther than others can do. There must be an uncompromising ban declared against liquor. In India mutts, temples, gurus, ulemas, fakirs, village and caste panchayats, and caste headmen can most effectively influence the people. A band of religious preachers should spread the gospel in every village. Modern organisations like the Bharat Dharma Mahamandali and the Hindu Sabha must also participate in the work. The beggars should be mobilised into the work. (5) National Excitement. Temperance workers must utilise occasions for their work when the mass mind is undergoing a revolution under the influence of religion, war, magnetism of some great personality like Savanarola or Gandhi, or a political revolution. Russia adopted temperance under the excitement of War and India is marching towards it under the lead of Mahatma Gandhi. The only caution that may be sounded is that the reformers must also prepare themselves to conserve the results achieved under stress by stemming the tide of reaction that invariably sets in after the excitement is over.

B. PERSUASION OF THE LEGISLATOR.

Midway between the public and the government, one of the "Vested Interests," stands the Legislator. The Legislator resides partly within and partly outside the government.

Some of the methods of winning him over are—

(1) Creation of a separate Temperance Party. This is better than capturing existing party organisations. It is good to set up single-interested Temperance candidates, who can do such logrolling in the legislature. It also places before the nation Temperance as a clear issue. But the rise of a separate party would permanently destroy the chance of inducing the existing parties to include this clause in their programme. (2) Influencing the Legislature by means of deputations to members of legislature and to officials, moving of private bills and motions without intermission, open-letters to Government, and logrolling. (3) Influencing the Electorate—e.g. coaxing the general electorate to return Temperance candidates or to press for temperance legislation, and winning over the special electoral bodies such as the Chambers of Commerce and Local Government Institutions. (4) Capturing the Educated classes who practically lead the nation. Legislation is a monopoly in their hands. It is therefore of considerable practical importance to win for Temperance all the influential organisations within the country such as bar associations, teachers' guilds, philanthropic bodies and so on. (5) International conventions about Temperance considerably influence the national Legislators.

C. PERSUASION OF THE GOVERNMENT.

The Government as revenue-receiver holds the greatest 'interest' in intemperance. In India the excise revenue is about Rs. 13 crores annually which has been reduced by half this year, thanks to Gandhi. If you convince Government that all this could be recouped otherwise it will readily forego it. Some of the arguments that will tell are these. (1) Private Saving. Whatever Government loses is saved in the nation and can "fructify" in private pockets. This would open up new fields for taxation. (2) Greater Industrial Efficiency. The drink evil is also an industrial curse. If it goes there is greater national prosperity and greater revenue for Government. (3) Moral Improvement of the people. There would be less poverty, less crime and less disease. This means reduction of work houses, hospitals, police and jails. The Government saves in all these ways more than what it loses. In U. S. A. such results have actually occurred. (4)

Alcohol as Industrial Power. In his Presidential address to the Bengal Temperance Federation in 1920 Sir D. P. Sarvadhikari referred to this recent scientific suggestion about the possibility of using alcohol as fuel in the industrial regeneration of the country and thus converting liquor into a profitable commodity. The negotiation with the Government must be conducted delicately. All statesmen are not bold enough to strike a new path. There is a lot of ignorant prejudice on the part of Government towards Temperance. Both these must be gradually overcome.

D. PERSUASION OF THE ADMINISTRATOR.

The misgivings of the political administrators are not unfounded. Note the Russian attempt to prohibit smoking in the 17th century. The church formally cursed it in 1630. Then the state prohibited it with the penalty of cutting off noses for the third offence and death if still further persisted in. The attempt did not succeed. Still the scepticism of the Administrator can be overcome to some extent by arguments like the following: (1) Scope for Experimenting. He must concede that there is still ample scope for making administrative experiments and the ingenuity of man is not yet exhausted. (2) Growth of a Teetotalistic Conscience in the Nation. If this is effected his scepticism automatically falls. (3) Official Propaganda. If the administrator believes that legislation can not make men moral why should he not supplement the non-official propaganda by one of his own? That would surely mend matters very easily. (4) Adoption of Improved Administrative methods. There is at least scope for making experiments in the light of each failure. Thus, for instance, it is now agreed that the Central Distillery System is better than the Outstill System. In the former even the rate could be controlled and in the latter there are two "Vested Interests"—the private licensee in addition to Government. Similarly Government Vending is better than private retail vending. It is better to supplement the Regulation of sale with that of consumption. It is also advisable to separate excise administration from the General administration. In India the Omnipotent District Collector if he turns against Temperance is a very hard nut to crack for Public Opinion or private effort. His vast powers of patronage and undue influence

can easily defeat all Temperance tactics. (5) Narrow and Hasty view. Much of this scepticism is bookish and the outcome of bias. The time is too short as yet to judge the great experiment in America. As Mr. Johnson said in Calcutta "prohibition does not stop drinking, but it stops most of it." It is no argument against the law of stealing just because it has failed—and failed more signally than any Prohibition law—to root out theft from the world, although it is as old as Society.

E. PERSUASION OF THE INDIVIDUALISTS.

(1) The hostility of Individualists is not purely theoretical. But the practical opposition proceeds from the unripeness of public conscience and Public Opinion. In such a state it is natural for coercion to appear objectionable. When once they become ripe no amount of theoretical disquisition about the province of Government will be of avail against Prohibition. The Individualist can also be met in other ways: (2) Change of Angle. His position is now completely changed. The 18th century *laissez-fair-ism* is now superseded. In the case of such admitted evils like intemperance or prostitution state action is now recognised to be inevitable. (3) Diversion to other topics. He may be asked to divert his attention to other topics and leave this alone. He will himself do so if he is made to perceive the moral and material gravity of intemperance. After all, Individualism is more academic than practical, and more an excuse used by all the "Vested Interests" than a reason for opposing temperance.

F. PERSUASION OF THE LIQUOR-CAPITALISTS.

(1) Moral appeals. They must be made aware that they are bringing a curse on the nation for paltry profits. Many may respond to this. (2) Diversion to other trades. They may be asked, and if feasible facilities provided, to take to other trades. (3) Hostility of Public Opinion. If the Public are set up against them they give up a game liable eventually to be lost. (4) Opposition of other capitalists. If drink tells upon the efficiency of labour industrialists would work for temperance and naturally oppose the activities of liquor-traders. The temperance worker must set up these against the latter. (5) Persuasion of the Victims through picketting. This will have to be adopted as a

last resort and is always effective. The only danger is the offer of violence by the traders and the joining hands of other "Vested Interests" with them. (6) Dissociation of Government. The power of Capital lies in its power to capture the government. If the latter could be won definitely for Temperance or at least reduced to neutrality the liquor-capitalists will soon give their game as lost. (7) Non-co-operation of Subsidiary traders like the tappers, the brewers, transporters, potters, selling agents, owners of trees and owners of tavern houses. If these are made to non-co-operate the liquor traders will disappear. It that is not possible these may be divided one against the other to diminish their fighting capacity. (8) Social boycott of the liquor-traders may be organised as a last resort. This is necessary like picketting only when the government and other "Interests" are allied together with them, and would be possible only when the Public are ready to co-operate.

G. PERSUASION OF THE VICTIMS.

(1) General elevation of the masses. Social and moral improvement of the lower classes who largely resort to harmful drinks would dry up the evil at the very source. Some of the things going to effect this are—(i) General mass education, (ii) Decrease of poverty, (iii) Inter-class clubs. If the higher class people closely mix with the lower the latter would increase their standard of self-respect, (iv) Social elevation of the suppressed. In India, for instance, if a Pariah is allowed a sacred thread and Gavatri by an Arya Samajist, he would feel that they are incompatible with drinking, and will give it up. (v) Creation of co-operative societies, etc., to teach providence and to provide facilities for keeping by and properly using the money saved from drinking. (vi) Diversion to amusements other than those now obtainable in the tavern. (2) Hostility of Women. If the women belonging to the families of the victims could be set up against them they would work wonders. (3) Religious propaganda would do much. A religious curse may deter very much. (4) Picketting at liquor-shops and taverns. This is very effective but may often lead to violence. Capitalists will certainly offer violence and in India now the police have joined hands with them. The victims themselves are likely to resort to it. Since

the pickets are not saints they may also commit violence, arson, assault, and disorder. Hence some hold picketting is not a peaceful method at all. Mahatma Gandhi's defence is that when the Government and the capitalist are bonded together and try to put down temperance violently, picketting, if it could be kept non-violent, is an imperative duty. He adds that he would have to do the same if Government opens up brothels in every street and forces them upon the people. Mr. Pussyfoot Johnson admitted at Patna that in America picketting has led to violence resulting in the loss of his men but he rather felt staggered at the open alliance of the police with the liquor-traders. We do not know if he had tried to any extent to create like Gandhi a non-violent conscience in the pickets before he sent them to work. On the whole it is advisable to reserve picketting to the last. There is a lot of prejudice against it and moderate men fear its use. (5) Social boycott of the victims. This is also an extreme step and even Gandhi disapproves of it. It would be possible if only the number of victims is small. In India caste panchayats and religious gurus can easily and effectively lead this sort of boycott.

H. PERSUASION OF MODERATE CONSUMERS.

These people are a very hard nut to crack because they are the educated classes and their plea is the least unreasonable. But still they must make up their minds to sacrifice their comforts in general interest. (1) Moral appeals. The plea for moderate use of liquor is akin to what Meredith calls the "Wild Oats Special Plea." There is no difference whatsoever between prostitution and drinking, and even if there is it is not expedient to compromise with such a dreadful national curse. In addition to creating a social conscience in these people a religious and moral conscience in favour of teetotalism may also be developed. The line between temperance and intemperance is too thin for the State and the community to vest any discretion in the individuals. (2) Diversion to other articles of comforts. These people must take to harmless drinks of other kinds. (3) Non-prohibition of harmless drugs. A theoretical definition of temperance cannot be worked out in actual practice. For instance if all narcotics are to go even coffee and tea may have to be prohibited. (4) Freedom for Medicinal uses.

I. PERSUASION OF THE MISCELLANEOUS INTERESTS.

Some attempt can also be made to moderate the ire of the miscellaneous hostile elements :—

(1) Purity of character is a great asset to any movement but more especially so to Temperance. Even the slightest personal blemish of a leader is liable to be exploited by the opponents. The lesson from the case of Parnell can never be lost sight of. Although saints are not available in abundance to be harnessed to every movement on earth, both policy and principle demand that the leaders of Prohibition should be men of very high character. But any prudish attempt to taboo any so-called degraded men from the work of Temperance would do more harm than good. These platitudes require repetition here since the revolutionary hurry and bustle filling the world now has unfortunately shaken the commonsense basis of life. (2) Single Interest. The greater the number of things the leader dabbles in the greater will be the number of his opponents. It is of course ideal to expect a single-interested whole time worker. The creation of a separate Temperance Party would serve this purpose. It would also avoid the suspicion that the Prohibitionists might exploit the influence they gain for other selfish purpose. (3) A Practical Touch. Expression of extreme horror, loud denunciation, wild appeals to passion, these will never make a favourable impression on the "Vested Interests." The Movement must have a tone of practicality about it having concrete plans of work and practical arguments. (4) Conciliatory tone

disarms opposition. Bitter denunciation of the "Vested Interests" as being satanic and so on must be completely avoided. If they are selfish they have also a logic which is partly the outcome of the thought of the last century. The reformer has first to convince their head and then move their heart. (5) Contagious and inspiring enthusiasm. The reformer must work with the holy zeal of religion, ready for any amount of sacrifice, without giving offence to any one unnecessarily. But such fear should not diminish his zeal for the cause. (6) Slow and steady march towards the goal is better than a revolution. A peaceful revolution if only it is possible is most desirable. But it usually ends in disorder and failure leaving the movement discredited. It also goads the "Vested Interests" to a desperate resistance. A natural growth of Temperance will be a permanent fact. A forced solution is nothing but a positive disservice to the cause. But subject to these considerations boldness is never a crime. If the conditions are favourable a revolutionary change becomes a matter of duty and under such circumstances it is folly to stick to the goody-goody method of the snail. Occasions when the national mind is extraordinarily excited must be fully utilised to promote the cause.

If the work is organised and carried out on the lines suggested here Temperance will be securely and universally established. The methods suggested are not exclusive and it is best to employ so far as possible all of them simultaneously.

“INDIAN INDIA”

A COUNTER VIEW

By AN INDIAN INDIAN

I

It has become of late quite a fashion with the sentimental journalists in British India to sing their eulogies of praise of Indian India and decry the system of Government under which they work and live. Their patriotism consists merely in writing glowing accounts of the doings of Indian Princes, white-washing their misdeeds and their oppressive methods of administration to which we the Indian Indians are subject and doomed. In fact little do these admirers of Indian India know the hardships and sufferings of one-fourth of their fellow-humanity groaning under the yoke of a system which is neither British nor Indian but merely a despotic arrangement combining in itself the worst features of both—a machinery of administration invented for oppression and crushing the very manhood out of the people under its rule. Beating of drums sounds pleasing from a distance but jars on the ears when heard from nigh. It is an Urdu saying of not a very high water-mark but it exactly explains the secret of appreciation of these writers on Indian India.

Sentiment often blinds one to facts. There is no cause to feel proud, no satisfaction to be derived from the fact that one-third of India is marked yellow or that one-fourth of Indian population have managed to escape foreign domination knowing as we, the subject of Indian India, do that our lines are cast in strangely shallow waters, that we labour and live under a system which most ruthlessly crushes out the spirit of independence and denies to its subjects the very birth rights of man. Freedom of press and liberty of speech are nothing but as Dodo in Indian India. There are many states in which no newspapers or periodicals are allowed to be published, there are others in which good many papers are prescribed lest these should educate or enlighten public opinion and make the people aspire to the amenities obtaining in British India. Not only that,

mere writing of articles by state subjects to papers in British India is considered a sin in Indian India, and in the case of a state employer this practice is considered a sin of a darker dye and often results in an official whisper dinned into his ears as warning for the future. Is it not enough to kill the hearts of people of Indian India! Under these circumstances the amount of satisfaction to be derived from the fact of onethird of India being under the indigenuous Rule may be gauged from the feelings of those “Marwaris” who have managed to escape this Rule and settled in British India and who having already burnt their fingers never think for a moment of coming back to their homes in Indian India. In our living memory the refusal of Berar to be placed under the suzerainty of Nizam is a conclusive proof of the blessings of Indian Rule!

II.

These admirers of Indian India are wont to attribute the backwardness of Indian States partly to the “indolence” of the rulers and partly to their being the “creatures of a system not of their own making”. Though we recognise the disabilities of the Indian Princes who labour under the cognizance of the omnipotent Foreign Department whose wishes they cannot thwart except only by a superb amount of courage and admit the fact that the British Resident has often proved too meddlesome in the internal affairs of the Indian States, yet we cannot blind ourselves to the irrepresible fact that in most cases justice would not be administered unless and until the Resident interfered on behalf of the aggrieved. Bye-the-bye it passes human understanding to imagine how an Indian Prince desirous of introducing good government into his territories could be prevented by the representative of the Suzerain power. By their very character the British people are keenly jealous of their prestige and

never will the Foreign Department of a British Resident stir to rise to the occasion so long as that prestige is not at stake. Let the Indian Princes take to improving the methods of their administration loosening the coercive screw and there will be nothing to restrain the mutual relations between them and the British Resident. It is then not that they are members of a vicious system which is the cause of the backwardness of the Indian States but that they lack the will to better their government is solely responsible for the stagnation of these sheltered backwaters. It is an open secret to the subjects of Indian India that such regard as an Indian Ruler may show towards his people is generally due to the fear of the British Government and is seldom based upon the sense of justice or righteousness or upon public opinion.

Mr. St. Nihal Singh writing in the 2nd section of his article on Indian India calls the system under which the Indian Princes are brought up and work bad in as much as it "gives them small chance to develop a sturdy sense of manhood or a conscientious conception of their personal responsibilities for the good Government of their state". While in other sections of his article, *viz.*, 5th, 6th, and 7th, he refers to certain novel educational, administrative and social experiments being carried out with success in Indian India, which have set example to the British Government. It is inconceivable why the system which according to the writer turns out the whole brood of indifferent and bad rulers should alone be made the capital cause for much that is responsible for their bad administration and chaotic rule and should contribute nothing towards the making of their spasmodic attempts at good Government. It stands to reason that, if the system were absolutely bad and afforded them no possibilities for the good Government of their territories, there could have been no occasion for the display of those few administrative instincts which form the chief burden of the writer's praise. Nothing but exuberance of sentiment seems to have driven the writer to condemn the system overlooking the facts that the spirit of independence is the main-spring of Western Civilisation and love of liberty, the very essence of Western Culture. There is nothing but unmixed sorrow in the fact that these Princes in spite of their inhaling the spirit of sturdy independence and coming in contact with a liberty loving people from the most impressionable periods of their lives should,

when they come to their own, glory in riding roughshod over their own peoples' liberties, call the system bad and fail to look into their own house. Truly,

"The faults, dear Brutus, is not in our stars,
But in ourselves, that we are underlings"

III.

Though the devil of administration in Indian states may be painted however white there can be no denying the fact that the sons of the soil have no opportunities for distinguishing themselves in administrative functions or displaying their genius to the benefit of Indian India. Those alone can feel the sting of mortification, who being bred and brought up within their own country have to go about begging for posts knocking at the doors of this or that department but are seldom encouraged by a single word of assurance. Even those of us who having received education in one or other of the state colleges or schools, are denied the chance of getting into state service and our applications are generally returned with the remark that there is no vacancy at present; and amusingly enough the vacancy never occurs. Those who possess the first hand knowledge of affairs in Indian India can testify to the fact that even in larger states almost all the highest offices are held either by the foreigners or the landed aristocracy in preference to the sons of the soil. By foreigners I do not mean only Europeans or Americans but even those Indians who having no claims on the considerations of the states thrust themselves from outside upon the claims of the *bona fide* subjects. These are not certainly the sons of the soil of the particular state which engages them and thus have no real sympathy with the state but merely try so long as they remain in the service of the state, to make hay while the sun shines. Against their fondness for taking foreigners into their service the rulers of Indian India are wont to value the local genius very much below par. The result is that many a bright gem are born to blush unseen in Indian India. A saint of one's own place is regarded no better than a mere contemptible "Jogi" while that of another country is accorded the dignity of one who has attained mastery over the spiritual and physical worlds and is endowed with the divine knowledge. Though this is a slang Indian saying but it exactly represents the attitude of the rulers of Indian India towards

the sons of the soil. In some larger states young men of the soil are often sent to foreign countries for education at the expense of these states under the bond that they will have to serve the state for a period of some years on any salary that the state may choose to give. But what is the result. Most of these Bombay or London returns are either not provided at all or are taken in the state service on wretchedly low salaries higher than which most of them can obtain outside the state. There is something ludicrous in the craze of the rulers of Indian India for sending out the sons of the soil for education which practically comes to nothing. These rulers are wont to make show of every thing and do little substantial work. In British India all those, whether they be Indians or foreigners, who pass the Indian civil or medical service examinations are always provided with high posts but passing the civil service examination in Indian India does not invest the candidate with the right to get higher posts as a matter of privilege. The difference of attitude between the two towards the sons of the soil in this respect is that the bureaucracy does not gild the pill while the Indian personal rule invariably does.

IV.

Power is the root of all troubles and tends to become autocratic and arbitrary. Brown bureaucracy has proved more exacting than the red one. Dyerism and Curzonian Government may be explained as the tyranny and rule of the aliens at once unsympathetic and oppressive and we may with clear conscience rail against them but we cannot do so against the Government of many of our Indian Rulers without feeling ashamed of it.

If persons are deprived of their freedom without charge or trial both in British and Indian India there is something peculiar and very tragic in the highhandedness and despotism of the personal rule in Indian India which is nothing but the slaughter house of the democratic aspirations of the people set up by their own country men. There is not a single law passed in British India which inflicts punishment on its subjects with retrospective effect while the number of

such laws passed in Indian India is overwhelmingly great.

British Indians have at least the satisfaction that, however venal and merciless the rule of the bureaucracy may be, they can appeal to the law, to the press and public opinion but no such things are extant in Indian India. Even in larger states where the paraphernalia of sham administrations like the Legislative Assemblies or the Appeal members do exist there have been majority of cases in which no appeals have been entertained simply because "Hukum-i-Sultani" or the word of the ruler is the law in the land. The law does not bind the ruler as he is the law. He can override the law as it is he who gives sanction to it. In a regime like this what may not be done passes human imagination.

V.

And yet in the scheme of future progress of Indian India the sentimental writers entertain the hope for the possibility of evolving institution of self-Government suited to the genius of the people and dream in the bringing about of "Swarajya" in Indian India modelled to suit the modern exigencies of the people. These writers evidently lose sight of the fact that the power voluntarily invested cannot be easily re-invested. Rather, if any consummation at all comes it will be a regime which will not be suited to the genius of the people or in accord with their exigencies but invented to suit the exigencies of the selfwilled rulers—a state of affairs in which the condition of the people will be more precarious, the hand of autocracy more exacting and the chaos in the country more confusing and the Raja deaf to all public remonstrances. This is the future to which the affairs in Indian India are seemingly leading.

It is high time for the Indian Princes to wake up and grow conscious of their duty towards their subjects. There is nothing more enluring than the good wishes of the subjects planned under their charge by Providence as their very self respect, their good name and the solidarity of their rule depend on them and upon nothing else.

THE CULT OF DAKSHINA RAYA IN SOUTHERN BENGAL

By SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

Among the godlings and goddesslings who are worshipped in Southern Bengal there is one named Dakshina Raya (or "*the Lord of the South*") or Dakshina Thakura (or "*the Deity of the South*"). Other names by which this deity is called are Dakshindar and Kaluraya Dakshindar.

He is believed to be the godling who rules over ferocious tigers and controls their movements and actions. By worshipping him, his votaries believe that he is so far propitiated as to put a stop to the depredations committed by these ferocious monsters among men and their livestock. For this reason, he is extensively worshipped in the districts which surround the Sundarbans, especially in the vicinity of Bartipore in the district of the 24-Parganas, and in the Abadi Mahals, all of which places are the favourite haunts of the much-dreaded Bengal tiger. As all these localities are in the South of Bengal, this deity has been dubbed with the titles of "*the Lord or Deity of the South*".

It would appear that, in ancient times, this godling was considered so powerful that, in many of the earlier Bengali poems, stanzas written in praise of him are found along with those in propitiation of Ganesa. Ramachandra, Manasadevi and so forth.* Two ancient Bengali poets, one named Madhavacharyya, and the other named Krishnachandra Das (a resident of village Nimita), have composed poems for the purpose of promulgating the worship of this deity. The title of Krishnachandra Das's poem is *Raya Mangala*.§

For the purpose of worship, the image of this godling is made of two kinds, as will appear from the following couplet:—

1. *Kata munda bara puja sei ha'te ka're,*
2. *Kona khane dirya murti bagher upare".*

or

1. From that time, the severed head (of the deity Dakshina Raya) is worshipped (in some places).

2. (While) in other places, a beautiful image (of his deity riding) upon (a) tiger (is worshipped).

In some localities, only rude clay figures of his head with a flat nose, large eyes, lips which extend from one ear to the other, huge whiskers fringing these lips, and large grinning teeth, are worshipped. This awe-inspiring aspect of the godling's face is supposed to strike terror into the hearts of his myrmidons—the tigers, and to drive them away from the localities inhabited by his votaries. Two illustrations of this head of Dakshina Raya have been published, one at page 105 of Vol. III of *The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, and the other in Plate XI in Vol. XI. (N.S.) of *The Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1915. From an inspection of these illustrations, we find that the head is surmounted by a large crown which is of the shape of a betel leaf. The eyes, eye-brows and whiskers in these clay figurines are stated to be coloured black; while the nostrils, lips and gums (within the mouth) are painted red. The crown at the top of the figurine is coloured black and red and, in some cases, only black. The remaining parts of the figurines are daubed with white chalk.

The second form of the image is that of a man riding on the back of a tiger. I am inclined to think that this is the proper presentment of the godling, as will appear from the following extract from Krishnachandra Das's *Raya Mangala*:—

- *1. *Sunaha sakal lok apurva kathan.*
2. *Yemate haila ei kavita rathan.*
3. *Khaspur pargana nam Manohar.*
4. *Badisya tathay ek tappa Bisvamvar.*
5. *Tathay gelam Bhadra mase Somvar.*
6. *Nisite suilam goaler golaghar.*
7. *Rajanir seshe ei dekhilam svapan.*
8. *Baghpithe arohan ek mahajan.*
9. *Kare dhanuh sar charu sei mahakay.*
10. *Parichay dila more Dakshiner Ray.*
11. *Panchali prabandhe kara mancala amar.*
12. *Athara bhatir madhye haibe prachar.*

**Pangabhasa O Sahitya*. By Dinesa Chandra Sena. Fourth Edition of 1921, Calcutta. Page 43.

§*Op. cit.*, page 105.

13. *Purvete karila gita Madhava Acharyya.*
 12. *Na pabo amar mane tahe nahi karyya.*
 15. *Chasha bhulaiya sei gita haila bhasha.*
 16. *Masan nahika tahe sadhu khele pasha.*

TRANSLATION.

1 and 2. Listen, all ye people, to the strange story of the circumstances under which this poem was composed.

3 and 4. (In the district of) Khaspur, there is a pargana named Manohar Badisya wherein there is a tappa named Bisvamvar.

5 and 6. On a Monday in the month of Bhadra I went to that place (and), at night, slept in the granary of a milkman.

7, 8 and 9. At the end of the night, I saw a vision in which a handsome-looking supernatural being of prodigious stature appeared riding upon the back of a tiger, and holding in his hands a bow and some arrows.

10, 11 and 12. Addressing me, this supernatural being said: "*I am Dakshina Raya. Promulgate my worship, by means of a poem, through the eighteen bhatiss.*"

13. "Previously Madhava Acharyya sung (about my greatness by means of a poem)."

14. But there is no use (attempting the composition of a poem similar to that of Madhava Acharyya), as my intellect is not competent to undertake such a task.

15. That poem (of Madhava Acharyya), by reason of its delighting the peasantry (of the countryside), has become a part and parcel of the (Bengali) literature.

16. [The meaning of this line is obscure].

An idea of this second form of the image of Dakshina Raya will be obtained by an inspection of the illustration which faces page 107 of Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen's *Banga Bhasa O Sahitya* (4th edition of 1921). In this plate, the godling Dakshina Raya is depicted as sitting on a tiger. On the head of the figure of the deity is a conical-shaped crown. Round his neck are two or three chaplets. His right hand is extended and the palm thereof is open. While his left hand is placed upon his thigh. His left leg is hanging down. While his right leg is bent and placed upon his left thigh.

It is stated that, in the village named Dhabdhabe, there is a temple dedicated to the worship of this godling. Inside this temple are

the deity's crown and his image in the shape of a warrior.*

This deity is worshipped at night in the month of *Magh* (January—February). There is no particular day fixed for his worship, as it is stated that it takes place in different localities on different dates during the month of *Magh*. The chief reason for the *puja* of this godling taking place, during the night-time, in the month of *Magh*, which is very cold in Lower Bengal, is said to be the fact that the tiger generally appears in the villages on very cold nights which are the usual concomitants of this month.

The place of worship is usually some open space in the outskirts of the villages. This space is planted with one or more *Manasa* plants (*Euphorbia nerifolia*). The number of images of this godling which are worshipped in a single village, varies from one to more than a dozen.

The offerings presented to this godling are rice, fruits and sweets; while animal-sacrifices in the shape of goats and ducks are also offered to him.

A Brahman priest officiates at this worship. [For reasons to be stated by me later on, I am inclined to think that, most likely, in very ancient times before the Pauranic Renaissance, a non-Brahman priest conducted the worship of the godling Dakshina Raya. But, after the Pauranic Renaissance, when this non-Aryan deity was duly absorbed and installed in the Hindu Pantheon, and a Pauranic legend was manufactured by the orthodox Brahman priesthood to account for the evolution of this deity, the place of the non-Brahman conductor of worship was usurped by the Brahman priest, for the purpose of keeping up the semblance of the newly-invented Aryan origin of this godling].

The *dhyan* or the prayer-formula, which is recited at the worship of the deity Ganesa or Ganapati—the giver of success and the doer-away of all difficulties and troubles—is also recited at the *puja* of Dakshina Raya.

The worship of Dakshina Raya is popularly believed to drive away the tigers from the villages. This may be accounted for by the fact that the large crowd of low-class people, who assemble at the place of worship, shout at the top of their voices when the goats or the ducks are sacrificed. The gongs are beaten, and the

**Yasohar-Khulnar Itihasa* (in Bengali). By Satis Chandra Mitra, Calcutta: Chakravarti Chatterji & Co., 1321 B. S. Page 396.

tom-toms are played upon rub-a-dub-dub. Torches are lighted which shed a glaring light upon the surrounding darkness. All this din and hubbub—all this blazing light—has an uncanny effect and strikes terror into the hearts of the tigers, causing them to disappear from the vicinity of the place of worship.

Now arises the most important question: How has the evolution of this deity taken place? In answer to this question, the following four theories have been propounded.

The first is that, when Ganesa was born, all the deities came to see the child-god. As soon as Sani (or Saturn), the brother of Ganesa's mother Durga came and saw the child, the latter's head disappeared. So immediately an elephant's head was procured and tacked on to Ganesa's headless trunk. The vanished head of Ganesa became transformed into the godling Dakshina Raya. It is for this reason that the method of doing *puja** to Dakshina Raya is the same as that of Ganesa.

But this mythological legend is not embodied either in the Vedas or the Puranas. The curious enquirer therefore asks: How has it, then, come into existence? I may answer the question by saying that when, after the decay of Buddhism in Bengal, the Pauranic Renaissance set in this province during the 12th and 13th centuries A. D., the godling Dakshina Raya appears to have been absorbed into the hierarchy of the Hindu gods and goddesses, and the aforementioned legend appears to have been fabricated to account for the evolution of this deity. It appears to me to be very likely that, during this period, the Brahmans usurped the functions of the non-Brahman priests of Dakshina Raya and began to conduct the latter's *puja*.

The second theory is as follows:—

Mukuta Raya was the Raja of Brahmanagara which was the ancient name of the modern village of Laujani situated at the north-eastern corner of the railway station named Jhinkargachha (E. B. Ry.). Now Mukuta Raya's right-hand man was his relative and Commander-in-Chief named Dakshina Raya. The latter was, therefore, entrusted by the former with the administration of the southern portion of his kingdom. For this

reason, Dakshina Raya was otherwise called Bhatishvara or "the Lord of the 18 bhatish."

This bhatidesa yielded a goodly amount of revenue from its production of fuel, honey and wax.

In those remote times, the Sundarbans extended further northwards than at present and were infested by a good many huge tigers. Dakshina Raya was a very powerful man and slew many tigers and crocodiles by means of his bow and arrows and other weapons. On some occasions, he carried on a hand-to-hand struggle with tigers and killed the latter. It is for this reason that he is worshipped to the present day as a godling who can grant his votaries immunity from the ravages of the tigers of the Sundarbans.

From Krishnaram Das's *Raya Mangala*, which has been referred to above, we learn that there was a Raja named Pravakara. He ruled over the southern portion of the 24-Parganas which he cleared of forests and jungles. By the blessing of Siva, a son named Dakshina Raya was born to him. Dakshina Raya had a brother and friend named Kalu Raya. [I think that the name Kaluraya Dakshindar sometimes applied to the godling Dakshina Raya appears to be a misnomer, for Kalu Raya and Dakshina Raya are two distinct personages]. Now, this Kalu Raya is quite different from the Ghazi's companion Kalu.*

In the manuscript of Ghazi and Kalu, it is stated that Ghazi took several tigers with him and advanced towards Brahmannagara. Arrived there, he changed the tiger-deity Dakshina Raya into a sheep, secretly entered the city and defeated Mukuta Raya. [The tigers, which the Ghazi took with him, are not the beasts of that name, but are the Mallas—a wild tribe of men living in the Sundarbans§].

Now, some scholars are of opinion that Mukuta Raya flourished in the times of Husain Shah and his son Nasrat Shah, that is to say, in the beginning of the 16th Century A. D.† Therefore Mukuta Raya's Commander-in-Chief Dakshina Raya must also have lived in the beginning of the 16th Century A. D. If this opinion be correct, the cult of Dakshina Raya must have originated roughly speaking sometime during the middle of the 16th century.

*Vide S. C. Mitra's *Yasohara-Khulnar Itihasa*, pages 388-389.

§Op. cit., page 392.

†Op. cit., page 391.

*The Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (New Series), Vol. XI (for 1915), page 176.

But the worship of this godling appears to be of very ancient origin. There cannot be the least doubt that it is a non-Aryan cult, for only the Bengalis of the lower castes, who are of Mongolo-Dravidian origin and have very little, if any, of Aryan blood in their veins, are its votaries. So its origin is lost in the mists of antiquity; and it has come down to us as a survival of non-Aryan worship. For these reasons, the theory that the godling Dakshina Raya is the deified Commander-in-Chief of Mukuta Raya falls to the ground.

Dakshina Raya figures in another well-known legend of the Bengali Musalmans. In the Musalmani book entitled: *Banabibir Jahur-nama*, it is stated that Banabibi, daughter of Berahim, resident of Mecca, came to live with her brother Shah Janguli in the Bhatidesa, for the purpose of protecting the peasantry from the oppression committed upon them by Dakshina Raya who was the Bhatishvara or "the lord of the Bhatidesa." Thereafter she and her brother took possession of several villages which appear to have been within the jurisdiction of Dakshina Raya. This angered the latter very much, who thereafter declared war against Banabibi. But, as it is unlawful for a member of the sterner sex to wage war against a female, Dakshina Raya's mother Narayani waged the war in her own name against her son's opponent. But in this war, Narayani was defeated.

Then again, on a subsequent occasion, Dakshina Raya seized a person named Dukhe who had accompanied a party of traders who had gone to the Bada (or the Sundarbans) for the purpose of gathering honey and wax. When he wanted to immolate Dukhe as a sacrifice to some deity, Banabibi espoused the would-be victim's cause and rescued him from Dakshina Raya's hands. Thereupon war again broke out between the two. In this war also, Dakshina Raya was again defeated. Thereafter the latter acknowledged himself a vassal of Banabibi.

A third theory has been propounded to the effect that, among the early reclaimers of the Sundarbans, there lived a man named Dakshina Raya who must have enjoyed the reputation of being a great tiger-charmer and was credited with the possession of considerable controlling influence over these ferocious monsters. The

wood-cutters and reclaimers, who frequented tiger-infested Sundarbans in pursuit of the practice of their profession, came to believe that the mere utterance of his name would prevent the tigers from committing any havoc among them and their livestock. In course of time, this belief became so firm and strong that they ultimately raised him to the rank of a godling.*

But this theory also is untenable for the very same reasons that I have adduced against the tenability of the second theory.

The fourth theory is to the effect that Dakshina Raya is one of the good spirits (Pramanthas) who follow Siva and carry out his behests.†

This theory appears to me to be the nearest approach to a correct account of the origin of this cult. I am inclined to think that this godling Dakshina Raya is the embodiment or impersonation of that impersonal "power, element and tendency" which is believed by the low-caste Bengalis inhabiting the districts adjoining the Sundarbans to rule over tigers and to control their movements and activities. I have already stated that this cult is a non-Aryan one.

That the godling Dakshina Raya is one of the village-deities of Southern Bengal—one of the deities that represent the animistic substratum of Hinduism—will appear from the following facts:—

- (a) He has no temple or shrine. He is usually worshipped in an open space in the outskirts of the village.
- (b) Before the Pauranic Renaissance, his worship must have been conducted by a non-Brahman priest. But when after the Pauranic Revival, he was absorbed within the pale of orthodox Hinduism, and a Pauranic legend was invented by the Brahmans to account for his origin a Brahman priest began to conduct his worship.
- (c) The fact that ducks are sacrificed to this godling shows the non-Aryan origin of this cult, for these birds, or, for the matter of that, any other species of domesticated poultry, are never offered, by way of sacrifice, to any deity of the orthodox Hindu Pantheon.

*The *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. III, page 106.

†The *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (N. S.), Vol. XI (for 1915), page 176.

*Op. cit., pages 395-396.

(d) The name of this godling is not mentioned either in the Vedas or the Puranas.

It will not be out of place to mention here that, among the Musalmans living in the villages situated on the outskirts of the Sundarbans, a saint named Mobarak Ghazi or Mobra Ghazi discharges the same functions as Dakshina Raya does among the low-class Hindus of those parts. It is said that Mobra Ghazi,

by means of his thanmaturgic powers made the people of the aforementioned localities immune from the ravages of tigers. For this reason, he is greatly revered by the Musalman-folk of those parts of the country side, so much so that there is scarcely a village which has not a dargah or shrine dedicated to him.*

*Vide S. C. Mitra's *Yasohara-Khulnar Itihast*, page 399.

THE POETRY OF SWINBURNE

By MR. D. N. GHOSH, M.A.

(Concluded from last issue)

IV

Swinburne's revolt against the dogmatism of ethics and of theology developed, as we see, by a most natural course of transition into a fierce rebellion against the despotism of governments. Constituted authority—in society or in the church or in the state—whatever had the slighted tendency to curb the individual expression of opinion in thought or in action, was regarded by this impulsive and imperious poet with grave suspicion. And he gave out his feelings in that lofty, impassioned and impetuous language which he alone knew how to command,—pouring forth in an unbroken sequence of melodious verse his anger, his contempt, his derision,—I was going to say, like the splendid Jehovah of the old Testament against the iniquities of an impious race. If the poems that he wrote on political freedom do not represent the high-water mark of Swinburne's poetry, certainly they will remain the most inspiring that he ever wrote.

Italy, to whom English poetry owes so much, (far more than what she owes to Greece or to France), was the direct cause of Swinburne's political poetry (I would have preferred a less aggressive name)—just as Greece was the cause of some of the finest of Byron's poetry on similar themes. The nationalist

revival of the sixties inaugurated a direct and determined movement to throw off the Austrian domination—as well as the Pope's temporal sovereignty which through centuries had continually introduced incalculable complications in Italian history,—with the ultimate aim of establishing an united Kingdom, similar to what contemporary Germany was doing. In this struggle for freedom, the names of Mazzini and Garibaldi stood out prominently, and their magnetic personality inspired Swinburne to emulate the example of Shelley's and Byron's passionate advocacy of the freedom of Greece. To Mazzini he dedicated the glorious *Songs before Sunrise*, and the humanity of his dedicatory lines attest to their passionate sincerity,—

I bring you the sword of a song,
The sword of my spirit's desire,
Feeble, but laid at your feet,
That which was weak shall be strong,
That which was cold shall take fire,
That which was bitter be sweet.

The intense love of liberty that characterises *Songs before Sunrise* and *Songs of Two Nations* is, of course, a reflex of his cult of humanism, which I have already discussed. It is the inevitable consequence of his rebellion against popular religion. If "Man is the maker of things," as he extravagantly pronounced in a

White Czar shows in its exaggeration that Swinburne could be almost as absurd as Tennyson himself. As he grew older this aspect developed, and the close of the nineteenth century saw a further intensification of this national egoism at the sacrifice of the nobler ideals of his youth. Swinburne was the leader of the revels in the *Jingo*-mania of the period. He was as much a Lost Leader as Wordsworth was. But the peculiarity is this—that in spite of his patriotism, neither he—nor Wordsworth, nor Tennyson—really excelled in writing patriotic poetry. Whenever they attempted anything in this direction, they became bombastic or insolent. With the exception of Sir Walter Scott's noble lines—"Breathes there the man with soul so dead", there are few English poems approaching Dwijendralal's, *My Country* or Rabindranath's *Golden Bengal*. For these poems are not the expression of a militant arrogance, but of a passionate love for the poet's native land. There is all the vibrant energy of a creed of self-surrender in such lines as these—"England, with all thy faults, I love thee still," or "Rule Britannia", or that noble poem of Henley which contains the lines—

Ever the heart endures,
England, my England,
Take and break us, we are yours,
England my own.

But although the sentiments are noble, they have not the universality that we admire in all great poems. They are too intensely national to be purely poetic. I believe the poems that Swinburne addressed to Italy are superior as *poetry* to his patriotic poems. A poem like the following is a creation of art which elevates us and sustains us by its greatness.

Ah heaven, bow down, be nearer; This is she,
Italia, the world's wonder, the world's care,
Free in her heart, ere quite her hands are free,
And lovelier than all her loveliest robe of air.
The earth hath voice and speech is in the sea,
Sounds of great joy too beautiful to bear;
All things are glad because of her, but we
Most glad who loved her when the worst days were.
O sweetest, fairest, first,
O flower, when times were worst,
Thou hadst no strife wherein we had no share.
 &c. &c.

But for his own country, Swinburne never wrote such lines of passionate adoration.

V.

Swinburne's powers of objective description, his delineation of the beauty of the external world is certainly not so vivid and graphic as Keats' or Tennyson's or Browning's. That is to say, he could not, in a short compass, capture the essence of a phenomenon and thus immortalise it in the realms of art. The highest poetry is not that which is concerned with the laborious accumulation of isolated facts about an object under artistic scrutiny; nor even that which is able to create a harmonious fusion of these separate details by the help of the power which Coleridge called, the "synthetic imagination"; but it consists in the power to re-capture "the impassioned expression" of an object, its inmost essence,—that which subtly differentiates it from all other similar objects. Such lines as Keats'

How tip-toe Night holds back her dark-grey hood;
or Tennyson's—
Wet sands marbled with moon and cloud;
or Mrs. Browning's—

Young

As Eve with Nature's day break in her Face;
lines which distil the quintessence of the phenomenon—seldom delight us in Swinburne's poetry. These have a power of revealing the soul which only an intimate familiarity with Nature can bestow on a poet. This Swinburne lacked. But he had the synthetic imagination which helps one to transcribe an external object without making it a slavish copy of the original. The transcription has the freshness, the vivid originality, the *uniqueness* of the original. His landscapes are nearly always successful. This is illustrated by his great poems on Northumberland sea-scenery, which are among the finest things that he executed. The aspect of dreary desolation is well depicted in the lines—

The pastures are herdless and sheepless,
No pasture or shelter for herds;
The wind is relentless and sleepless,
And restless and songless the birds;
Their cries from afar fall breathless,
Their wings are as lightnings that flee;
For the land has two lords that are deathless;
Death's self and the sea.

The beauty of this passage, however, lies more in its suggestions than in descriptions. It is a description by negatives, and as a rule, Swinburne achieves his finest success through this method. There are however positive

pictorial touches among his Pre-Raphaelite brethren, as in this,

Tall the plumage of the rush-flower tosses,
Shaft and soft in many a curve and line,
Gleam and glow the sea-coloured marsh-mosses,
Salt and splendid from the circling brine,
Streak on streak of glimmering sea-shine crosses,
All the land sea-saturate as with wine.

Here the picture is clearly-defined and if not quite so definite as those of his contemporaries, it certainly shows an excellent artistic insight into the essentials of a natural scenery. That Swinburne had an unerring vision into the constitution of a thing cannot be doubted in the face of such a well-knit, coherent piece of picture as this—

But Meleager, but thy son
Right in the wild-way of the coming curse
Rock-rooted, fair with fierce and fastened lips,
Clear eyes and springing muscle and shortening
limb—
With chin aslant indrawn to a tightening throat,
Grave and with gathered sinews, like a god,—
Aimed on the left side his well-handled spear

I believe this to be one of the finest things achieved by Swinburne, almost as successful as a picture by Rembrandt.

Swinburne had, to a greater extent, another faculty which shows his spiritual kinship with the Greeks, and his artistic affinity with Keats and Shelley,—*viz.*, his mythopœic faculty, the power of looking upon natural phenomenon in terms of human relationship. This passage, (also from *Atalanta in Calydon*) is an excellent example,—

She thereat
Laughed, as when dawn touches the scared night,
The sky sees laugh and redden and divide
Dim lips and eyelids virgin of the sun,
Hers and the warm slow breasts of morning heave,
Fruitful, and flushed with flame from lamp-lit hours
And maiden undulation of clear hair
Colour the clouds; so laughed she . . .

Swinburne, however, as is universally recognised, is more a poet of the ear than of the eye. Hence he describes better the vocal aspect of nature than the pictorial. This hardly requires elaboration. One example will suffice. This is how he describes Spring—

Spring speaks again, and all our woods are stirred,
And all our wide glad wastes aflower around
That twice have heard keen April's clarion sound

Since first we here together, saw and heard
Spring's light reverberate and re-iterate word,
Shine forth and speak in season.

This is a typical example and we will always find Swinburne describing with ecstasy the glorious variations in sound to the exclusion of splendour of external scenery.

But, of course, Swinburne's greatest triumphs were reserved for his descriptions of the sea, his life-long friend. He is more emphatically the poet of the sea, than Shelley is of the sky, and Keats of the earth. As in the case of Shelley, his was due to a natural affinity of temperament. His vigorously athletic imagination gloried in the power of the surging ocean.

In the pride of her power he rejoices,
In her glory he glows and is glad,
In the sound of her waves her voice is,
With her breath, he dilates and is mad.

The oft-quoted and much admired description of Tristram's swimming owes its splendour to the fact of its being obviously the transcription in verse of a great personal experience. As in everything, it is only when Swinburne's own personal experience—either subjective or objective—interpenetrates into his poetry that it becomes superlative. The powerful appeal of his sea-poetry depends on this, and in the following lines he undoubtedly describes his own experience to Tristram—

And mightier grew the joy to meet full-faced
Each wave and mount with upward plunge and
taste,
The rupture of its rolling strength and cross
Its flickering crown of snows that flash and toss,
Like plumes in battle's blithest charge and thence
To match the next with yet more strenuous sense.

So passionate is his love for the sea that in the moments of his deepest dejection, he turns to the sea for inspiration (as Shelley turned to the *West Wind*). There is a profound sense of pathos in the plaintive lines—

O fair-green-girdled mother of mine,
Sea, thou art clothed with the wind and the rain,
Thy sweet hard kisses are strong like wine.
Thy large embraces are keen like pain, etc.

Like Rabindranath, he loved to look upon the sea as his mother, who can give him comfort and consolation, whenever he needs, although the lofty symbolism of Rabindranath's great poem was beyond his sphere. It was quite in

consonance with general spirit of his poetry to pray—

But when my time shall be,
O mother, O my sea,
Alive or dead take me,
Me too, my mother.

In describing the sea in all its varied aspect, Swinburne employed all the inexhaustible resources of his superlative poetic style,—the resonant diction splendidly reproducing the harmonies of the ocean. This, from *At a Month's End*, is a typical example,—

With chafe and change of surges chiming,
The clashing channels rocked and rang,
Large music wave to wild wave timing,
And all the choral waters sang.

Here the onomatopoeic element is almost as successful as Tennyson's famous lines—

Zig-zag paths and juts of pointed rock.

This faculty is always prominent in his sea-poetry, and such lines as these—

The whole white Euxine clashed together and fell
Full-mouthed, and thunderous from a thousand
throats;

Or—

Where the thundering Bosphorous answers
the thunder of the Pontic seas;

Or—

Where the narrowing Symplegades answers,
the straits of Propontis with spray;—

well illustrate this.

And yet, in spite of all his undoubted powers, Swinburne never achieved the stark splendour of such vividly realistic poems as Shelley's *Vision of the Sea* or Rabindranath Tagore's *Sea-Waves*. The reason is that his genius was primarily not pictorial, but musical. Through music he could interpret the clanging harmonies of the rolling billows, but to give a Turner-like description of a sea-scape, or a sea-storm required an intimate appreciation of details that go to make up a whole, which Swinburne lacked. Hence there is nearly always a want of picturesqueness in his poetry that is sometimes not compensated even by the music.

VI

There are two aspects in Swinburne's poems, which will now demand our attention—his treatment of love, and his interpretation of the affection between parents and child.

Swinburne is not a poet of love, like Burns

or Browning or Tagore. The spirituality of such lines as Browning's

Escape me?

Never—

Beloved!

While I am I, and you are you,

So long as the world contains us both,

Me the loving and you the both,

While the one eludes, must the other pursue;

Or Tagore's—

We two have come floating on two
streams of love,—

Emerging from the fountain of
eternity's heart.

We two have played amidst millions of lovers,

When the tears of parting dissolved in the
sweet blushes of re-union.

It is the old, love in eternally new attire.

—the spirituality of such poems as these is a note which we seldom hear in Swinburne's poems. But at times, he is able to enliven his love-poems—few though they are in number, with a light and airy grace and a deft and delicate workmanship, shot through and through with an iridescent fancy, that reminds us of the finest Elizabethan's models. Readers of Swinburne's poems will at once recall the dancing cadence of the lovely lyric—

If love were as the rose is,

And I were like the leaf; etc., etc.

which reminds us of Burns' exquisite lines—

O my Love like a red, red rose

That's newly sprung in June.

But Burns' poem is concrete and human, while Swinburne's lines remain an abstract piece of fancy that fascinates us but does not stir in our souls the deepest founts of emotion.

Here we have the crux of the whole situation,—the fundamental difference between Swinburne and such poets as Burns or the Brownings. Swinburne in this respect, is more akin to Shelley, although the latter is far more poignant and intense. This want of a sufficient humanity can be explained by the fact of Swinburne's never having really experienced this mighty passion. For other poets, in the language of Tennyson,—

Love took up the harp of life, and smote on

all the chords with might,

Smote the chords of self that trembling,

passed in music out of sight.

Compare these lines, with these from Browning's *Christina*—

Such am I: the secret's mine now!
She has lost me—I have gained her!
Her soul's mine: and, thus, grown perfect,
I shall pass my life's remainder.
Life will just hold out the proving
Both our powers, a love and blended—
And then, comes the next life quickly!
This world's use will have been ended.

This is as profound as life itself; Swinburne, in comparison, is even shallow. For as we have said, never having felt this passion, it was not possible for him to interpret with any deep psychological insight its poignancy and intensity, and his love-poems remain the academic exercise of theoretical artists. Swinburne was certainly not great as a poet of love.

As a contrast, we may study the wonderful realism of Swinburne's interpretation of the love between parent and child, in which he is as great as the greatest of poets. Mr. Edmund Gosse is deserving of the sincere gratitude of all lovers of literature, for having published in a collected form these poems of childhood, which are scattered all over Swinburne's work. The reader will there see how keen was the poet's appreciation and enjoyment of the little joys of the child; how quick his perception of the child's standpoint. Sometimes he reminds us of Blake, sometimes of Wordsworth; but nearly always he is original, because he is expressing his own personal emotion, and not the abstract emotion of an artist. In some of these poems it is the grown-up man, looking at the opening splendour of a new life, "fascinated by its fresh simplicity and adolescent charm," but in others, which constitute his greater attempts, represents the grown-up man, by virtue of his imaginative sympathy indentifying himself with the child, and looking at the world through the child's eyes. As examples of either, we may refer to the wonderful representation of a child's conception of death in one of these poems; in another, we have the child's simple delight in his humble playthings. They may be compared to many of Rabindranath's child-poems which are all instinct with a dramatic appreciation of the psychology of a child's mind, with all its inexplicable turns of thought, its unsophisticated fancies, its wistfulness consciousness of its own comparative weakness and

longing to be grown-up and in simple enjoyments of life.

Greater than even these however, are the passages in *Atalanta in Calydon*, where Swinburne represents the passionate and unique love of the mother for her child, and of the child for its mother—the like of which I do not remember to have read anywhere else outside the wonderful poems of Rabindranath on similar themes. Passages like this—

I have seen thee all thine years,
A man in arms, strong, and a joy to man,
Seeing thine head glitter and thine hand burn
its way,
Through a heavy and iron-furrow of sundering
spears;
But always also a flower of three suns old,
The one small thing that lying drew down my life
To lie with thee and feed thee; a child and weak
Mine, a delight to no man, sweet to me.

Or this—

Yet, O child,
Son, first-born, fairest,—O Sweet mouth,
Sweet eyes,
That drew my life out through my suckling
breast,
That shone and clove my heart through—
O soft knees,
Clinging, O tender treadings of soft-feet,
Cheeks warm with little kissings—O child, child,
What have we made each other?—Lo! I felt
Thy weight, cleave to me, a burden of beauty, O
son,
Thy cradled brows and loveliest loving lips,
The floral hair, the little-lightening eyes,
And all thy goodly glory.

show the supreme heights to which Swinburne could reach in this branch of poetry. Maleager's dying appeal to his mother to remember him is also a supreme achievement.

Yet I charge thee, seeing

I am dead already, love me not the less,
Me, O my mother; I charge thee by these Gods,
My father's, and that holier breast of thine,
By these that see me dying, and that which nursed,
Love me not less, thy first-born: though grief
come,
Grief only, of me, and of all these great joy,
And shall come always to thee; for thou knowest,
O mother, O breasts that bear me, for ye know,
O sweet head of my mother, sacred eyes,
Ye know my soul albeit I sinned, ye know
Albeit I kneel not neither touch thy knees.

VII

And now, finally, I would conclude with a few remarks on that marvellous musical style of Swinburne, by which his place in the domain of English Literature must finally be adjudged. He has demonstrated with a convincing confidence in his craft, the inexhaustible possibilities of the English language,—its marvellous rhythmic flexibility, which is capable of reproducing in terms of the language of music almost all varieties of emotional experience. Other English poets before him have been musical in their own inimitable way; and we admire with M. Arnold the “liquid fluidity” of Shakespeare or Keats,—

Spenserian vowels that elope with ease,
And float along like birds on summer seas;—

or the “grand style” of Milton, “whose sound is like the sea”. There is also the subtle witchery of Coleridge, and the silvery grace of Tennyson, the splendid austerity of Wordsworth, and the fighting abruptness of Browning. These represent different kinds of artistic skill, and to complain that Swinburne never did anything like Keats’—

Fast fading violets covered up in leaves,
And mid-May’s eldest child;—

Or Tennyson’s—

The moaning of doves in immemorial elms;
And the murmur of innumerable bees;

is criticism entirely mistaken and misapplied. Neither is it just to single out the rather meretricious and monotonous device of constant alliterations, or (with Mrs. Meynell) to regret the misuse or the abuse of onomastics. It is undeniable that Swinburne often uses a decorative artifice too mechanically and unintelligently to appeal to sensitive ears accustomed to the highly organised melody of a Miltonic or a Shelleyan ode. But at his greatest (and the works of a poet are to be appraised finally by estimating the highest point to which he has been able to rise), Swinburne justified his art, and like Keats and Shelley, he is able to control his imagination by the strict logic of emotion. Therefore the concerted melody of the choric ode, *When the hounds of spring are on Winter’s traces*, or the sweeping resonance of the *Hymn to Proserpine* are as inimitable as Shelley’s *West Wind* or Keats’ *Grecian Urn*. There is as marked an absence of oriental pageantry or Teutonic redundancy; they are even as austere as a work of classic art; the

epithets are few, selected with a discriminative economy which only a real artist can command.

The distinction, which Mr. Compton Ricketts, in his eminently readable *History of English Literature*, draws between Shelley and Swinburne as *musical* poets is highly suggestive. “Shelley,” he remarks “is gloriously melodic Swinburne is harmonic.” That is to say Swinburne, in his greatest poems, keeps up a sort of responsive cadence, where each resonant word echoes its dominant sound through successive lines, and combining with the others, realises a harmony that we associate with the organ;—not the music of the flute, with swift, concentrated arrow-like poignancy, but the music of the famous Homeric hexameters, resembling the sweeping march of the ocean in its “Speed and splendour.” This is the supreme triumph of Swinburne, and it has been equalled only by Shelley’s *West Wind* and Coleridge’s *France*, and, in our literature, by the complex harmonies of Rabindranath’s *The Close of the Year*.

A detailed examination of Swinburne’s versatility in metrical invention is impossible within the limited pages of a journal. He could command with equal ease the chaste simplicity of the native Saxon diction as well as the ornate and Latinised Miltonic diction. Such a line as this one—“I have lived long enough to have known one thing that love hath an end,”—is the consummation of simplicity, but the clamour of words in this—

. . . . Smite and shake

Sonorous timbrels and tumultuous hair,

And fill the dance up with tempestuous feet;—

also represents another aspect of Swinburne’s poetry. He is capable of the Wordsworthian simplicity of these lines—

Come back in sleep, for in the life

Where thou art not

We find none like thee. Time and strife

And the world’s lot

Move thee no more. . . .

But contrast the Browningsque complexity by these—

On thy bosom though many a kiss be,

There are none such as knew it of old.

Was it Alciphron once or Arisbe,

Male ringlets or feminine gold,

That thy lips met with under the statue

Whence a look shot out sharp after thieves

From the eyes of the garden gods at you,

Across the fig leaves.

Mr. Chesterton comments, "Look at the rhymes in that verse, and you will see they are as stiff a task as Browning's: only they are successful. This is the real strength of Swinburne." Other critics have been equally enthusiastic in praise of the Swinburnian melody, but I shall here desist by pointing out the exquisite art with which Mrs. Naidu has modified it in order to be able to reproduce the exquisite cadence of the Vaishnava lyricists, as is noticeable in a poem like this—

I carried my curds to the Mathura-shrine, etc.

The external art is the same but the rapturous energy of Swinburne is replaced by a plaintive melody more in consonance with her taste and temper, and that is characteristically reminiscent of the Vaishnava lyrics.

VIII

What is the value of Swinburne's contribution to English poetry? That is a question which must, I believe, still await the final verdict of history. Those who have been content to regard him only as a dithyrambic poet whose claim to our attention is the exuberant vitality of his style, emphasise that aspect which is certainly the most conspicuous element but which as certainly does not constitute his only appeal. There is a tendency to isolate the predominant note in a poet, and then to estimate its poetical possibilities by the standards of some canons of criticism. Thus the justification of Browning's poetry, where metaphysics subordinates all other elements, is found in Lowell's dictum, "poetry is understanding aerated with imagination." Similarly Wordsworth's conception of poetry as "emotion recollected in tranquillity" is, in the opinion of theorists of poetry a defence of the poet's meditative retrospection. And when confronted with the inexhaustible multiplicity of Shakespeare's imaginative creation, the critic is glad to fall back upon M. Arnold's epigram about poetry being "criticism of life." As though in all these cases, the ultimate justification of the poetry is not the truth of its expression, but the truth of some canon of criticism. Hence when one is faced with the Dionysian frenzy of a Swinburnian Ode, which is neither the embodiment of a philosophical creed nor the creation of a beautiful conception, neither the envisagement nor the expression of life in terms of poetry, but yet is swayed by its

passion and power, his perplexity is great; and either he must accept it without question or dismiss it as something spurious. It is not, however, possible to do away with Swinburne in this latter heroic style. He has justified his uniqueness by creating a school; for the later 19th century Æstheticism is directly traceable to Swinburne and Fitzgerald and Walter Pater;—Swinburne contributing the defiant worship of beauty, Fitzgerald—the Epicurean philosophy of *Omar*, and Pater the classic technique.

The faults of Æstheticism must not be ascribed to Swinburne. Wilde represents the decadent aspect of this movement which began in Keats, and culminated in Swinburne. There can not be the least doubt of truth of Swinburne's inspiration. Mr. Chesterton, in a discriminative piece of study (in his *Victorian literature*) carefully emphasises this. To the great poet, the idea must be received through an inspiration, i.e., it is stamped with "inevitability"; there can be no compromise; the idea takes hold of the poet and forces his utterance. This is the impression that we get from a study of the works of all great poets. Of course, the decorative aspect of a poem is a matter of tasteful discrimination. The classics have it more than the Romantics. But in the idea, there is nothing to discriminate. In Swinburne's poems, this absolute truth of the idea impresses us at once. He is as sincere in his artistic expression as Browning himself. But this cannot be said of his successors. They embraced his creed, and made up for their sincerity by their greater artistic finish and a more startling way of arresting paradoxes. They were practitioners in art: art was not their inevitable medium of self-expression; if it was, it was a very empty self that it expressed. The tendency, however, is to reason backwards, and to visit their sins on their master Swinburne. This must be deprecated. The decadence of the æsthetic school must not be sought in Swinburne, but in Pater (for the excessive self-consciousness of his style made him constantly aim at achieving the subtle refinement of art), and perhaps in *Omar Khayyam*—

Yet ah, that spring should vanish with the rose!
That Youth's sweet-scented manuscript should
close!
The Nightingale that in the branches sang;
Ah! whence, and whither flown again who knows!

Therefore—

Perplexed no more with Human or Divine,
To-morrow's tangle to the winds resign,
And lose your fingers in the tresses of
The Cypress-slender Minister of Wine.

It is such attitude as this that, misinterpreted—(as it is certain to be in a weary world like ours)—prepares the way for decadence in art. Swinburne's masculine strength, the over-

powering sincerity of his passion in all its aspects, saved him from the lamentable lapses of his successors, who were artists by choice and not by the sheer necessity of self-expression. But he carried on the traditions of the Romantic school, and extended them and amplified them in many directions, and he also did much to save English poetry from losing itself in that narrowness and dogmatism, which M. Arnold comprehensively styled Philistinism.

DIVERGENT IDEALS AMONGST NON-CO-OPERATORS

I

By PROFESSOR RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS

The Report of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee is certainly the most widely discussed document in India to-day. This fact is to be explained first, by the time of its appearance and secondly by the nature of its contents.

No honest observer can deny that since the incarceration of Mahatma Gandhi, the Non-Co-operation Movement has declined somewhat in the estimation of the public. Whether this decline would have come inevitably as a reaction from the intense excitement of the year 1921, may be open to question; but beyond all reasonable doubt, any inherent tendency in this direction was aggravated by the removal of the master-hand. The situation in March 1922 was further complicated by the fact that the Bardoli resolutions were by their nature something of a wet blanket to unthinking enthusiasts. They jettisoned the most destructive feature of the Non-Co-operation Movement, substituting for mass civil disobedience the less glittering, but to my own thinking more solid, schemes of Khaddar and national education, &c. At first the Khaddar propaganda was largely of the nature of disciplinary preparation of civil disobedience; but gradually, imperceptibly, it became an end in itself. Now the "construc-

tructive programme" placed before the non-co-operating party represented a very high grade of political idealism. But as a Political Programme it lacked sensationalism. It did not amuse the enthusiasm of the public, for it demanded solid achievement, placed a premium upon self-effacement, and was obviously quietly social rather than aggressively political. Mr. Gandhi himself, with all his whirlwind activities, would probably have been put to it to face public enthusiasm to the proper degree of warmth: in his absence, the Non-Co-operation Movement, with its admirable but scarcely exciting programme, suffered in striking degree a loss of that day-by-day sensationalism without which no political campaign can long hold popular favour. By the time the Guru-ka-Bagh incident had occurred, the process of decline had proceeded too far for lost ground to be regained, although in this connection it should not be forgotten that the strictly communal nature of the Sikh movement did not lend itself particularly well to political exploitation in other parts of India. Akali high-handedness could no more lend itself to concealment than Akali endurance of suffering.

It was in such circumstances that the Report of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee

was published. The issue of this document had long been eagerly expected by those who viewed with real, if carefully-cloaked, apprehension the decline of the Non-Co-operation Movement from the proud position it had once occupied in the public eye. It seemed to offer an authoritative pronouncement, on the part of some of the most revered leaders of Non-co-operation, concerning the future of the campaign. The lengthy tour of enquiry, the delay in the issue of the Report, the rumours of divergent opinions carefully weighed, all combined to raise expectation to considerable heights. Surely this document would give the stimulus for which many were eagerly looking!

But when the Report was perused, it was found that its value as a guide to future policy, like its value as political propaganda, was distinctly of the problematical variety. The verdict on the main question of the possibility of civil disobedience had been anticipated by many who, none the less, found its expression in cold print somewhat depressing. Worse still was the revelation of serious divisions, hitherto glossed over, not merely in the opinion of the witnesses, but in the decision of the assessors themselves. For some time the attitude of the Maharashtra section of Non-Co-operators had been crystallising steadily in favour of entering the Councils; but many people in other parts of India believed that Mr. Kelkar and his followers enjoyed little support elsewhere. In face of the evidence presented by the Report, however, it was impossible to disguise the fact that whatever were the intrinsic numbers of the pro-entry party, it was by no means confined to Maharashtra; it included, indeed, some of the most revered and respected figures in the entire non-co-operation movement. Once again, India was treated to the spectacle which she has so often seen to her cost in recent political history—the spectacle of wisdom on the one side opposed to enthusiasm on the other. It is time that attempts were made by those who favoured entry in the councils to gild the bitter pill by elaborate parade of obstruction and deadlock within the new legislatures; but little sense of reality was required to discern the unpalatable dose within the glittering coating. Plainly, the country was forced with two ideals which were inherently antagonistic, no matter what pains were taken to bridge over the gulf between them. On the one hand was the ideal of strictly constitutional agitation within the arena laid down by the Reforms machinery: on

the other hand was the ideal of aloofness from Western institutions, of impatience with political compromise, and of the sacrifice of tangible interests, both national and personal, upon the altar of an inflexible consistency. Little wonder that the matter had to be referred to the Congress itself for decision. No lesser body could hope to heal the rifts daily widening within the movement, for only the authority of the Congress could exert a mandating force upon public and private opinion.

It remains to be seen whether the session of the Gaya Congress will succeed in bridging the chasm. By the time these lines appear in print, the Gaya Congress will probably have reached a decision upon the most critical question of Indian politics to-day. It would be expecting too much if we were to hope that this decision will be favourable to wholesale entry into the Councils. The utmost that can be expected—and even this is doubtful—is a relaxation of the categorical imperative which has hitherto prevented those acknowledging the authority of the Congress from even seeking election. If so much be gained by the Pro-Council party, they will have to seek a further mandate before taking their seats. But if, as is on the whole most probable at the time of writing, the Congress is flooded by a mass of young and wilful delegates, sworn to obstruct at all costs the desires of the pro-council party, no choice will be left to those who favour change save either to sever their connection with the Congress, or, following Mr. Kelkar's notable lead, to acquiesce in a mandate of which they deeply disapprove.

The seriousness of the present position becomes amply apparent on reflection. That the new legislatures have come to stay, can now be denied by none; and the spectacular gesture of boycott, by which it was sought to destroy them, has recoiled with stunning force upon the heads of those who indulged in it. Entry into the Councils is indeed the only course for practical politicians, for the stalwart adherents of consistent boycott now find themselves in a *cul-de-sac*, from which there is no escape save by a retracing of the very steps which they had, but a few months previously, been so proud to take. An attitude of *non-possumus*, although loyally accepted by the protagonists of change, will but postpone the issue, with consequent loss to the prestige of the Congress.

To accept the inevitable in time is the touchstone of political wisdom. The pro-entry party

have the tide with them and their triumph is not to be long resisted. Will the Congress hold out against them, and thereby sacrifice an opportunity, such as will not readily occur, of consolidating its forces and furbishing its powerful machinery, in readiness for the next election? If not, it must pay the penalty of declining influence. Already significant straws are indi-

cating the change of wind. The organisers of the Trades Union Congress, shortly to be held at Lahore, have publicly stated that whatever be the decision at Gaya, the Labour Party will enter the Councils and play the part of a Parliamentary group. This is a bold and timely warning. Will Gaya allow it to go unheeded?

II

“THE APOTHEOSIS OF INCOMPETENCE”

OR

GLIMPSES OF THE CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE COMMITTEE REPORT

Rarely has a long suffering Motherland been regaled with so futile a performance as the Report of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee. When placed side by side with it, the Report of such bodies as the Public Services Commission appear comparatively business-like and almost useful. That the matter under enquiry was dead as a political issue before the Committee began its work, was a fact which all but the most ostrich-like of politicians were contented to recognise. As could easily have been predicted beforehand, the attempt to inspire with life a discredited and malodorous corpse dragged from the graveyard of outworn shibboleths, has but made confusion worse confounded. For who wanted civil disobedience? No one but a handful of schoolboys who would have been better employed in preparing themselves to be useful citizens than in howling down such few non-co-operation leaders as were not wholly blind to the logic of facts. Let there be no hypocrisy about the matter. The Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee was not appointed because anybody—that is, anybody with the elements of sense—wanted to think about Civil Disobedience, wanted to practice Civil Disobedience, or wanted to investigate Civil Disobedience. It was appointed to hide—

if it could from the country at large the utter and complete bankruptcy in statesmanship and tactics of the Non-Co-operation party. For consider the situation during the last eight months. Chauri Chaura had blown to the winds all hope of a peaceful and non-violent victory over the British Government. Popular expectation underwent a severe slump, and non-co-operating stock suffered a corresponding decline. The first taste of real severity on the part of the authorities—who in this matter had the support of large numbers of people with a stake in the country—revealed the hollowness of the windy talk of “Swaraj in a night”. The Non-Co-operating party found that defiance of the law was not so easy as it had sounded when preached from the platform. For it brought its own penalties. Further, in the face of the new councils with their long lists of positive achievements in such matters as simultaneous examinations, repeal of repressive legislation, Indianisation, Executive and Judicial separation, it was becoming uncomfortably obvious that the non-co-operators were injuring no one but themselves. They had not embarrassed the British; they had not embarrassed the Liberals; they had merely very kindly and very thoughtfully put it out of their own power to take any share

in the constitutional advance of the country. Worse still, they had no programme sufficiently distinctive to justify the continuance of their movement. Khaddar, national education, pan-chayats—all these useful if unostentatious things were in existence long before non-co-operation, just as they will remain in existence after that futile movement has been relegated to obscurity. Gradually it began to dawn upon the leaders of the movement that while they thought they had been making the history of their country, they had in reality been making asses of themselves. Accordingly, they determined to resort to camouflage. Conveniently ignoring the fact that civil disobedience as an issue was as dead as King Harsha, they proceeded to carry out the solemn farce of an enquiry into its possibilities. Such tactics would not deceive a child, and there is already ample evidence that they have not deceived the country. But what could the poor leaders do? They had nothing to show as an offset against the achievements of the Liberals; they had no programme; the state of their funds showed that the people were wearying the flatulent oratory and delusive hopes. At least an Enquiry Committee would show the country that the Congress still existed.

It is no exaggeration to say that the Report breathes a plaintive note of failure in every word. On the main point at issue, which was not civil disobedience at all—for even the self-deception of the members of the Committee eventually found its own limit—the members were hopelessly divided. The clearer sighted had enough sense to see that if the non-co-operation movement was not prepared to die of sheer inanition, there was only one thing to do, and that was to enter the Councils once so ignorantly despised. But what gall or wormwood it was to them to

admit even by implication that the Liberals, whom they had so frequently accused of lack of statesmanship, of blindness to the interests of the country, were after all in the right! Little wonder that a strong party in the Committee, backed by a still stronger party among the non-co-operating rank and file, were not prepared to swallow a dose so bitter, and preferred to undergo the reproach of unintelligence rather than the gibe of inconsistency.

But it is useless to fight against hard facts which are every day growing more obvious. The non-co-operation movement, conceived in pious obscurantism and carried out in mole-like bigotry, is now revealed as the thing it is—an obstacle to Swaraj, the delight of the die-hards, a rock of offence in the path of progress. It has done little except gather and squander upon impracticable chimeras the priceless treasure of popular faith and national enthusiasm. What wonder that the people at large are looking askance at politics, are deaf to the catchwords of the platform, blind to the baits of the press? If ever there was a spectacle of sordid hopelessness, calculated to drive the average man into Bolshevism from sheer despair, it is the ridiculous farce, now dragging out its last weary scenes, which has been called the Non-Co-operation Movement. Bankrupt in ideas, bankrupt in policy, bankrupt even in common honesty of admitting its own futility, the non-co-operation movement is ripe only for speedy and unlamented burial. It can receive no fitter tombstone than the Report in which its record of failure, absurdity and self-deception are set down for all world to read.

‘BROADSWORD’.

THE POLITICAL WEEK

By SENEX

Politics, said one who knew the game, is a field where action is one long second-best. In India, however, there has been a growing tendency to disregard compromises, to stick to the point and not give way, to be satisfied with nothing but the moon. Idealism is good; for thinkers and philosophers it is even necessary. But politics ceases to be practical if the attitude of parties is unyielding. Mr. Gandhi's followers form of course a majority in the present Congress; and they have in the sequel asserted their majority ruthlessly. The patched-up unity has broken asunder; there has been a split in the Congress Camp; and the many-headed Congressmen are left without a leader that should be able not only to stir up their feelings but also to keep them under check, to restrain their overwhelming impetuosity, to prudently guide them to success. The more important leaders, such as Mr. C. R. Das, Pandit Motilal Nehru and Hakim Ajmal Khan have left the parent organisation for all practical purposes and have formed "The Congress-Khilafat-Swaraj Party." They have taken now precisely the step which the Liberals took two years ago. The Congress, then, has entirely changed its complexion. Most of the old leaders who had built up this national organisation had already seceded; a few had been left: they have seceded also. The break is complete. The wheel has come full circle.

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Differences in Indian political life have existed in the past, and are bound always to exist. They are indeed a sign of healthy growth. Raja Siva Prasad and Sir Syed Ahmad Khan in the early stages of Indian political consciousness stood for one school of thought; the Congress leaders of the time were more progressive. These latter, in their turn, were outstripped by Mr. Tilak and Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal and Lala Lajpat Rai. Lucknow saw in 1916 a temporary joining up of forces. But with Mr. Gandhi's entry into the arena, the entire organisation was plunged into the cauldron, and men and women and parties emerged in different shapes. Partly owing to Mrs. Besant but

largely because of the disruptive forces set loose by Mr. Gandhi, a spirit of intolerance, of hooliganism, of mob-rule was encouraged. A tearing propaganda of decrying veteran leaders was begun and it became almost impossible for olden Congressmen to continue within the fold. Those who had been the darlings of the Congress platform, men who had grown grey in the service of the nation, were shouted down. Secession was the only alternative left to them. Apart from political differences, personal differences also, it must be admitted, determined the course of action of the Liberals. The day of autocracy was gone.

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The Gya Congress emphasised, if any further emphasis was needed, the great gulf between the two parties, within the Congress itself. And the question that was the bone of contention was that of entry into the Councils. On this question there were several points of view. Some leaders wanted to enter the Councils and work from within and do as much good there as possible; others would contest the elections but not take their seats; a third set would enter, but not vote the supplies; a fourth party would not elect the President. What distinction there ultimately was in these shades of opinion need not be discussed here. Behind these were the large numbers to whom Councils were an anathema. These latter formed the majority; the magic name of Mr. Gandhi was conjured up by Mr. Rajagopalachari and it was effective. The President of the Congress, Mr. C. R. Das was very clear and explicit on the subject. He would enter the Councils, but only for the purpose of creating deadlocks. He would blindly defeat all measures, good or bad. This view however did not commend itself to the majority. Mr. Das, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Hakim Ajmal Khan supported it in vain. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, with all the undeniable weight of his position, in vain appealed: "Take the words of an old man; if you reject the proposal, you will repent later." The majority was obdurate; reason and argument fell on deaf, unheeding ears; prudence

and discretion were cast to the winds, and the Congress, in an unequivocal manner, declared itself in favour of carrying on without change, all the items of Mr. Gandhi's programme. Mr. Das and other prominent leaders immediately declared their intention of starting a new organisation named "The Congress Khilafat Swaraj Party." They were careful, however, to observe that they were not leaving the Congress. They have meanwhile resigned their offices in the Congress.

What is the position of this party? If Co-operating with the Government is sinful—and it is so, according to the highpriest of the movement—can a non-co-operator, consistently with his professions, enter the Council? If it is not sinful, where is the sense in defeating all motions indiscriminately? This party will therefore be without the sympathy of those politically minded persons who are swayed by emotions and whose feelings get the better of them, as well as of those who are more cautious and prudent and practical. What the attitude of the voters will be remains yet to be seen; the uncertain temper of the electorate cannot yet be gauged. Will they succumb to the election slogan of "Mahatma Ki Jai", or will they ask the candidates to work seriously for the redress of grievances which they feel more intimately and more materially than adorable ideals which touch them but remotely? Time alone will give an answer. The reduction of land rent, increase of wages, better irrigation systems, freedom from the money-lender's refined tortures—these are what mainly concern the masses. Apart from these, it is, for all practical purposes, immaterial to which party their representative belongs. It would appear, therefore, that the future of the new party is not very bright. What is the avowed goal of this party? How is it going to achieve Swaraj? Can a purely negative scheme succeed ultimately? And what is the Swaraj that this party desires to attain? To judge from Mr. Das' speech, the party is emphatically averse to the parliamentary form of government. What substitute for that exactly the party wants it is not easy to gather. In short, the new organisation is curiously lacking in those statesmanlike and thoughtful ideas which one is entitled to expect from its leaders.

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Messrs. Das and Nehru were the two leaders who latterly lent prestige to the Congress cause.

Their well-known sacrifices, their sufferings, the princely incomes that they gave up, proved to the people that at the top at least there were men to whom patriotism was an all-sufficing passion. Their virtual secession leaves in the Congress no towering personality enjoying the same esteem. Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer was correct in saying that once committed to Party, Civil Disobedience would become moonshine; Mrs. Sarojini Naidu put the same fact in different words when she said that individual civil disobedience is possible in the immediate future, provided there is unanimity in action among Congressmen. That this unanimity is wanting is patent to all observers. The wreckers have completely succeeded; the national organisation which the best intellects of India so laboriously reared up has become a centre from which parties are shooting off in all directions, leaving it spent-up, lifeless, inert.

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Even while Gaya was cremating the Congress, Nagpur was celebrating the Liberal Federation. This body of Congress seceders are intellectually and influentially the most powerful, numerically perhaps the weakest, of all organisations in the country. The old Congress stalwarts, Surendranath Banerji, Dinshaw Wacha, Narayan Chandavarkar, Ambika Charan Mazumdar, Bhupendranath Basu, are all members of this Liberal League. It has met four times, and three of its presidents have been recruited from Madras. The president of the Session was the Right Hon. Srinivas Shastri, who had just returned from his long tour to the Dominions. His presidential address was however disappointing. The literary finish of his speeches was absent from this; his trenchant wit and powers of attack were not in evidence. He desired to strike, but to soften the force of the blow. He intended to attack, but to take the edge off by hedging in his sentences with parentheses, saving clauses, qualifying adjectives. The weight of responsibility as an Imperial Statesman appeared to be too much for him. The head modified what the heart was eager to say. We hope we are doing no injustice to Mr. Shastri, but we believe that that is the mentality of the majority of the Liberal Leaders. Caution, prudence,—these are writ large on their speeches and their resolutions. They believe in getting what they can and striving for more. If they cannot get the

best, they are content with the second best. If the moon is unattainable, they do not rend the heavens with their cries of woe, they do not rant and rave ; they smile and win by smiles what frowns can never obtain. They lack to a large extent energy. They show a tendency to be satisfied with what they have. Their pace is too slow. If more enthusiasm could be infused into them, they would become a living force in the land. You cannot, after all, make the masses, grow enthusiastic over cold reason. They cannot glow with pleasure on hearing a masterly analysis of the Imperial idea, or closely-argued condemnation of dyarchy. Mr. Shastri's address disappoints the reader who goes to it for inspiration. A similar lifeless purely intellectual, almost academic atmosphere seems to pervade all the resolutions of the Liberal Federation.

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May one enter, without offence, a plea for preserving social and Educational Conferences free from the sordid atmosphere of politics? These Conferences at least should be run on non-party lines ; there, at least, men of all shades of political opinion should be able to assemble. Some of the present acerbity and bitterness of public life will disappear if that were done.

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What time has in store for political India who can say? Parties are springing up like mushrooms. Personalities clash and a party grows up. That is the genesis of a large number of our parties. The merging of the individual in the general good is a lesson yet to be learnt by our public men.

THE BOOKS OF THE QUARTER

INDIAN PHILOSOPHY.

A History of Indian Philosophy by Surendra-nath Das Gupta, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Sanskrit, Government College, Chittagong, Bengal, Lecturer in Bangalee in the University of Cambridge, Vol. I (Cambridge University Press, 1922). Pp. xvi and 528.

Introductory Note.

By Hon. Pandit Ganganath Jha, Sastri.

When some months ago the Editor of the *Hindustan Review* sent me a copy of Mr. Das-Gupta's book on Indian Philosophy, I thought, at first, that I would write off a 'review' of the ordinary 'reviewer's' type and send it quick. When I read the book however I found that it deserved much closer attention than that. Not relying upon my own judgment—which I find is getting somewhat musty and fossilised—I sought the opinion of my learned colleague, P. Gopinath Kaviraj regarding the work. What I expected from him was an expression of a general opinion on the merits of the work. But he went into the work with characteristic zeal and thoroughness; and I was very agreeably surprised when he handed over to me what I found to be an excellent review. I thereupon asked him to put it in shape for the Press. This he has now done; and I have much pleasure in forwarding it to the Editor. As it is very much better and more thorough-going than anything I could have written, I don't consider it advisable to write anything more; specially as I am in perfect agreement with nearly everything that P. Gopinath Kaviraj has said.

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I

The history of Indian Philosophy has been felt to be a desideratum for a long time past. Though interest in the study of Indian Philosophical thought dates in the West from the days

of Colebrooke no systematic attempt has yet been made to take a general survey of the philosophical speculations of India from the ancient down to the recent times. MAX Muller's "Six Systems," however interesting as a first attempt, is incomplete as a whole and in each of its sections, because it does not go far or deep enough. Some excellent works, though incomplete, have appeared from time to time on some of the systems separately. But a general presentation of Indian Philosophy was not undertaken so long. Jayanarayana Tarkapanchanana, in his Bengali work on Sarvadar-sana Sangraha,—which be it remembered was more or less an independent treatise on the lines of Madhava's famous work of the same name, made an humble attempt in this direction, but it was unsuccessful. So with Mr. Chandrakanta Tarkalankara's Fellowship Lectures, Vol. I, where the teachings of the different orthodox systems have been summarised.

In these circumstances the appearance of a history of Indian Philosophy aiming at a general survey, historical as well as philosophical, of the whole field is certainly to be welcomed. We accord our heartiest congratulations to the Cambridge University Press for the publication of a work of such supreme importance. And to Professor Das Gupta, the learned author of the work, we express our profound sense of admiration for his successful accomplishment of a self-imposed task of an apparently thankless character. Before proceeding into details when we shall have to offer our own comments on important points in every chapter we must at once say that the book is a remarkable production, being a veritable monument of industry and research.

II

The book is divided into ten chapters. There is not much to be said regarding the first three chapters which treat of Indian Thought in the Vedic and Upanishadic periods. The 4th Chapter is devoted to a study of some fundamental point of agreement among the different systems of Indian Philosophy and contains some observations on the systems themselves.

The author has nothing to say of the early state of philosophy in India, except what he says in connection with the Vedic and Upanishadic thoughts. What was the mutual relation among the systems in ancient times? How is the fact, for instance, to be explained that Kautilya (400 B. C.) in the '*Vidyasamudesa*' section of his Arthasastra comprises under *anviksiki* Sankhya, Yoga as well as Sokayata? Jacobi in his paper on "Frugeschichte der indischen Philosophie"* and Suali in his "Introduzione allo studio della Filosofia Indiana" (1913), have dealt with this question and others of a similar nature. Dr. Das Gupta is silent on the matter. He says nothing on this point on p. 227 (lines 14-15). As to the history of Indian Philosophy in and before the times of the Buddha and Mahavira we have a brilliant monograph from the pen of Dr. Schrader†. It contains a detailed exposition of the so-called Isvaravada and of the non-theistic but not necessarily materialistic doctrines of Kala, Niyati, Svabhava, Yadrchchha, etc. This exposition may now be supplemented by the results of modern researches, but its value is beyond question. We expected to find in the 4th Chapter a section devoted to a consideration of these interesting doctrines. Another section should have been added, giving an account of the theories which appear as *purvapaksas* in the 4th Chapter of Gotama's Nyaya Sutras.

The discourse on the system of Indian Philosophy is incomplete. While speaking of the classification of the systems the author uses the terms *astika* and *nastika* in their current sense. And the term "saddarsana" also is employed in its present meaning. The original sense of the words '*astika*' and '*nastika*' seems to have been a sect or an individual professing *sasvatavada* and *uchchhedavada* doctrines respectively. There was no question as to whether he had any faith in the infallibility of the Veda or in the existence of Isvara and of life after death. The Buddhists, Jains and Charvakas are called *nastika* only after the current usage of the term. The word "Saddarsana" too is pretty old, but in ancient times it did not stand for the six so-called orthodox systems which it does to-day. The connotation of the word has

indeed differed from time to time. But the enumeration of the six systems as in the *Saddarsana Samuchchaya* of Haribhadra and Rajasekhara, in the *Vivekavilasa* of Jinadatta and in the *Dohakosa* of Sarojavajra (as explained in its Commentary, *Sahajamnyapanjika*, by Advayavajra) does include the non-vedic schools as well.

III

The Brahmasutras 1. 1. 1 (अथातो ब्रह्मजिज्ञासा and 1.1.2(जन्माद्यस्य यतः) are wrongly translated (p. 70). The former sutra is rendered by the expression "How to ask about Brahman," which conveys no sense. जन्माद्यस्य does not mean "birth and decay," but only "origin, etc. (maintenance and destruction) of this (world)."

It is surmised that the first commentary of the Brahmasutras was written by Baudhayana. The name of the commentator meant by the author is Bodhayana and not Baudhayana. As to whether his was the earliest commentary we have no evidence to ascertain. Ramanuja refers to him, but says nothing about his age. Tradition makes Suka one of the earliest commentators. Bhartrhrapancha was another. Sripati (1200 A. D.), author of the *Jangama Saiva Bhasya* on the Brahmasutras, refers to several old commentators.

Sankara's school ought not to be called *Visuddhadvaitavada*, for this term is generally used, rightly or wrongly, for Vallabha's school. *Nirvisesadvaitavada* would perhaps be a better name for it. To speak of the metaphysical theories connected with the names of Ramanuja, Srikantha, Vallabha and Baladeva as dualistic is to go against the intention of the acharyas themselves. All these are supposed to be monistic, each in its own way. Madhva's system alone is expressly dualistic.

The fundamental points of agreement among the different schools (save Charvaka) are reckoned as (1) the 'karma theory,' (2) the 'doctrine of mukti' and (3) the 'doctrine of soul' (pp. 71-75).

The theory of Karma, one of the most important but ill-understood theories in Hindu Philosophy, should have been expounded clearly and in all its details. The little that is written upon it is indeed full of interest but likely to be misleading. The Vedic belief in mantrasakti is held to be the earliest form of

*Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1911, xxxv, 738.

†Über den stand der indischen Philosophie zur Zeit Mahaviras und Buddhas, 1902.

Karmavada. But the author's position remains obscure. The following points should have been considered carefully:

(i) Mantra is conceived to possess a potency of its own, if it is free from the faults resulting from incorrect pronunciation or misapplication. But how? Does it work through vibrations which are mechanical?

(ii) What is the relation between mantra and will-power? Does mantra produce its effect through will-power or directly? In the former case, is the will-power conscious or unconscious? What is the Vedic theory of mantra and of *Sankalpa* (Will)?

Professor Das Gupta seems to have looked for the origin of the Karma theory in the Mimamsa doctrines. It would have been an original contribution to our knowledge if he had made his position clear and intelligible.

The physical, mechanical and moral aspects of Karma should have been discriminated sharply. It is said: "the nature of the next birth of a man is determined by the nature of pleasurable or painful experiences that have been made ready for him by his maturing actions in this life." The meaning of the sentence is far from clear. By "maturing actions" the writer must be meaning विपश्यमान कर्माश्रय of which the English word is a literal translation. The maturing action in this life is the action that is bearing fruit in pleasure and pain. It was accumulated in previous lives, not necessarily the whole of it in the immediately preceding life. The Karma that is now bearing fruit and exhausting itself cannot be expected to fructify again. Certainly the author must then take "maturing action" to mean क्रियमाण कर्म i.e., the present karma of this life, viz., what is being accumulated here and now. But then it should be remembered that all the actions of this life will not bear fruit in the next life—they cannot do so; for the actions being of a mixed character cannot bear fruit in one birth only. Such actions may remain suppressed for centuries and milleniums, and then revive on finding suitable excitants. These karmas, which are held in abeyance, cannot be described as "maturing." Udayana calls them रुद्धवृत्ति in the Nyaya Kusumanjali (Stavaka II). These form part of the so-called सञ्चित कर्म. Some of the actions do indeed mature and constitute प्रारब्ध in due time. But all this depends on the 'strain,' its intensity,

the absence of a stronger hold upon the chitta, and so forth. The suspended karma corresponds to the yajya state of a disease. The immediately following birth is really determined by the nature and quality of the last karma of the present life. Both the Hindus and the Buddhists admit this as a matter of fact. The last karma serves as the nucleus, so to say, round which similar karmas gather together, not only from the present life but also from the infinite stock of *sanchita* karma which every man carries about within him. The whole mass (पिण्ड) thus formed and made ready for gradual fructification is usually described as प्रारब्ध, and determines the next birth. "Experiences that have been made ready for him" should be "experiences that have been earned by him (as his due)," meaning that he deserves them. Even the whole life of a man is not necessarily an index to what he is to be in his next life, though it is a most likely one. There is a modicum of free will left in every man, which may assert itself at any moment. If it does appear in the last moment and no subsequent 'willing' follows, it determines the next birth.

Referring to the doctrine of soul it is said that the Nyaya calls it "absolutely quality-less" (p. 75). This is a mis-statement, for the self, even in its pure and emancipated state, is not devoid of all qualities (according to Nyaya). Purity means freedom from specific qualities (विशिष्टगुणः), such as knowledge, desire, will, etc., and not from general qualities, such as ubiquity (विभुत्व), etc. These latter do inhere in the self even in moksha.

The exposition of Charvaka materialism (pp. 78—79) is one-sided, in that no notice is taken of the schools which identify the self with the Vital Principle, the special senses and the mind. The Bṛhaspati Sutra, viz. चैतन्यविशिष्टः कायः पुरुषः represents only one side of the materialism of ancient India.

IV

The account of Buddhist philosophy that follows is one of the best yet published. It sums up our present knowledge of the subject with great ability. The doctrine of natural causation known as प्रतीत्यसमुत्पाद has received a brilliant treatment. The identification of *bhava* with karma rather than with existence is interesting and highly suggestive. The term

भवप्रत्यय as distinguished from उपायप्रत्यय (in Yogasutra) seems to have a bearing on this sense of the word. The section on sita and samadhi (pp. 100—106) is brightly written. The Buddhist notions on karma have been examined (pp. 106—109), but this section is very fragmentary and incoherent. We are reminded in this context of Ponsin's illuminating exposition of this vexed doctrine from the Buddhist point of view (cf. "Way to Nirvana," pp. 57—106). The metaphysical or physical relation between *hetupanibandha* and *pratyayopanibandha* has not been brought out clearly. Nothing has been said regarding the so-called उपसर्ग प्रत्यय of the Buddhist Realists, the principle of affinity, without which the collocation remains unexplained. The formation of an aggregate is possible according to Buddhist Philosophy only on the assumption of the working of a principle like this. The accretion and accumulation of matter follow as a necessary sequence of the activity of this pratyaya.

Nothing is written about कुर्वद्रूपतु in connection with the discussion on causality, of which we hear so much in works like Atmatattvaviveka, Kusumanjuli, Bhamati, Naya Kanika as a peculiarly Buddhist doctrine.

The author says (p. 153) that right knowledge indicates the presentation, but so far as the object is a mere presentation it is not a subject of enquiry. This is rather vague. What Dharmottara really means to say, as it seems to us, is that of the two kinds of right knowledge, viz. (1) अर्थक्रियानिर्भास and (2) अर्थक्रियासमर्थ प्रवर्तक the second type is the object of philosophical enquiry (परीक्षा). Now this sort of right knowledge is not the immediate antecedent to 'attainment,' अर्थ प्राप्ति, because it leads to attainment through certain intermediate stages, viz., re-collection of what has been already experienced, desire (इच्छा) and effort (प्रवृत्ति). The first kind however leads directly to action (प्रवृत्ति). But this is no object of enquiry, the reason being that owing to this immediacy between right knowledge and action doubt cannot have any occasion for rising in the minds of thinkers, and hence need for enquiry never occurs at all.

'Kalpana' does not mean "association with names or relations" (p. 153, lines 12-13), nor is it the same as 'abhitapa' (line 23). Dharmakirti defines it as "अभिलाषसंसर्गयोग्यप्रतिभासप्रतीति which means literally a cognition in which the

object has the fitness of being associated with a name. In other words it represents the judgment in which both the वाचक (= अभिधान, name) and the वाच्य (= अभिधेयः, object) appear as related to each other.

The meaning of the word "Svalaksana" is given as "an object in its own uniqueness as containing only those features, etc." It would perhaps be more correct to replace the expression 'those features' by 'that character,' for the Buddhists do not admit an *avayavin* as distinct from the *avayavas*, so that from the Buddhist point of view we cannot speak of an object as containing features. The object referred to may of course be the sanghata i.e., the aggregate or assemblage of parts considered as a unit, but it is to be remembered that it cannot be the object of perception which is purely intuitive and free from the element of 'kalpana.' Hence the word svalaksana must be understood as *ksana* which is unique in character. [Compare in this context what the author himself notes on pages 409-410, footnote 1].

Perception is not necessarily sense-born. He can not therefore define it as a "correct presentation through the senses" (p. 154, line 6). To the Buddhists perception represents pure intuition without an element of kalpana or bhrama mixed up with it. Four kinds of perception are recognised in the Nyayabindu.

The remarks on Antaryvapti (pp. 156-157) are too brief and vague to be of general use. The doctrine of antaryvapti is a very important one. It supplies the basis on which the Buddhist inference in support of the theory of Universal Flux is sought to be founded. The peculiarity of Buddhist syllogism as consisting of two members only, rather than three or five, follows as a necessary corollary from this. A detailed discussion of this interesting doctrine would have been highly useful to the reader uninitiated into the mysteries of Buddhist Logic.

The syllogism given on p. 157 (para 2) is from Aung's Prefatory Note to Kathavatthu (Eng. Trans.), p. 4. It is erroneous. We have the three members thus given:

- (१) यो यो अग्निमा सो सो धूमवा
- (२) अयं पञ्चतो धूमवा ।
- (३) तस्मादयमग्निमा ।

The first member as it stands is wrong: it ought to be changed into यो यो धूमवा सो सो अग्निमा' so as to be free from *upadhi*. The second and

third members cannot follow from the first member in its present form. The Universal Com-mitance must be a relation free from *upadhi*.

It is said (p. 167) that after Kumarila and Sankara no vigorous disputes with Sunyavada doctrines are to be found. Probably the author has lost sight of Vachaspati Misra who was only a commentator (except for his small tract called "Tattvabindu"). We find Udayanacharya in the tenth century assailing the Buddhist Nihilism in his *Atmatattvaviveka* with certainly more vigor and acumen than many of his orthodox predecessors.

V

The section on Jaina Philosophy (Chapter VI, pp. 169—207) is proportionately brief. But the exposition, so far as it goes, is bright and clear, though there are points on which one may not find it possible to agree with the writer. The Jain conception of *sattva* should have been more clearly enunciated. What is written on pp. 174-5 is too vague to give any definite idea. The explanation of the expression उत्पादय्यश्चैव with reference to being is somewhat misleading. The Jains being advocates of *anekantavada* find it necessary to admit Unity as well as Diversity as equally real and fundamental. Being, as unity, is *dravya*, and as diversity is *parvaya*. Qualities appearing and disappearing (उत्पादय्य) represent only one phase—the changeable aspect—of Being, while the other aspect of Being (*viz.*, *dravya*) is eternal and immutable (चैव). *Dravya*, in its turn, may be looked at from a double point of view: as pure it is known as Pure Being (सत् सामान्) and as impure it falls under one of the two broad Categories (*viz.*, *Jiva*, *Ajiva*) which are described in all compendiums of Jain Philosophy. The so-called *Sangrahanava* deals with this Pure Universal Being. The author says: "This according to the Jains is the Vedanta way of looking at things" (p. 177). But Bhatta Akalanka points out* that the standpoint of Vedanta is not incidental with *Sangrahanava* in the Jain sense of the word, but is only a *semblance* of it. Similarly the point of view from which the *Nyaya* and *Vai-*

sesika schools interpret experience is not really the *naigamanaya* of the Jains, for the assumption of absolute distinction between substance and quality or the whole and its parts is subversive of the fundamental position of Jain ontology, *viz.*, *anekantavada*.

VI

Chapter VII is devoted to a study of the Sankhya system. It is mostly a summary, carefully prepared, of the contents of the author's "The Study of Patanjali," one of the most ably written works on the subject that have ever appeared in the English language. And it seems to us that Svami Hariharananda Aranya's works being expected, which are really unique in the field, no other author has succeeded in presenting such a clear and brilliant exposition of the system of Patanjali. One of the most interesting features of this Chapter appears to be the treatment of the early schools of Sankhya as described in the *Mahabharata* and *Charaka*. The author's observations on *Sastitantra*, a word which is now well nigh forgotten, are full of interest. He is inclined to think that the *Sastitantra* referred to in the *Ahimbudhnya Sanhita* represented the oldest theistic stratum of Sankhya and was by Kapila. Asuri only popularised it and Panchasikha modified it in an atheistic manner and passed it as Kapila's work. That the work became obsolete in course of time and was revived subsequently is apparent from the name *Sastitan-troddhara* which occurs in Gunaratna's commentary on *Samddarsanasanchchaya*. But it is difficult to say anything regarding the authorship of the work. The Jain Canonical literature sometimes (*e.g.* in *Anuyogadvarasutra*) refers to *Sastitantra* as distinct from "Kavila," *e.g.*, the system of Kapila. Dr. Schrader contributed a learned paper on "Das *Sastitantra*" in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*, 1914, pp. 101—110, wherein he came to the conclusion that there were in fact two works known by the name of *Sastitantra*, one written in prose by Varsaganya and the other in verse, and that at times the two works were confused.

The Sankhya notions of *Charaka* have been summed up (pp. 213—216) and discussed. I fail to see why no mention is made of *Susruta* who also treats of Sankhya in his *Sarirasthana*, Ch. I, nor of *Asvaghosa's Buddhacharita* where we have some interesting notes on ancient

* संग्रहः सर्वभेदेक्यमभिप्रेति सदात्मना ।

ब्रह्मवादस्तदाभासः स्वार्थभेद निराकृते ॥

Laghiyastraya, II. 8.

Sankhya. It would have been very useful if the author had attempted a comparative study of Panchasikha's philosophy on the basis of the episode, जनकपञ्चशिखसंवाद in the Mahabharata and the several sutralike sayings, scattered through Yogabhasya, which are attributed to Panchasikha. Svami Hariharananda studied these sutras by themselves but did not compare them with the M. Bharata.

Bhojavrtti is not a commentary on Vyasa-bhasya as stated (p. 212), but is a gloss on the sutras of Patanjali. Nagesa's *chhaya* is not a work of independent value; it is an imitation, and in some cases a verbatim reproduction, of Vijñāna Bhikṣu's Yogavartika. The author of S. Tattva Vivechana is not Simananda, but Kṣemananda.

On p. 213 (lines 1-4) we read: "Among the modern works to which I owe an obligation I may mention the two treatises *Mechanical Physical and Chemical Theories of the Ancient Hindus* and the *Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus* by Dr. B. N. Seal. "The former of these two is a paper contributed originally to the second volume of Dr. P. C. Ray's *History of Hindu Chemistry* and incorporated subsequently in the author's "Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus" pp. 1-56). I wonder how Dr. Das Gupta could name the "Mechanical and Other Theories" as a separate treatise from the "Positive Sciences," of which in reality it formed a part. Are we to suppose that he had not actually seen the contents of the latter book, although he says that he owes an obligation to it?

In the paragraph on Sankhya and Yoga Literature (pp. 212-213) we miss the names of many small, but interesting, Sankhya tracts which have appeared in the Chowkhambha Sanskrit Series of Benares under the collective name of 'Sankhya Sangraha.' The author does not seem to be always quite in touch with modern researches and publications. To say in 1922 that "nothing is known of the Matharabhasya" (p. 213) is indeed strange. Several years ago Dr. Belvalkar wrote an interesting paper on this Bhasya published in the "Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume." Since then the work has been published at Benares.

Dr. Das Gupta is right in questioning (p. 218, footnote 3) the correctness of the identification of Isvarakṛṣṇa with Vindhya-vasin. Takakusu suggested this identification, and afterwards all subsequent scholars accepted

it. But there are strong evidences in favour of the supposition that Vindhya-vasin (or—Vasa) was a different person from the author of Sankhya Karika. The views of the former, in so far as they are accessible to us, differ widely from those of the latter.

I am not sure if the author is right when he speaks of Vijñāna-bhikṣu as having introduced a change in Sankhya by his "treatment of the gunas as types of reals." If it is meant that the original sense of gunas was *mental states*, while the sense given by Vijñāna-bhikṣu is *reals*, it is far from correct. The gunas constitute the fundamental stuff of Nature, manifest (व्यक्त) or unmanifest (अव्यक्त). The ancient text quoted in Vyasa-bhasya, and attributed by some to Panchasikha and by others to Varsaganya, runs thus गुणानां परमं रूपं न दृष्टिपथस्तस्मिन् । In this passage the gunas are said to have a two-fold aspect (रूप), a higher (परम) one and a lower (अपर) one, of which the former being unmanifest is beyond comprehension and the latter is cognisable. But both are of the nature of 'reals,' though in different states.

It is said (p. 222) that the 'Sankhya Sutra' was not referred to by any writer until it was commented upon by Aniruddha (1500 A.D.). I am afraid this is not exactly the case, because Vallabhacharya (1200 A.D.) in his Nyayalilavati quotes from the Sankhya Sutra and calls it पारमर्ष सूत्र । पारमर्षि as an epithet for Kapila is well-known. The late Mahamahopadhyaya P. Vindhyesvariprasada Dvivedin of the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares used to tell us that he had seen in possession of one of his friends a copy of a manuscript of Bhoja's gloss on the Sankhya Sutras. The present Sankhya Sutras are undoubtedly modern, but not as late as they are generally supposed to be.

The author holds (pp. 220-230) that the 4th Chapter of Yogasutra is a latter addition. His arguments are not quite convincing. There do occur traces of 'Buddhist influence' even in the first three chapters.

Tamas is said to represent the "pain-substance" (p. 264). Probably the author means "rajas".

Bhartrhari does not indeed expressly give his assent to the identity of the two (or three) Patanjalis (p. 231). But it seems to me that the karika in the Vakyapadīva, I. 148, viz., "कायवाग् वदिविषया ये मत्ताः समवस्थिताः । चिकित्सालक्षणं ज्ञानशान्तिं वा विज्ञेयः ॥" involves a hidden reference to his belief in this identity.

The phrase सामान्यविशेषादिक as applied to dravya in the Vyasabhasya is rendered as the "unity of species and qualities". The Yoga-view of dravya as given above is really in contrast with the Vaishesika view in which dravya is considered as सामान्यविशेषानाम् । In other words, the Vaishesika view is that dravya is the substance in which सामान्य and विशेष inhere through the relation of समवाय । The Yoga view is on the contrary that सामान्य and विशेष have no independent existence as separate categories but only form two aspects of dravya. That is, dravya consists of a general aspect as well as a specific aspect. The rendering 'the unity of species and qualities' is therefore inaccurate.

VII

Chapter VIII, which is devoted to a consideration of the Nyaya-Vaishesika Philosophy, suffers most in consequence of lack of revision. Mr. H. P. Sastri's view, quoted (p. 278) with apparent approval, that 'Vachaspati made two attempts to collect the Nyaya Sutras' is erroneous, for the Vachaspati who wrote Nyaya Suchinibandha was not the same as the author of Nyaya Sutroddhara. The former lived in the 9th century A.D., and wrote Bhamati, Tatparyatika, Nyaya-karika and other philosophical works. The younger Vachaspati was the author of Khandanoddhara and of several independent nibandhas in dharmaśāstra: his date may be approximately assigned to the end of the 15th century A.D.

It is interesting to note that an attempt has been made (pp. 186, foot note 1; 280, foot note 3) to identify the school with whose name the doctrine of the ten-membered syllogism, referred to in Vatsyayana's commentary on Nyaya-sutra 1.1.32, is associated. But the identification does not seem to be plausible. The names of the ten avayavas mentioned by Vatsyayana and those of Bhadravahu as given in the Dasavai-kalikaniryukti are so entirely different that there is hardly anything to suggest their identity except the number.

The author is disposed to believe that the Vaishesika as expounded in the Sutras of Kanada represents an old school of Mimamsa. It is a very bold attitude, but he has maintained it with great consistency (pp. 280-285), and there is reason to think that he has succeeded. There are more evidences than have been actually adduced in support of the belief that the old Vaise-

sika, like the Mimamsa (but in a different way), was a non-theistic system*. That according to Kanada the Vedas were not the work of Isvara, but of rsis is to me beyond any question. Dr. Das Gupta goes further to the extent of asserting that this was also the view of ancient Mimamsa. The doctrine of eternity of Veda is supposed to be a later development of the Mimamsa view. This last proposition is open to serious objection. The doctrines of eternity of Veda and of eternity of sound are allied, and the belief that the ancient Mimamsa held sound to be eternal is incompatible with the statement that it regarded the Vedas (as the ancient Vaishesika did) as "written by some persons superior to us." And the argument in favour of the supposition that Kanada believed in the non-eternity of sounds is not convincing.

The reference to Kala in V.S. 2.2.9. (& 5.2.26) has nothing to do with the so-called Kalavada spoken of in the Svetasvatara Upanisad (1.1.2). The Kalavada, of which we have accounts given in the Mahabharata, Gunaratna's commentary on the Suddarsana Samachchya, Bhakotpala's commentary on the Brht. Samhita and other ancient works, † was an extremist doctrine, entirely different from the Vaishesika conception of Time.

'परत्वं' and 'अपरत्वं' cannot be translated by "quality of belonging to high genus or species" (p. 285). They mean really "farness and nearness (relative) in point of time or space". 'गमन' is not "horizontal movement": the word stands generally for all kinds of motion other than upward and downward vertical motion, expansion and contraction.

It is stated (p. 286)—"Karma is not necessarily produced by karma". This implies that Karma may sometimes be produced by karma. But the Vaishesika teaching is explicit on the question, viz., that karma can never originate from karma. It is likewise absurd to say (p. 286) that "karma is destroyed by karma". In fact karma is destroyed by its own effect कार्य viz., the resulting contact (संयोग) . The author seems to have laboured under a confusion between the words कार्य and कर्म । A

*The Sutra तदुच्यते इत्यादिप्रमाणम्, which occurs twice contains really no reference to God, although commentators have hit upon this Sutra as the principal ground on which the Isvaravada of Vaishesika is sought to be based.

†For exposition of this doctrine, see Schrader, loc. cit., pp. 17-30.

further evidence of this confusion is to be found in footnote 1 (p. 280), where it is said that "it is only when the karya ceases that dravya is produced". It is supposed to be from the Upas-kara, I.1.22, where the text reads—

"उत्तरसंयोगेन कर्मणि निवृत्ते द्रव्यमुत्पद्यते।" This means that the motion (of the constituent parts) ceases on bringing about their contact, and it is then that the substance, the effect, is produced. कर्म is motion, not effect कार्य

It is clear from the above that the author has used 'karma' in the first extract instead of 'karya' or effect, and has used 'karya' in the second passage where the right word would have been 'karma' or motion: thus the two words are used, as in common parlance, synonymously!

It is wrong to say "dravya may be produced even without karma". What the sutra, व्यावर्तिकात् really drives at is "because motion does not exist at the time when the effect is produced".

The rendering of the terms सासत्त्व and विशेष (as used in Vaisesika) by "genus" and "species" is unhappy. The words "genus" and "species", in Aristotelian and modern European Logic, imply a class-concept. They signify a collection of individuals marked by a common character, natural or otherwise. Sam-anya, in Vaisesika, is a distinct category and has no correspondence to the class-concept. It is the predicate inherent in substance, quality and motion by virtue of which different individuals are referred to one class. The nearest approach to this conception would perhaps be found in some of the scholastic works in the term "Universal".

"Things appear as existent" (p. 287, line 6) ought to be "dravyas gunas and karmas appear as existent". "Thingness" is certainly a queer equivalent for 'dravyatva'.

On p. 291 we read—"The atoms of different elements may combine when one of them acts as the central radicle (उपदम्भक)." The 'central radicle', a word which the author has apparently borrowed from Dr. B. N. Seal's work, is not a synonym of उपदम्भक. Dr. Seal has rendered उपदम्भक by "dynamic contact", "dynamic", "energister", &c. (see "*The Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus*," pp. 75, 109, 110, 111, &c.) उपदम्भक is a kind of nimitta. The particle which serves as the original material or nucleus is called "central radicle". According to Vaisesika the effect-substance (कार्यद्रव्य) cannot be produced from one kind of atoms. The

material cause is indeed the same kind of atoms, for different kinds of atoms cannot combine together as material cause (समवायिकारण). But the point is that unless different kinds of atoms as nimittas combine with the material atoms no substance will be produced. These heterogeneous atoms are called उपपृथक्. The contact of these with the material atoms brings about the द्रव्यारम्भकसंयोग among the material atoms themselves. The material atoms correspond to bricks and the Upastambhaka atoms to the cementing mortar in a building.

The author of Vyomavati, an old commentary on Prasastapada's Vaisesika Bhasya, is not "Vyomasekharacharya" as stated (p. 306), but Vyomasivacharya.

"The colours of ap and tejas are permanent" (p. 313) ought to be "the colours of ap and tejas atoms, &c."

Sridhara is reported to have said that "the colour of ksiti changes when heat is applied, and this is due to the fact that heat changes the atomic structure of ksiti and thus the old constitution of the substance being destroyed its old colour is also destroyed and a new one is generated." The author is evidently referring to Nyaya Kandali, (pp. 104, 107-111), and the Bhasya, (pp. 104, 106-107). Neither Sridhara nor the commentator has said anything to justify the above statement, which is opposed to the pilupaka theory of the Vaisesika. It is well known that so far as the specific qualities of the atomic substances are concerned they are all eternal just as the atoms themselves are eternal, except only the qualities of the earth atoms. For instance rasa, colour and touch of ap atoms, colour and touch of fire atoms, and touch of Vayu atoms are all eternal: it is only the gandha, rasa, colour and touch of earth atoms which are subject to change. This is really due to the fact that the earth atoms alone are subject to the chemical action of heat. This being the case the author's statement is a misrepresentation of the Vaisesika view. What he says is applicable to earth-compounds (पार्थिवकार्यद्रव्य) and not to earth atoms. But even then it should be borne in mind that the change in the quality of the earth-compound is not really due to the change of the atomic structure of the compound, but only to a change (under heat) in the quality of the earth-atoms. For the quality of the effect is determined by the quality of its material cause [this quality of the समवायिकारण being the

असमवायिकारण of the quality of the effect]. The author has not tackled the problem why and how the earth-atoms change their colour, &c., under paka. Assuming that they change the corresponding change in the effect is easily explained according to the ordinary laws of Vaisesika chemistry.

"Skin" (p. 314, line 4) ought to be "sense of touch." "Apekṣa buddhi" is wrongly rendered as "relative oscillatory state of mind." Adṛṣṭa (p. 317) is *not* a "quality of things." It is, conceived as dharma and adharma, one of the specific qualities of the self in its mundane existence. "Substance and samanya" (p. 310, lines 5-6) ought to be "substance or quality or motion and samanya". "Atoms and Viśeṣa" (p. 319) should be "atoms, &c. and Viśeṣa". In Vaisesika we cannot describe the material cause as having "some power within it" (p. 320). The definition of samavaya karma is wrong: "A karma is called samavaya when its materials are found inseparably connected with the materials of the effect" (p. 322). Ear is *not* composed of akāśa: it is akāśa itself limited and conditional by *tympanum* (p. 333). All the cognitive senses do not "go over to their specific objects" (*loc. cit.*).

The author nowhere makes any mention of "The Vaisesika Philosophy to the Dasa-padārthasastra" as edited and translated by Dr. Ili (London, 1917). The study of Vaisesika without any reference to this unique work is necessarily incomplete.

VIII

In the Chapter on Mimamsa Philosophy (Ch. IX, pp. 367-405) the systems of Prabhakara and Kamariṇi have both been considered. But there is no reference anywhere to the views of Murali Misra who is usually regarded as the third great thinker of the Mimamsa School: सुरारिस्तुतीय-पण्या. His works are not now available, but many of his views on ontological, and epistemological and logical questions have come down to our times through quotations, mostly in Nyaya literature; we know that the system has not been touched upon in the 'Prabhakara School of Purva-Mi'; but there were obvious reasons why that could not be done; but there are no such reasons in the case of a comprehensive work like the one under review.

The questions of Self-validity of knowledge, origin and varieties of perceptual knowledge,

the nature of knowledge itself, the psychology of illusion have been dealt with (pp. 372-387). The view of Prabhakara that the proof of the true existence of anything ultimately rests on our consciousness (p. 380, lines 3-7) is not an exclusive one. The Vaisesika also admits the same fact. The Upashara (7, 2-26) expressly endorses the dictum: संविदेव हि भगवतो वस्तुपदमे नः शरणम्। The nature of knowledge as explained on pp. 382-3 (para. 1) is not the general view of Mimamsa philosophers, but of the Prabhakaras. The word *vyasajyavrtti* (p. 380, line 24) does not mean the jati "residing in its entirety in each individual constituting that jati." The best example of a dharma which may be described as *vyasajyavrtti* is उभयत्व or द्वित्व (and similar other numbers).

The section on the psychology of illusion is rather brief and very obscure. Anyathakhyati which the Naiyayis hold is different from the Viparita khyati of the Bhattas: they are not synonymous. The akhyati theory is the exclusive view of the school of Prabhakara in which there is no room for erroneous cognition. It is not shared by the Bhattas nor really by the Sanhlyas.

IX

The account which the author gives of Sankara Vedanta (Chap. X) is exceedingly interesting. He starts with Gandapada (800 A.D.) giving a short exposition of his philosophy (pp. 424-428) and proceeds to dwell at greater length on Sankara's own teachings as found in his commentaries and supplemented by his successors in the school. That Gandapada was indebted for many of his utterances to inspiration from the Buddhist source cannot be denied. And this probably accounts for the undoubted existence of Buddhist influence in Sankara's dialectic. But it is hard to believe that Gandapada was actually a Buddhist, for the central thesis of his karikas consists in Brahmapada, and not Sunyavada or Vijnanavada.

The description of post-Sankara system of thought is brilliant. So far as the general exposition of the system is concerned it is all that could be desired—learned, rational, clear and convincing. Leaving aside certain minor points to which exception could be taken this portion is an admirable piece of philosophical work. It sums up the main conclusions, together with the arguments which were used in support of them, of some of the principal schoolmen of the

medieval period. The greatest defect of this chapter, as of some of the other chapters, is absence of historical presentation. Of all the orthodox systems of Indian Philosophy Vedanta of Sankara's School is perhaps the only one, save the doubtful case of Nyaya Vaisesika, which lends itself readily to historical treatment. What one expects to find in a history of philosophy is not simply the exposition, lucid as it may be, but the way in which a system of thought develops itself in course of time. The section on Buddhist philosophy is an attempt in this direction. It would have been better from the viewpoint of history if the author had given an exposition of Sankara's doctrines in terms of certain philosophical problems and shown on a chronological basis how those problems were dealt with by each and every one of the subsequent authorities. In this manner a historical study of each of the problems would have been given. Those who are familiar with the history of Vedanta are aware that there are practically endless shades of opinion on almost every topic in this philosophy. Appayadiktisat's summary of these differences, however brilliant, is inadequate in comparison with the vastness of the field.

The bibliography of Vedanta (pp. 418-420) is complete for all practical purposes, though we miss in it names of certain important works. Suresvaras Vartika on some of the Upanishads is an excellent work on Vedanta and indeed it has long been believed to contain the 'last word' on the philosophy बार्तिकानां ब्रह्मविद्या. No mention is made of Brahnavidyabharana, a very old and valuable commentary on Sankara's Bhasya, nor of Chit-sukhas commentary on Nyaya makaranda. Madhusudana's Advaitaratnaraksana, Vedantakalpalatika and commentary on Sanksepa Sariraka ought to have found a place on the list. Nrsinhasrama's date is not 1500 A.D., but 1547 A.D.,* and as Madhusudana Sarasvati, being a younger contemporary of Raghunatha Siromani, must also be assigned to the same period,† and it is difficult to see how he could 'follow' Dharmarajadhvarindra who was undoubtedly comparatively modern. And there is no reason to suggest that Advaitasiddhi was written in imitation of Vedantaparibhasa.

I am not quite sure that the author is right

when he says (p. 422) that the monistic tendencies of the upanishads were revived principally by Gandapada. One who has studied the philosophical portion of the Vakyapadiya carefully feels convinced that several monistic systems had been already in existence when Bhartṛhari wrote his Karikas which sum up the main teachings of his predecessors.

The "philosophical and epistemological questions which determine the position" of Sankara vedanta have been reviewed (pp. 408—418). The most interesting portion of this review is the correspondence which the author had with Professor Stchersbatsky of Petrograd about the meaning of the Buddhist word "Svalaksana". It seems to us that the author has proved in a most forcible and convincing manner that the word means pure sensation of the moment with a character of its own—a character which cannot be expressed in language, but is not certainly equivalent to "nothing," as Prof. Stchersbatsky understands it. We should remember, however, that it is of the nature of a 'Ksana,' and not a real santana.

The genesis of savikalpaka and nirvikalpaka jnana as explained on page 412 from the Nyaya standpoint is far from accurate. It is said: "In perception the proper contact of the visual sense with the object first brings about a non-intelligent non-apprehensible, indeterminate consciousness (nirvikalpaka) as the jugness (ghatatya) and this later on combining with the remaining other collections of sense, contact, &c., produces the determinate consciousness: this is a jug." It is wellknown that no knowledge can possibly arise unless there is (a) contact between self and manas, (b) contact between the manas and the particular sense and (c) contact between the sense and the object concerned. Of these the first contact is really eternal in a certain sense, although with each fresh "mental act" it may be said to be 'renewed' (विलक्षण). As soon as the sense is in contact with the object, either by going out towards it or in some cases the object happening to be in touch with it, the manas comes with lightning speed to be in contact with the sense. Nirvikalpaka jnana is not a judgment or Visistabuddhi which is a consciousness in which the subject and predicate are mutually related as such. It implies no predication, but it does reveal both the terms of the judgment, viz. the subject as well as the predicate, but not the relation. The dharma and dharmi (e.g. jugness

*The date is given at the end of the author's Vedantatattvariveka as अन्ते ब्रह्मविद्येन गणिते Samvat

†Cf. Indian Antiquary, 1912.

and jug) are equally made known in this indeterminate consciousness, and not the dharma alone. The Savikalpaka jnana that follows binds up these two factors, till now irrelevant, into a synthetic whole expressible in language as a proposition (e.g. this is a jug). It is the stage of interpretation of experience (on the basis of sanskaras revived from the self). The process how the Lare presentation of indeterminate consciousness is automatically translated into the judgment stage is very complicated and demands elaborate discussion.

The self (endowed with its specific qualities of course) was to the Naiyayika as much an object of manasapratyaksa as of inference. For those who denied it as an object of mental pratyaksa the only means of proof was inference.

X

From what has been said above it will appear that the book requires careful revision. It is a brilliant, indeed a monumental, work, and but for the blemishes some of which have been already noticed it would have been an indispensable handbook to all students of Indian Philosophy. Free from the defects just mentioned it is likely to continue to remain the standard history of Indian Philosophy for a long time to come. The author has every claim to liberty in setting forth his own views and giving his own interpretations: he must have sufficient latitude for free movement. But what he should scrupulously guard himself against is the possibility of misrepresentation of facts. He must take the premises as he finds them and draw his own conclusion therefrom. One may or may not feel disposed to accept his conclusion—that is a matter of personal judgment—but there must be no room for questioning the accuracy of the data. It is one of the serious drawbacks in the study of Indian Philosophy now-a-days that people interested in this study donot as a rule consider it necessary or find it congenial to go through the pages, line by line and word by word, of the Sanskrit works and determine as closely as possible from the original sources the real meaning of the texts. Unless the traditional interpretation is carefully studied and examined in the light of common sense no correct judgment is possible. Professor Das Gupta who has delved deep into the mines of philosophical scholarship of ancient and mediæval India has indeed been very

cautious in sifting his data and making legitimate deductions. But on several occasions we have caught our Homer nodding. On the whole it would have been a much better procedure if the author had taken some pains to substantiate his statements with more frequent references, and in specially obscure cases with quotations from the original works. The danger of unconscious misrepresentation would then have been minimised.

Another striking defect of the book is the fact that the author has purposely left out consideration of all unpublished works on Indian Philosophy. Unfortunately we are not yet in a stage when we can do without manuscripts in our researches. It will be long before such a day is expected to come. Many important works have still to be read in manuscripts alone.

We have said nothing about the misprints which disfigure almost every page of this book. There are faults of omission and commission. The proofs donot seem to have been carefully read. All this is lamentable. It does not reflect credit on the University Press of Cambridge that a work published under its auspices and with the prospect of wide circulation should have been allowed to come out so much neglected.

Our review has become already a lengthy one, and space will not permit us to add anything further. We earnestly hope that in the second edition of the work, which we are confident will be shortly on demand, attempt will be made to revise it thoroughly, to supply references and quotations wherever they are required and to bring it in line with the results of the latest researches. The immense labour spent upon its preparation will then have been fully justified.

GOPINATH KAVIRAJ.

Allahabad.

SIR PHEROZESH AH MEHTA.

H. P. Mody: *Sir Pherozeshah Mehta—A Political Biography*, 2 Vol. (The Times Press, Bombay) 1921. Rs. 12/-.

“What a romance my life has been!” cried Stevenson during the end of his days. Sir Pherozeshah, who may truly be called one

of the makers of modern Indian politics, lived a strenuous and active, if indeed not a particularly romantic, life. Not many years ago one of the most prominent figures that trod on the public stage in India, one of the most fascinating, attractive and brilliant, was Pherozechah Merwanji Mehta. In the civic life of Bombay, his position was supreme; of the University of Bombay, he was the virtual dictator; in the Indian National Congress none dared question his authority; in the Indian Legislative Council he introduced what was called, with a note of bitter complaint, 'a new spirit.' Such a man, the cynosure of all eyes in the land, the brilliant speaker, the keen debater, the cautious but firm leader, with the compelling look, the towering personality—suddenly succumbed to death, and we were made once more to realise the eternal truth of the paradoxical statement of the poet that 'we are such stuff as dreams are made on, and our little life is rounded with a sleep.' But while we may justly express our dissatisfaction with the decree of providence which snatches away our leaders in the plenitude of their power and the height of their usefulness, we need not submit to the gloomy view that such men have lived in vain. If the principles for which they worked, the truths which they upheld, the honesty and straightforwardness which they brought to bear upon their activities, the high standard of public morality and political rectitude, if these survive them, we can console ourselves with the thought that their names will for long be remembered, and will serve as an inspiration to generations yet unborn. Biographies of such men are therefore of great value in as much as they enable the public to view the hero at close quarters, to know his faults and foibles and yet to admire and respect his greatness. In India, however, biography is an art that has not been developed. When we say this, we do not forget the admirable little series of biographies published by the enterprising Madras publishers. But we do hold that full biographies of eminent Indians are very rare. It is, therefore, with very great pleasure that we welcome Mr. Mody's admirable life of Sir Pherozechah. The subject was great and it has been worthily treated. It was not easy to write a good biography of Pherozechah; thousands of letters written by others to him are in existence, but very few of his own letters can be found. And it does not appear that

he kept a private diary. Thus the two most fruitful sources of a biography—journals and correspondence—were wanting in this case. But, even though we do miss thereby the personal touch, we cannot say that the book before us is disappointing, especially as the writer disarms criticism of this kind by calling it 'a political biography.' We congratulate Mr. Mody on having written such a readable and interesting life, and the *Times of India* Press on its excellent format. May we hope that before long their devoted followers will let us have full biographies of Tilak, Gokhale and Dadabhai also?

Pherozechah's was a many-sided career; it is not possible in the brief limits of one review to discuss at any length all the varied aspects of this remarkable life. But we may note at least his work in the Bombay Corporation and University, in the Congress, and in the Imperial and Bombay Legislative Councils. Pherozechah won his spurs in the arena of public life by the resolute stand which he made against the Vernacular Press Act, which James Maclean rightly dubbed the Black Act. That brilliant but erratic Viceroy, who was known in poetic circles as Owen Meredith, allowed the measure to be rushed through a single sitting, getting it introduced into the Council and passed into law within two hours. Sir Erskine Perry called it 'a retrograde and ill-conceived measure, injurious to the future progress of India, and inconsistent with all our past policy'; and Sir Arthur Hobhouse went so far as to say that it was class legislation of the most striking and invidious description. The legislation aroused bitter feelings; protests poured in from all directions; the public mind was powerfully agitated. All this, however, was not sufficient, to move the sphinx-like attitude of Government. It was not till Lord Ripon came out as Viceroy that the agitation against this most obnoxious measure calmed down. Among those who strongly condemned the Government of Lord Lytton on this ill-advised piece of legislation was Pherozechah. In a masterly letter written by him to the *Times of India*, less than a week after the Act was passed, Pherozechah made certain statements which we may recall in view of the shrewd and penetrating analysis of the situation created at the time. 'Moderate and respectable men,' he said, 'their functions not yet hardened into habits, would retire from the

field without hardly a struggle. Violent and unprincipled agitators would thrive on the persecution which would furnish the very nourishment necessary for their existence.'

Pherozechah's activities in connection with the ill-starred Ilbert Bill are well-known. Speaking at a public meeting held in Bombay, while seconding a resolution which declared that the Bill was necessary for the just and impartial administration of justice, Pherozechah quoted Bright who said, referring to certain Anglo-Indians, that having won India by breaking all the Ten Commandments, it was too late now to think of maintaining it on the principles of the Sermon on the Mount. Pherozechah's speech moved the *Times of India* to compliment him on possessing as great mastery of the somewhat difficult English idioms as Cicero ever did of Greek. The perverse and undignified opposition of Anglo-Indians induced Government virtually to withdraw the measure.

As has been pointed out so often, Pherozechah's long and honourable association with the Bombay Corporation recalls Joseph Chamberlain's equally honourable part in the civic life of Birmingham. The Corporation elected him its president four times—thrice with a united voice, the fourth time by a narrow majority. His last election was much criticised at the time, for it was felt widely that the man who had so long wielded sole power should not have condescended to be elected after a contest. And the criticism was just. Pherozechah had just returned from Europe. The presidentship was vacant, there was a keen competition for it, as the incumbent was to have the honour of welcoming the King-Emperor on setting foot on the shores of India. There were two candidates, Mr. Manmohandas Ramji and Sir Sassoon David. Pherozechah's return was eagerly looked for. There was no doubt that he would soon assert his authority and settle the matter summarily. But it was to be otherwise. He was pressed by enthusiastic followers to offer himself for election, and in an unguarded moment, he agreed to stand. People were amazed. That the dictator should have stooped to seek election sounded incredible. And the humiliation was that till the very last, the result was doubtful. When at length, on April 3, 1911, the results were announced, it was learnt with relief that Pherozechah headed the poll, getting 26 votes, as

against 25 for Sir Sassoon and 12 for Mr. Manmohan Das. The election was of course very popular: but just critics were inclined to agree with the caustic comments of a writer in the *Capital*, who said that the victor accepted the Crown with mock-modesty, his heart fluttering the while with fierce love of a triumph gained by a destruction of all the decencies of public life which he himself had hoped to establish. But the last word on the subject has been said by Mr. Mody:—'Those who listened to the old leader on the occasion and knew his enthusiasm or active interest in the preparations for according Their Majesties a fitting welcome must have readily forgiven him the election he had been persuaded to contest, and felt that Bombay had indeed been worthily represented on a great and memorable occasion.'

We have said above that Pherozechah was accused of bringing 'a new spirit' into the Legislative Council. The Hon. Mr. Mehta, as he then was, was elected by his non-official colleagues in the Bombay Council, as their representative in the Imperial Council in 1893. His work there in connection with the Cotton Duties Bill, the amendment of the Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act, the amendment to the Cantonments Act, the amendment of the Police Act, is or should be well-known. His services were amply recognised at the time by his grateful and admiring countrymen throughout the land. His fearlessness, intrepidity, honesty of purpose, stern conviction, the powerful logic which fortified his statements, the moving rhetoric—these were responsible for jubilation in non-official circles, while consternation ran through the official camp at the discovery that at last a foeman worthy of their steel had come to close grips with them in their very 'sanctum sanctorum', one who was as sure of his facts as he was, confident that he voiced the sentiments of all his enlightened countrymen. W. C. Bonnerji gave a dinner in his honour at his house in Park Street; a number of public workers gave another dinner at the Calcutta Town Hall with Manmohan Ghosh in the chair; a public address was presented to him by the citizens of Calcutta. Bombay of course delighted, by various functions, to honour her first citizen. Such a mark of universal approbation was in those unregenerate days rare and correspondingly gratifying to the recipient. It was at one of these functions that Gokhale quoting a shrewd critic who had said that Mr.

Telang was always lucid and cultured, Mr. Mehta vigorous and brilliant, and Mr. Ranade profound and original, went on to say that Mehta combined in himself the independence and strength of character of Mandlik, the lucidity and culture of Telang, and the originality and wide grasp of Ranade. At one meeting, held in the Gaiety Theatre, Pherozeshah indulged in a biting, sarcastic, and cutting criticism of Sir Mancherjee Bhowmallee who, in England, had given expression to exceedingly reactionary views. Pherozeshah referred to him as one 'who, though never a prophet in his own country, is, by some occult process of metamorphosis made to look like and pose in England as if he were really a great man in Israel, a man who hob-nobbed with our Rajas and Maharajas, was hand in glove with our merchant princes, and who was at the same time the sympathetic friend and patron of the zemindar and the ryot.' And then followed that most delightful story about 'the native and the dog'. Mr. Bhowmallee's position after this was neither pleasant nor enviable.

Of his work in the Congress, we shall only say that he belonged to that first batch of stalwarts who established the institution and infused into it the spirit which animated it till the fateful days of December, 1918. As chairman of the reception committee of the Bombay Congress of 1889, as president of the Calcutta Congress of 1890, and as chairman of the reception committee of the Bombay Congress of 1904—Pherozeshah exercised strong wholesome influence on the policy and deliberations of that body. It was mainly due to his firm, uncompromising attitude that the Moderates were saved from being swept off entirely in the Surat imbroglio. Pherozeshah was elected president of the Lahore Congress a second time in the year 1909. We had hoped that Mr. Mody's biography would lift the veil from the mysterious incidents connected with that Congress and tell us the final story of Pherozeshah's resignation of the presidentship. We are, however, disappointed and all that we get from him is a bare statement of the incident. That mystery remains, therefore, unsolved. For the Reception Committee of the Congress, this time held at Bombay in 1915, Lord, then Sir Satyendra, Sinha, had been elected President. He declined; Sir Pherozeshah wired, 'You dare not'; Lord Sinha yielded. But Pherozeshah died on November 5, and the 1915 Congress was not

destined to have the privilege of his sound and sagacious guidance.

Pherozeshah was one of the greatest Indian orators of his time. He had not, it is true, the copious eloquence of Surendranath Banerji, nor the merciless logic of Gokhale; the silver tongue of Malaviya was not his, nor the thundering periods of Lalmohan Ghosh. He lacked also the polish of Anandmohan Bose and the literary flavour of Rashbehari Ghosh or Bishan Narain Dar. But in sarcasm, in wit, in forcible and vehement expression, in persuasiveness and dignity, and in the numerous other subtle arts of the trained rhetorician, Pherozeshah was unsurpassed. He satisfied that supreme test of a speaker's ability which Ben Jonson mentions of Bacon, that the fear of every one that heard him was that he should make an end. He was an orator whom an audience loved to hear. We must not be understood to mean that his oratory consisted only or even mainly in ridicule, wit, banter, or sarcasm. He could be moving and emotional, and he could command the simple eloquence which rests on pathos. He could be solemn also. Who that heard Pherozeshah's moving peroration to his Congress Presidential address in 1890, or had read it later, concluding with the ever-charming and moving lines of Newman, 'Lead, kindly light,' could fail to be touched? As a specimen of his eloquence of a different type, we may quote the following heart-rending words which Mehta uttered at a public meeting held after Gokhale's death:—

'Even if I attempted to make a long speech, I feel I could not have spoken connectedly and coherently for the reason that I feel so sad, so depressed, so forsaken, advancing as I am in years, on seeing valued and beloved colleague after colleague dropping away from my side. Telang has been gathered to his fathers, Ranade is no more amongst us, Budruddin has passed away, our beloved Gokhale, alas, has now closed his eyes for ever and for ever, and many others whom I could name, are leaving me one after another, forsaken and desolate.' The speech, as Mr. Mody remarks, was full of pathos and charged with deep emotion; the audience noted that the commanding tone and the compelling look had vanished.

We began by saying that Pherozeshah was the greatest personality among the Indians of his generation. It was this that gave rise to the charge of autocracy against him. Answering this charge, in 1904, at a meeting of the

Congress Subjects committee, Pherozezshah asked the delegates why they did not press their views upon the committee, and carry it with them. 'But,' cried Lala Murlidhar, a Panjab delegate 'your personality carries every thing before it.' 'I can't help my personality, gentlemen, can I?' quickly rejoined Pherozezshah. No, he could not help his personality; it was before his personality that even Mr. Gandhi had to unbend—Mr. Gandhi, who, we learn from this book, described himself on his letter-paper, in 1895, as 'Agent for the Esoteric Christian Union and the London Vegetarian Society'.

It is always an interesting problem to dive into the secrets of the 'might have been'. What, for instance, would have been Pherozezshah's position, had he been alive to-day? Would he have succeeded in saving the Congress from being captured by the party for which he had an instinctive distrust? Would he have allowed himself to be swept off his feet, to lose control over rudder and sail, to let emotion and sentiment triumph over reason, to submit blindly to the autocracy of a single individual, howsoever gifted, sincere and selfless? These are questions of great interest, but only one answer is possible. His political vision was warped by no empty, dreamy prospects; he saw far and saw clear. But he would assuredly not have missed the opportunity of working the Reforms successfully and thereby establishing most undeniable claims for a full measure of responsible government. A destructive programme like the one that is now convulsing the country would have found in him a stern and formidable opponent. But he has joined the choir invisible. Let his epitaph be the resolution of the Bombay Congress of 1915:

'He was one of its distinguished founders and staunchest supporters. His long and exceptional career in the Bombay Legislative Council, his remarkable work in the Imperial Legislative Council, and his other public activities, extending over a period of well nigh fifty years were of the highest value to the country. His invaluable services in the cause of local self-government, higher education, and constitutional progress combined with a firm grasp of principles and broad outlook, made him one of the greatest and most brilliant of Indian leaders and will remain a splendid example and a rich heritage for the people of India whom he served with rare ability and disinterestedness,

indomitable courage and sagacious statesmanship.'

A. N. J.

THE CONFESSIONS OF BARBELLION.

W. N. P. Barbellion: *The Journal of a Disappointed Man* (Chatto & Windus, London) 6s. net.

Who was Barbellion? He commenced his career as a reporter on an obscure English provincial newspaper. He was a keen naturalist, and eventually gave up reporting and secured an assistantship at the Natural History Museum, South Kensington. He would have died unknown and unrecognised, save by those associated with biological science, had he not written an astounding autobiography which has added something to English literature and not a little to the study of psychology.

Barbellion, like the De Concourts, Amiel and Marie Bashkirtseff, chose the journal form. His confessions are intimate, egotistical, morbid, humorous. "I tell all, yes all," wrote Marie Bashkirtseff. But writers of confessions, from Rousseau to St. Augustine, do not tell all because it is humanly impossible to lay bare the mind, heart and soul. There are secrets that cannot be revealed, skeletons in cupboards that cannot be exposed to the public gaze. Barbellion's revelations go no further than those of his predecessors. But he told much, and he has left behind him a human document which we cannot afford to neglect, though it leaves us with an aching heart and a grim realisation of the bitterness of life and the folly of earthly wisdom.

There is much in Barbellion's *Journal* which will irritate the most sympathetic reader. His egotism is not the naive conceit of Benvenuto Cellini but is akin to the smug self-esteem of George Borrow. Barbellion so frequently praises himself that we are continually forced to withhold our own approbation. We cry out against his eternal self-analysis and his medical history sheet which he constantly thrusts upon us. Benvenuto is always lovable, in spite of his faults, because he has the brave spirit of an adventurer. Barbellion wanted to

live at top speed. He wanted to drink life at a thousand springs, but Fate willed otherwise. He fought against tremendous odds which would have staggered the gallant Don Quixote himself. He wanted to live, but spent most of his time contemplating Death with all the morbidity of Strindberg and Dostoeffsky. But having paid due regard to these irritating defects there remains a compelling force about his Journal that will be apparent to all discerning readers. We find, apart from his morbidity of Strindberg and Dostoeffsky. But his introduction describes as "a certain thread of unpremeditated and exquisite beauty." We find, too, the broad smile of sunny humour. Barbellion is vital, sincere, and he reveals a tragedy as poignant as the closing scene in *Jude the Obscure*.

In the first part of the Journal, 1903-1911, we see Barbellion absorbed in Natural History, dissecting and examining a variety of living creatures, and writing bitterly about reporting "some skinny-witted speaker" or the inanities of a greasy guardian of the poor. On one page he writes concerning she "Arterial System of Newts," on another we read about "an awfully pretty girl" he met on Lundy Island. There is infinite variety. He writes: "Read Thomas à Kempis in the train. It made me so angry I nearly flung it out of the window." He regarded Maeterlink as a comfortable philosopher, and advocated burning Omar. Barbellion writes: "Timid folk, of course, want some Rock of Ages, something static. They want life a mill pond rather than the torrent which it is, a homely affair of tea-cups and tabby cats rather than a dangerous expedition." Barbellion clung to his little ego. It was not static, and it let him down badly.

In London Barbellion had moments of gaiety. He writes: "I was *immensely happy*. My mercury was positively ringing the bell." At such times he seems more like a light-hearted schoolboy than a bespectacled biologist. In a playful mood he writes:

"After tea, we all three walked in Kensington Gardens and sat on a seat by the Round Pond. My umbrella fell to the ground, and I left it there with its nose poking up in a cynical manner, as She remarked.

'It's not cynical,' I said, 'only a little knowing. Won't you let yours fall down to keep it company? Yours is a lady umbrella

and a good-looking one—they might flirt together.'

'Mine doesn't want to flirt,' she answered stiffly."

Barbellion suffered terribly from ill-health, and judging from his parents he must have inherited much of their physical weakness. His heart was constantly troubling him, and later he developed creeping paralysis. But he writes bravely in his Journal: "I will keep my claws sharp and fight to the end." He managed to squeeze a laugh out of life at a time when most men would have groaned in agony and loudly cursed their unfortunate lot. Barbellion received blow after blow, and took a morbid pleasure in examining the fist that knocked him down. Fate seemed to kick him when he lay bleeding in the dust. He was sexually passionate, but despaired of ever meeting a woman to love. The eternal feminine occupied a good deal of his thought. "To me," he writes, "woman is the wonderful fact of existence." His work at the Natural History Museum caused him annoyance. His brilliant gifts, through no fault of his own, were wasted upon work that was not worthy of him. He sent various contributions to the papers with little success. But his power of observation and his descriptive ability never failed. In his Journal there are dozens of little sketches that delight us with their originality and aptness, enough to mark him out as a writer of exceptional brilliance. Vanity which means false judgment, led him astray when he claimed that Marie Bashkirtseff was the "very spit of me." That wonderful Russian woman who crowded so much into the short space of twenty-four years stands alone. No one remotely resembles that vital and tragic figure of womanhood.

The young man marries, and his marriage seems to have been a success in spite of his awful suffering. He writes very tenderly: "My darling sweetheart, you ask me why I love you. I do not know. All I know is that I do love you, and beyond measure. Why do you love me—surely a more inscrutable problem. You do not know. No one ever knows. 'The heart has its reasons which the reason knows not of.'". A child is born, and the father writes: "My nerves are giving way under the strain. . . . One leg (the left) drags abominably. . . . We shall want a bath-chair as well as a perambulator." He writes later:

"I must have some music or I shall hear the paralysis creeping. That is why I lie in bed and whistle." How bravely he holds on in spite of all! When he is a little better he struggles to the Museum. "I am too ill for scientific work so I write labels and put things away. I am simply marking time on the edge of a precipice awaiting the order, 'Forward.'"

Nearing the end of his life Barbellion, when the pain was unendurable, crawled from his room in search of laudanum. He mounted the stairs with difficulty, like a baby trying to climb a steep mountain, and collapsed on the floor of the bathroom. "Next morning," he writes, "my darling asked me why I went upstairs. I did not answer, and I think she knows."

Barbellion regarded his Journal with a passion that amounted to love. He had faithfully set down the tragedy of his life, and longed for the praise of posterity. Few will turn its pages unmoved, and many will regard his Journal as a precious though poignant piece of work. Barbellion died on December 31st, 1917. He writes: "As for death, I am a little bit of trembling jelly of anticipation. I am prepared for anything, but I am the complete agnostic; I simply don't know." Barbellion was an egoist, but he was a brave one. "I will keep my claws sharp and fight to the end." He did. In his earthly life he confessed he knew nothing of the mystery of immortality. Now he knows all.

F. HADLAND DAVIS.

THE OIL MONOPOLY AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

Oil: Its Influence on Politics. By Francis Delaisi, (The Labour Publishing Co.), London, 3s. 6d.

There are few raw materials whose monopolistic control means the very life breath of modern Empire building and expansion besides that of Oil and the Oil Resources of the world. It was customary up till a decade ago to say that the stability of the British Empire depended on Coal and Iron, whose abundance in the United Kingdom and various parts of the Empire built up a most unrivalled financial superiority for

England ever imaginable; her business supremacy meant a military supremacy as well. It was Coal and Iron and allied natural resources for her manufacturing industries that Germany coveted and got in the war with France in 1871, and as a result became a powerful rival to Great Britain, commercially, navally and politically. With the crushing of her pre-war rival the fear of rivalry to her Empire did not pass away for England. She had yet to undergo still another test, more formidable in its nature and more menacing in consequences. This test became evident when a German inventor brought out a type of Engine, making it possible to replace coal in the steam driven machines by petrol and its derivatives. Oil gives more heat for the same volume, is cheaper, and takes less room; the saving in bunker space allows more goods to be carried at less cost, and this leads to a lowering of freights and of the prices of all commodities carried by sea. This *Commercial Revolution* leads to financial problems, which as the author well says, would enable "the people which obtains the world's carrying trade to levy a tithe upon all those for whom it provides transport and thus add to its capital. New industries arise round its ports, and its banks become clearing houses for international payments". Thus the controlling center of credit would naturally be displaced. This financial situation would link up with its natural adjunct, the military, when "warships, as well as merchantmen adopt oil fuel, the smaller volume of which allows both their radius of action and the weight of their guns to be increased. But in this case the nation which has the biggest supply of oil will be able—other things being equal, to build the most powerful navy and to reduce all rival fleets to a position of dependence". The *diplomatic stage* soon follows as a corollary, which soon merges in the general arena of international politics, the greatest problem of all "modern democracies".

In this manner we have the Washington Conferences, the Geneva Conferences, Spa Conference, where the World Powers gather to "arrive at an understanding of mutual goodwill and international adjustment".

America, with her practical monopoly of the oil trade of the whole world, thus became a powerful 'menace and rival' to the British Empire. But the Empire expansionists in England have proved equal to the task, as her

present position in the monopoly of the control of the oil resources of the earth, immediate as well as potential, proves. Within ten years when the danger signal was raised over the British Empire, "the silent efforts of a few men such as Sir Marcus Samuel, Chairman of the *Shell Transport*, Lord Cowdray, head of the *Pearson Oil group*, Lord Curzon, and Prof. Sir John Cadman, of the Birmingham University", have not only thrown down America's Oil monopoly, but have resulted in a grave threat to her Atlantic Ally who is reduced to a second rate oil producer. England has made the foundations of her Empire more secure than ever, in so far as this monopoly of oil gives the greatest stability to her Navy and her merchant marine which constitute the very strength of the British Empire.

The history of this latest adventure in British Imperialism has been fully and most interestingly set forth in the authoritative book under review. As a result of his investigations in this field M. Delaësi makes the interesting and pertinent remark, "For the man who best knows the position of parties and the intrigues of diplomats will have but a superficial view of society, incomplete, and therefore false, unless he constantly bears in mind the economic realities which you point out". "Indeed," he continues, "should he merely take the simplest of the necessities of life and follow it in its transformations and movements, from the original mine or field to the consumer, he will see in operation not only the technical machinery of industry, transport and banking but also the delicate mechanism of all our political and social institutions". The study of *Oil* will amply support this statement.

The history of the British manoeuvres for the control of oil begins with the advent of the *Shell Transport*. To the latter's assistance was brought "a group of daring financiers, capable of taking the long view, controlling a large capital, and highly expert in the art of issues, flotations and other combinations to which the limited liability company so readily lends itself". The British sidetracked the Rockefeller Standard Oil Company and avoided rousing any attention to their own efforts. Slowly British prospectors scoured India, Ceylon, the Malay States, Northern China and Siam. Important concessions were acquired in the Dutch East Indies, in the Caucasus and Roumania. Insensibly the *Shell Transport* stretched its tentacles over every quarter of the world. Then the expansion spread

to the United States itself, and with the development of the Panama Canal, to Mexico and the South American Republics. "To quiet all fears (ie. mainly, American) the Shell Transport had the ingenuity to associate itself with American firms wherever necessary." *The Burlington Investment Co.*, which is apparently American but in fact British enjoys the control of an oil undertaking at the very entrance of the Panama Canal. The British Companies began to have effective monopoly in the Mexican Eagle and the Royal Dutch, both of which are international in their interest and control. In the East the *Anglo-Persian Oil* and the *Burma Oil Companies* have secured Britain from all competition in Asia, and they are virtually under the control of the British Admiralty and their capital is more than half furnished by the British Government. Even the French Oil resources in Morocco, Roumania, and Baku are practically in the hands of the British who furnish the technical skill to the French companies. The San Remo secret agreement parcelled out the oil fields of Turkey and Mesopotamia and Syria the major part of which accrue to the British. "From now you may seek the world over", the author points out, "and you will not find a single oil producing country in which the British group has not control of important sources." In concrete form the British Oil monopoly assumes the following condensed table, as given in this book:

Europe—				
Roumania	...	Shell	Royal Dutch	
Russia	...	"	"	
America—				
California	...	"	"	
Oklahoma	...	"	"	
Texas	...	"	"	
Trinidad	...	"	"	
Venezuela	...	"	"	
Mexico	...	"	"	(Mexican Eagle)

Asia—				
Dutch East Indies	...	"	"	
Persia	...	Burma Oil Company		
Persia	...	Persian Oil Company		
(Mesopotamia, Syria and Turkey, under the Mandates)				

Africa—				
Egypt	...	Shell	Royal Dutch	
To put it in another way, the British Oil Monopoly controls a potential oil wealth of nearly fifty-three billion barrels, against America's seven billion, and moreover the U.S. oil lands				

are rapidly suffering exhaustion from her own enormous domestic consumption which does not leave even five per cent. of her production for export.

While British manoeuvres were being carefully and boldly carried on in all parts of the world for a quick monopoly of the earth's oil supplies, America basked in a false security, contenting herself proudly that her statistics beyond doubt proved to her that her oil production remained unchallenged. She supplied over seventy per cent. of the world's demands, and during the war, as Lord Curzon put it in an after dinner speech soon after the Armistice, the oil supplies of the United States had made it possible for the Allies to score the victory they did 'floating on a sea of oil'. However, the Americans soon began to be disillusioned of their erstwhile confidence in this respect. Soon after the Armistice, American experts noticed a falling off in the stocks in the reservoirs of the oil trusts. By the end of 1920, the production of the Ford automobiles had risen to the prodigious figure of eight million which needed petrol. It was estimated that the domestic consumption of oil would rise to 85% of production, leaving only 15% for industry, shipping and export. In the face of these facts America woke up and began attempts to scour the oil fields of the world. She soon found out to her sorrow that wherever she tried, she came up against some obstacle or other from British interests; and not only that she discovered that the British firms had all their policies definitely, though indirectly, tending to exclude any American firm from getting any foothold in any of the territories in which the British had far enough consolidated their interests. An American prospector looking for oil in Palestine in 1920 was put under arrest by the Allenby Mission there and in vain Mr. Wilson protested against the procedure. The controversy over the share that America claims in the oil fields of Mesopotamia, which is a mandate territory, and in Persia, is fairly well known. The political antagonism in the U. S. against the League of Nations came as a godsend to Great Britain, as it gave an easy time for her to 'make hay while the sun shines'. She bullied France into signing an agreement with her, which gave France the melancholy satisfaction of having political control over Syria, while England gained possession of its oil fields. The results in the oil competition have been frankly and authoritatively told by Sir Edward MacKay

Edward, one of England's "petroleum statesman," in these pitiless words. "To the tune of many millions of pounds a year, America before very long, will have to purchase from British companies, and to pay for in Dollar currency in progressively increasing proportion, the oil she cannot do without and is no longer able to furnish from her own store,.....and that means an annual payment of \$1,000,000,000 (dollars) most, if not all, of which will find its way into British pockets". Anticipating an American counter attack, Sir Edward flung this challenge: "With the exception of Mexico, and to a lesser extent of Central America, the outer world is securely barricaded against an American invasion in force.....The British position is impregnable.....Unfortunately for them, and fortunately for us, their eyes have been opened too late". The reply to this outspoken expression of Britain's supreme position in the oil monopoly of the world was as frank and forceful. Franklin K. Lane, late Secretary of the Interior of the U. S. Government, after dwelling on the Polk Report on the oil situation as affecting the U. S., wrote, "A policy of this description has inspired among Americans the naval development of the United States. Now, do such proceedings lead to peace or to fear that Britain, in acting thus, desired to check war? Is it admissible that Britain—not merely British capitalists, but the State or Government of Great Britain, that is a political entity,—should take possession of a market and keep the rest of the world out of it? It is surely obvious that if not only nationals but States themselves, represented by Governments, take part in economic competition and turn themselves to commercial houses or industrial firms, there is no hope of appeasing the conflicts which will constantly arise out of commercial rivalry". Whether we may believe or not the warnings of Bernard Shaw that these "two English speaking peoples are ever moving towards a bloody conflict", there is enough material in the history of Oil monopoly, for which America is now so sorry that she did not wake up to the problem before, to furnish one with all plausible misgivings that these two "kith and kin" nations will fall out with each other one day. Though almost the entire stock of international "problems and misunderstandings" were carefully exhibited in the recent Washington Conference, the nature of which ranged from the three thousand odd islands in the Pacific to the

economic partitioning of China and Central Europe and Russia, discerning people had no doubt that the main trouble was as to the conflict between America and England as to 'Who is to be the Master of the World?' Diplomatic softening of the heart have manifested themselves in the Pacific Pact, the Naval Treaties, the resolution on China and the control of cables in the Pacific, but the real heartburning continues. One needs only to take a cursory review as to the situation in respect of the pessimism regarding the Genoa Conference, whose sessions are weekly suffering postponement, to understand who holds the key to the economic reconstruction of the world, and why America refuses to take part in this Conference. The study of the World's Oil Problem has presented us with a glimpse of the nature of this economic conflict, and this will provide us with a knowledge of the underlying forces that are driving modern governments in maintaining their prowess and their ever growing desire to expand their interests wherever there is either geographical or political loophole. To those who believe even at this late moment that principles like 'Self-Determination' or 'Right of all nations to full sovereignty' have any influence on the master nations of the present will seem to be under a mystic delusion when they will study this little book by the Frenchman who has told the story of one phase of the international Capitalism which is holding the entire world in its grip, in a most clear and interesting manner. An appendix containing the San Remo secret agreement between France and England, and several utterances of British, French and American financiers and statesmen makes the study illuminative.

D. S. V. R.

THE TURKISH CRISIS.

The Turks and Europe by Gaston Gaillard
(Thomas Murby & Co., London) 1921. 12s. 6d.

Europe in Asia Minor by Felix Valyi
(Thomas Murby & Co., London) 1922. 1s. 6d.

Near Eastern Affairs and Conditions by
Stephen Panaretoff (Macmillan & Co., Ltd.,
London) 1922. 10s. 6d.

"The records of diplomacy from the days when the flag of the prophet was first unfurled from the walls of Byzantium might well be characterised as a History of the Eastern Question". (Vicomte E. de Guichen). It does seem most strange that a little jagged corner of Europe should be able to command such a predominating influence over the destinies of the whole continent—indeed of the major portion of the world, if we reckon the reacting impact of the Turkish complexities on regions which seemed remote yet were sensibly alive to all the influences. We are thinking of India—a subject nation with no politics of her own—both Moslem and non-Moslem, which responded to a very remarkable degree to the Turkish crises. What special charm that little corner of Bosphorus possesses for adventurers of all nations it is difficult to say, but that Byzantium has focussed the conflict of Christendom and the Moslem world through centuries unending is as true as history. We can not define the attraction but we feel unable to resist it and it is best to leave it at that.

The attention of the political world is again directed these days to the Turkish Question because of a diplomatic mishap. The love of greed persuaded the victors to the love of the Greeks, through the soft influences of Sir Basil Zaharoff. And although the party chests of the Allied political circles continued to swell there was visible no appreciable improvement in the process of subjugation of the Turkish nation through the effective enforcement of the Treaty of Sevres. That Sevres denoted the response of European victor-politics to Sir Basil's purse is becoming clear as the veil is being lifted from over the incidents that culminated in the Sevres Treaty; that the forced peace was never accepted by the nation whose titular heads were compelled by personal interest to put their signatures to it is well-known to every careful student of the Near Eastern politics. The diplomats however depended upon the mailed fist and the ruin and destitution that followed the big war to quieten down the spirit of the people into an acceptance of the *fait accompli*. They however forgot to take count of the Man; and when a military commander of powerful intellect gave the call for resistance, no wonder the crushed nation found in him the ideal leader and flocked to his standard to a man.

What iniquities the Sevres Treaty perpetrated on the Turkish nation is apt to be forgotten by

lapse of time, but it is advisable to keep its provisions in mind if we are to understand the following events with some understanding.

The main articles were the following:—

1. The establishment of a special regime for the Dardanelles, the Bosphorus, and the Sea of Marmora. An International Commission was to be set up to control the passage of shipping, levy tolls, and act as a Board of Conservancy.

The three Western Powers were given two votes each on the Commission, America and Russia two each (contingently), Greece and Rumania one each, and Turkey and Bulgaria one each (contingently). This last spring Turkey was offered two votes and the permanent presidency of the Commission.

The freedom of the Straits was to be safeguarded by a Zone of the Straits, so drawn as to include the Gallipoli peninsula and the Bigha peninsula on the Asiatic side, and two broadish strips of continuous territory along both sides of the Sea of Marmora to the Black Sea.

This zone was to be in the perpetual naval and military occupation of the British, French, and Italians, and to be forbidden ground to Greeks and Turks.

Constantinople itself was to remain under Turkish sovereignty, but the Turkish land forces were to be reduced to 50,000, and the Sultan's bodyguard was to be no more than 700. Turkey was forbidden to form a navy.

- 2 Eastern Thrace, as far as the Chatalja Lines, was assigned to Greece, together with the islands of Imbros, Tenedos, Lemnos, Chios, and several others. Greece was required to sign a separate treaty with Turkey guaranteeing full protection for the rights of the Turks in the ceded territories, and notably in Adrianople.
3. A special government was provided for Smyrna and a considerable enclave round it. Turkish sovereignty was nominally to be preserved, but the administration was to be effectively

Greek. At the end of five years there was to be a plebiscite, and if the majority vote was in favor of becoming Greek the whole enclave was then to be incorporated in the Greek kingdom.

Turkey opposed these provisions with vehemence. Kemal rebelled against the signatories who proved to be tools in the hands of British diplomacy. Greeks were the buffers against which Turkey would split her head and possibly break Greece as well. What a booty for economic exploitation and increase of mandatory jurisdictions! Now that Kemal has turned the scale against the Allied plan by a disconcerting victory in arms over the Greeks, the Western diplomacy is at pains again, to retrieve what it can and is at the time of writing 'negotiating' another treaty with Turkey, with Greece left out in the cold and possibly Sir Basil refused the entrance. We have no desire to discuss the Lausanne propositions but it is essential to grasp the background of contemporary historical facts if we are to follow intelligently the course of "progress" made at Lausanne and interpret correctly the conflicting reports regarding Turkish insouciance. The literature before us helps to visualise these factors.

M. Gaston Gaillard is a reputed French scholar whose views on the Turkish question command attention. The English translation of his book *The Turks and Europe* deals with the various phases of the Eastern question up to August 1920 only, but much careful material is documented to bring out the main strands along which the conflict runs. M. Gaillard does not condemn the Treaty of Sevres so severely as he does the actual conduct of the British in the administration of that Treaty. He is frankly anti-British and vigorously condemns the wholly unjustifiable policy of the British Foreign Office which culminated in the occupation of Smyrna by Greeks and of Constantinople by the British. The author includes France in his indictment but as the Near East Allied policy was dominated as much by England as the Ruhr policy by the French, France comes in for little attention and receives a few excuses by the author for her contrary conduct. M. Gaillard traces the development of the conflict from the Armistice and shows how a muddleheaded, aggrandising and economically selfish policy of Imperialism sought to suppress an alien people, alien in race and in religion. They did not reckon the

rebound from the impact of Near East on the diplomacy of the world and the result was a furious blaze from Angora to Delhi. In framing the Treaty of Sevres, victor Europe conveniently forgot President Wilson's fourteenth point—"The Turkish parts of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured of secure sovereignty, but the other nations now under Turkish rule should be assured security of life and autonomous development" which formed the basis of Turkish surrender. But she also forgot that Turks embraced a religion whose followers counted in millions under the Allied flag. They also forgot that they couldn't possibly all have Constantinople and yet they remember Napoleon's saying—"I could have shared Turkey with Russia; many a time did I speak about it with the Emperor, Alexander I, but every time Constantinople proved the stumbling-block. The Tsar demanded it, and I could not cede it; for it is too precious a key; it is worth an empire." But why so? Felix Valyi has put it in a nutshell in his book *"Europe in Asia Minor"*—

"Access to the most important highways
"leading from Europe to Asia is held
"by the Moslem world, and it is only
"with their permission, or across their
"political corpse, that the diplomat or
"or the business man, wishing to transact
"his affairs in the Middle East, is
"able to pass on his way."

Valyi premises that the cause of all these troubles lies in our "attempts to solve the Turkish problem without the Turks." He sees in the grinding pressure of the West the legacy of medieval Christendom with its theological bias and prejudices in regard to the East. Felix Valyi has a direct eye on fundamentals and as long as Europe refuses to re-consider its programme of economic exploitation, as long as it continues to use two systems of weights and measures, and persist in confining the Rights of Man exclusively to the white race, it will merely prove that it has inherited under a new guise the old appetites which from time immemorial have fired the bosom of the human wolf. He thinks that time has come to dissolve the notion of the British Empire as a distributing office for dividends and his appeal rests on the higher moral consideration of international brotherhood and kindred love:—

"Hold out your hand to the East, try to
"understand Asia, for she is seeking

"you and will allow herself to be
"guided by you, and will help you to
"save the world if you will only consent
"to help her throw off the stupid
"bureaucratic rule which is strangling
"her!"

But this is of the future. Pressing problems urge for a speedy solution. The Turkish demands, as formulated by the Angora Assembly, do not seem so exorbitant as to negative the idea of a settlement, viz., (1) the immediate evacuation of Constantinople by the Allies; (2) the abolition of the Capitulations; (3) a plebiscite in Western Thrace (4) the return of Mosul to Turkey, the rectification of the Syrian frontier, autonomy in Mytilene, Chios and other Islands off the coast of Asia Minor; (5) the complete independence of Turkey and; (6) an indemnity of £240,000,000 from Greece.

Greece and Bulgaria, Turkey's two Western neighbours, present a threatening flank to her independence, and while Greece has played largely in the hands of the Allies, during the postwar period, Bulgaria was the chief bait and the principal danger spot used by Russia in pre-war days in furtherance of her predatory designs on Constantinople. Stephen Panaretoff, in his collection of lectures delivered before an American University, discusses the Bulgar problem in relation to the Turks. His view is worthy of attention though his treatment smacks more of self-defence than of an impartial judgment. Compare, for instance, his dictum as regards the Christian subjects of Turkey:—

"It was not due to generosity or magnanimity or to a spirit of toleration
"merely that Christians were allowed to
"exist or preserve their faith and
"nationality. Sultan Mehmed, the
"Conqueror, chose the part of wisdom
"when, instead of taking extreme
"measures towards the Christians, he
"tried to win their allegiance by conceding to them certain immunities and
"privileges."

with what Engelhardt wrote—

"The Christian religion enjoyed almost perfect liberty, and that if the Greeks, the Catholics and the Armenians still required protection in the exercise of their cult, it was because their own fanaticism and inter-religious rivalry

"made it necessary to protect them one
"against the other."

How destiny will shape the near future of the Turkish problem it is not possible to predict with certainty, but it may be safely urged that no lasting solution is possible unless and until

the dogma of superior cult is weeded out of the minds of European diplomats and a more humane basis chosen as the starting point of all negotiations.

WHIP.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

ART.

Indian Architecture. Three volumes. Edited by M. A. Ananthlalwar, B.A., A.C.E., B.C.E. and Alexander Rea, F.S.A. (Scot.) Compiled by A. V. Thiagraja Iyer. (A. V. T. Iyer & Sons, Triplicane, Madras) 1920—22. Rs. 16/- each Vol.

A monumental work—the result of the joint labours of scholarly Indians and a qualified Britisher—on a subject of great importance to the Indian renaissance now in process of development, is *Indian Architecture*, in three large volumes. It has been compiled by Mr. A. V. Thiagraja Iyer (of the Mysore Public Works Service) and edited by Messrs. M. A. Ananthlalwar (Retired Engineer, Mysore Service) and Alexander Rea—the latter a well-known authority on South Indian antiquities and art, who retired after holding for many years the office of Superintendent of Archaeology, Southern Circle. Apart from the letter-press—to which we shall presently refer at some length—the work under consideration is superb, in its mechanical execution, for an Indian production, being neatly printed on excellent paper and profusely embellished with splendid photographic illustrations, instructive maps and plans of famous monuments of architecture in this country, especially of the Dravidian temples, reproducing admirably line drawings of the details of carvings on the pillars. These numerous photographic reproductions, maps and plans form a very valuable and most notable feature of the work under review and will appeal in a large measure to the average reader than will the letter-press to the student—though the latter is even more striking to one interested in the subject.

Turning to the letter-press, the book is divided into three parts, each devoted to the consideration of one topic and forming one volume of the complete edition—the first dealing with ancient Indian architecture as expounded in Sanskrit treatises on the subject, the second with the examples of the different styles to be found in the country, and the third with modern architecture as practised in India. The General Introduction is invaluable as containing a wealth of highly useful information—geographical, historical and architectural—presenting a brief but masterly survey of the subject as a whole. The classification adopted is into Dravidian Buddhist and Indo-Saracenic, which though simple is open to

exception on grounds more or less sound and tenable. The principal features characterizing each of these three styles are lucidly explained and elucidated by the copious illustrations and originally-drawn maps, referred to above—the latter showing clearly the boundaries and outlines of the various ancient Kingdoms which rose and fell in this country and the different styles of architecture which were evolved and flourished in them, from time to time. On the best authority of Oriental Scholars and of eminent European Architects, from whose works the Editors have drawn freely, it is pointed out that Indian Architecture is of a growth older than that of any other known architecture in Europe and that it need not be ashamed of comparison with any type of architecture prevailing in Europe—an opinion with which all competent critics will unhesitatingly agree.

To go into some details, the first volume is devoted to a critical exposition of architecture as treated in the Sanskrit literature, in the *Silpa Sastras* especially the *Manasara*, besides other ancient Indian *Silpaic* works, accompanied by numerous instructive plates, which enrich the value of the letter-press. The second volume deals in detail with the different styles of architecture, and is illustrated lavishly with a large number of highclass half-tone plates. This volume is an exhaustive study of the various specimens of the different styles of Indian architecture at present accessible in the country. But though the first and second volumes are learned, luminous, and instructive to the scholar, the architect and the artist, it is the third and last volume that is, for the bulk of the educated Indians, useful, valuable and interesting as it treats of modern Indian architecture. In this volume the editors have made a very laudable effort to encourage Indian engineers, architects and house-builders to adapt the best features of ancient Indian architecture to modern requirements and thereby assist the development of Indian renaissance in the art of building structures for our present-day purposes conceived, designed, planned and built in a truly national style. This volume contains varied and elaborate designs for bungalows and dwelling-houses suitable to a climate like that of India. The Introductory remarks show the patriotic and highly commendable object of the Editors to encourage and foster the growth of an *Indian Renaissance style of architec-*

ture. In the pursuit of this aim and in the condemnation of unwholesome and blind imitations, the Editors are enthusiastic and we sincerely trust that their earnest representations and appeals will bear fruit with the march of time. By the numerous designs illustrated, the Editors have afforded scope for many a modern builder to copy or adapt the styles for their own purpose. Several engineering topics, such as proportion, symmetry, light, air, drainage and water-supply, are ably dealt with. The fundamental elements, or *Motifs* that give the characteristics of strength, beauty, and utility to structures, are dealt with in succession though not elaborated.

We have called this work monumental and so, indeed, it is. It was truly a gigantic undertaking on which the compiler, the editors and the publishers embarked upon and the successful completion of their enterprize must be a source of profound satisfaction to educated Indians, as also to all well-wishers of the progress of this country. We heartily welcome the work as a highly laudable attempt to rouse public interest in a subject which ought to be a source of pride and gratification to every patriotic Indian. The work deals with an unexplored science of Ancient India and evinces research and scholarship of a high order. The Editor-in-chief, Mr. M. A. Ananthwar, who is a capable and experienced Engineer and an Oriental scholar and his Joint Editor Mr. Alexander Rea are undoubtedly eminently fitted for the arduous task which the work involved. Notwithstanding the existence of a few previous publications on the subject by Western writers, a book on Indian Architecture from the Indian standpoint has long been a keenly felt want, which the present work is more than well calculated to satisfy. It is a book teeming with a rich and rare scholarship, and is unique in that it is the first attempt to unearth and popularise this neglected literature, supplementing it with illustrations of the magnificent specimens of Architecture with which India abounds.

We earnestly hope that a valuable work of this kind will receive from the Indo-British Government and the rulers of the Indian States that large measure of unstinted support which it so richly deserves. It will be, for its scholarship and wealth of learning, an indispensable work alike for study and reference on the subject of Indian Architecture and it, therefore, pre-eminently deserves a place in every public and private library. The price of Rupees Sixteen per volume is none too large for a book of this character, which is in itself a work of art—alike for the excellence of its letter-press and the beauty of its superb illustrations. The study of this work is an intellectual treat of perennial interest.

Twelve Mogul Paintings of the XVI Century. Text by C. Stanley Clark. (Victoria and Albert Museum, London) 1921.

Twelve Mogul Paintings of the XVI Century ought to find a large circle of readers and admirers in this country. These twelve collotype reproductions of Mogul paintings provide the student with a memento, as vivid as is possible to the process employed, of a series of unusually fine works chosen from those discovered in 1881 by the late Sir Purdon Clarke. Mr C Stanley Clark, head of the Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum, prefaces the volume with an historical sketch of the life, in the sixth century, A.D., of Amir Hamzah, a soldier of Islam; with a summary of the romance woven round his heroic figure in illustration of which, in the sixteenth century, these paintings were executed; and with the facts of their discovery and ultimate acquisition by the Museum. The plates themselves are full of characteristic action and decorative vigour. They offer much valuable detail of architecture, costume, and foliage proper to the period of their execution. Of one picture we are told that it specially interested William Morris for its treatment of tree growths and flowering plants, and it is easy to see that the delicate design of leaves and branches would vastly have delighted the great designer.

The Court Painters of the Grand Moguls. By Laurence Binyon, with historical Introduction and Notes by T. W. Arnold. (Oxford University Press, London, Bombay and Calcutta) 1921.

Mr. Laurence Binyon is not only an accomplished poet but a great authority on the arts of India and the Far East. His *Court Painters of the Grand Moguls* (the value and utility of which are substantially increased by its enrichment with an excellent historical Introduction and elucidative notes from the pen of Sir Thomas Arnold, who is well qualified for the task) gives a vivid account and a graphic sketch of the many famous artists on canvas and ivory who adorned the courts of the descendants of the famous Emperor, Babar. Valuable and instructive, however, as are the texts supplied by Mr. Binyon and Sir Thomas Arnold, what are even more interesting than them are the forty plates of magnificent illustrations superbly reproduced—many of them in colours. Taking the letter-press and the illustrations together, they jointly constitute a work of the deepest interest to students of Mogul Art in India. We unhesitatingly recommend Mr. Binyon's excellent work to a careful consideration at the hands of all interested in mediaeval Indian painting. We may utter a word of criticism.

So scholarly a writer as Mr. Binyon should not lend the weight of his authority to the use of a barbarism like the expression "native Indian" (p. 63). Surely, there can not be in the nature of things "foreign Indian". We forbear lest we say more on a disagreeable topic. A word is sufficient to the wise—such as is Mr. Laurence Binyon.

The A. B. C. of Indian Art. J. F. Blacker (Stanley Paul & Co., 31, Essex Street, Strand, W. C. 2, London) 1922.

We fear we cannot unreservedly felicitate Mr. J. F. Blacker upon the production of his *A. B. C. of Indian Art*. A text-book on the subject was certainly wanted but we can not say that Mr. Blacker has removed the want. The work is admittedly a compilation, but it is not even that at its best. The compiler does not seem to possess a first-hand knowledge of the subject, and he is not fully qualified for the task entrusted to him. The publisher's announcement of the series in which this volume appears has it:—"The text of each volume is written by a competent authority in a popular style, the letter-press is printed from new, clear type and the illustrations have been reproduced with the utmost care". We desire to express our appreciation of the get-up and the mechanical execution of the books in the series called "A. B. C. series for Collectors", but the volume under notice can not be said to be written by "a competent authority". Mr. Blacker's work, though exceedingly well illustrated, consists largely of extracts from standard writers on the subject. Nevertheless the book would be useful for reference in the absence of a better one being available. It deals with Indian architecture, painting, and industrial handicrafts and gives a connected though not original survey of the arts and crafts of this country. In his preface Mr. Blacker refers to "the Cawnpore Gate, Delhi". There is no such gate in the capital of India. The reference is clearly to the Kashmir Gate.

A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method. By Sir Banister Fletcher. Sixth Edition, (B. T. Batsford, Ltd., 91, High Holborn, London) 1921.

A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method was originally published so far back as 1896 and was jointly written by (the late) Professor Banister Fletcher and his son Sir Banister Fletcher. The new edition—the sixth—issued last year bears only the son's name as in its present revised, recast, enlarged and overhauled form it is a new work rather than a new edition. Its merits are well-known. It is a

compact, handy and compendious sketch and is very profusely embellished with excellent photographic reproductions of the nearly one thousand buildings it describes and surveys. It is suited alike for study and reference—select bibliographies forming a very useful feature of the work. But it suffers from a fundamental defect—its division of the subject into historical and non-historical styles. The latter comprise (according to the author) the ancient American, and Asiatic (Chinese, Japanese, Indian and Saracenic). These are, therefore, very cursorily treated. But the book is highly valuable for the study of the styles of Europe and America.

Goethe's Literary Essays (Including Essays on the Theory of Art). A selection (in English) arranged by J. E. Spingarn, with a foreword by Viscount Haldane. (Oxford University Press, London, Bombay and Calcutta) 1921.

The greatest French critic, Saint-Beuve called Goethe "the greatest critic of all times", while Taine described him as "the Master". That is the testimony of France on the Greatest German genius in the domain of Literature and Art. In England Lord Morley has characterized him as "the last word of reason and wisdom, the word which comprehends most of the truth of the matter". And yet till the publication last year of an English translation of his *Literary Essays*, the best of Goethe's prose was inaccessible to those who could not read the original. The first section of the collection comprises in whole or in part eight essays on "The Theory of Art". Coming as they do from the pen of a Master, they are of supreme interest and importance and should command attention.

Dissertation on Painting by Mohendra Nath Dutt, edited by Basanto Kumar Chatterjee—Seva Series No. 1 (Seva Series Publishing Home, Calcutta) 1922, Rs. 2/8.

It was a welcome surprise to receive a beautifully turned-out book on art from an Indian pen. India has always been chary of transcribing her thought, philosophic or divine, on to a written page. The tradition of oral heritage prevails here from Vedic times and has only lately become loosened under pressure of the struggle for life. The condition of Indian music is an apt instance. Economic struggle is also partly responsible for the decay of art and artistic temperament in India. A rehabilitation is now happily in the course of progress and no more beneficent augury could ensure the success of this artistic

revival than when the devotees of the artistic tradition are turning their attention toward recording their experiences to serve as a guide and a helpmate to younger minds. Mohendra Nath Dutt's *Disser'ation on Painting* is therefore doubly welcome: initially as a work of art of real merit, and secondly as the pioneer contribution on the subject by an Indian artist. Painting has not been a popular pastime in India and will never become a profession until people secure more leisure to follow up the instinct of harmonising the beauties of this life with the discordant ugliness of poverty. The author is not, however, concerned with this problem—he has a loftier aim. He would analyse the experiences of a painter into their psychological complexes and therefrom build up true values of line and colour. The notion that "Painting might be called a system of philosophy written out by symbol and colour" is sought to be justified by the innermost duality of mind of a painter as he observes the external world within his own self and so his mind goes through all the processes of psychology without it being known to him. The central theme is enlarged by discussions on pose, tone, colour and cadence. We may here express a word of dissent, for as matter becomes detailed and therefore concrete the phrasing of the author becomes involved—possibly because abstract quantities cannot always explain the illustrations of experience. The author is very interesting in his remarks on statues; and although his treatment of the various classes of painting is necessarily sketchy his method is abounding in suggestiveness. One can not quite agree with him that the future of Indian painting lies in the one narrow groove of hero worship; but there can be no two opinions about his admirable plea for widening the scope of University education to embrace the fine arts as an integral part of the curriculum. The recent appointment of Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore—who has written a Foreword to this book—to a Chair of Fine Arts in the Calcutta University gives promise of a fuller recognition. We heartily commend Mr. Dutt's book to the attention of all lovers of painting and fine arts.

The A. B. C. of English Salt-Glaze Stone-ware by J. F. Blacker (Stanley Paul & Co., London) 1922 15s.

This admirably illustrated compendium of information about the salt-glaze stone-ware of England possesses a particular charm for one who marvelled with delight in his younger days at the clever potter's wheel which miraculously turned in a few minutes a mis-shapen mass of clay into a beautiful divinity. Mr. Blacker has done his work extremely well. He has written his story round the life-history of the

English houses which introduced and later made the industry wide-famed. The numerous illustrations that accompany a historical and descriptive letterpress are very instructive. John Dwight of Fulham, the pioneer in this line has been very appreciatively written up. Special sections are devoted to the consideration of the famous Staffordshire salt-glaze ware and to Doulton's stone-ware. The book will prove extremely useful and informative to the collector.

LAW.

Rajkumar Sarvadhikari's Principles of the Hindu Law of Inheritance. (Tagore Law Lectures, 1880). Edited and Revised by Jyoti Prasad Sarvadhikari, M.A., B.L., with a foreword by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Kt. (The Law Book Depot, Ltd., Madras) 1922.

The late Mr. Rajkumar Sarvadhikari's Tagore Law Lectures (for 1880) called *The Principles of the Hindu Law of Inheritance* has long since been acknowledged as a classic in the literature of Anglo-Hindu Law. The carefully edited, fully overhauled and judiciously revised reprint which is now available is, therefore, exceedingly welcome. The original publication drew from the late Sir Henry Maine—the famous Jurist—the declaration that it was "an instructive treatise". In a foreword contributed by him to the present edition Sir Asutosh Mookerjee commands this scholarly work to members of the legal profession as the most authoritative exposition of Hindu Law in the English language, and the only attempt so far made in this country at a scientific presentation of the history and the growth of Hindu Law. Apart from its value to the student of Hindu Law, its value to the practising lawyer is very great. Only recently the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council settled several disputed points of succession in Hindu Law by adopting in its entirety Sarvadhikari's statement of the law. In 42 Cal., 384, their Lordships of the Privy Council observed with reference to a certain passage in the work that "it is certainly instructive and interesting and deserves quotation as showing what a learned Hindu scholar considered was in the mind of Vignaneswara when defining the word 'sapinda'" and adopted the statement as representing a correct exposition of the Mitakshara law. The Doctrine of Mutuality of sapindaship amongst Mitakshara Bandhus now universally accepted by courts first emanated from this eminent Jurist. Again in 37 All., 604, their Lordships of the Privy Council observed "Dr. Rajkumar Sarvadhikari, whose authority as an expounder of the Hindu Law has been recognised by the Calcutta High Court and this Board in his Tagore lectures gives emphatic

expression to the view that the word 'son' includes three degrees of descendants". Later on their Lordships observed, "Dr. Sarvadhikari's construction appears to them to rest on a logical foundation and his views seem to be consistent and clear". These extracts from the decisions of the highest judicial tribunal can leave no doubt as to the great utility and very high merits of Dr. Sarvadhikari's work. The new edition, should, therefore, continue to appeal to not only Judges and lawyers but to all students of the evolution of one of the greatest legal systems of the world.

Copyright—Condensed and Explained. By Lewis C. Russell (Jarrolds, Ltd., London) 1922.

Mr. Lewis Russell's *Copyright Condensed and Explained* is an excellent short study of a great subject. The Law of Copyright affects so many people—authors, composers, playwrights, film producers, scenario writers, photographers, journalists, gramophone record producers, lawyers, editors, printers, publishers that it behoves everyone to acquaint himself with the bearings of this intricate subject on his own work. His practical difficulties are resolved in simple language in this booklet, where he will find a fund of useful information on the subject from all points of view. For the benefit of those who desire to follow up the study of the law of copyright, Mr. Russell enumerates in a select bibliography the leading authorities on the subject. But the author's analysis of the law is lucid and comprehensive for the purposes of the average man, and the book deserves a wide circulation amongst the public.

Essays in the Law. By the Right Hon. Sir Frederick Pollock (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London) 1922.

Sir Frederick Pollock is the best-known living writer on law and subjects subsidiary thereto. His reprint of his various lectures and essays now brought together under the title of *Essays in the Law*, therefore, deserve earnest consideration at the hands of those interested in legal studies. The author's—for a lawyer—very agreeable style enhances the value of his legal learning. The thirteen papers brought together cover a large ground and several of them are a little too technical for the non-legal reader. But the admirably lucid essays on Locke's theory of the State, government by committees, and law reporting can be read with pleasure and profit even by laymen. Altogether *Essays in the Law* forms a notable collection of disquisitions and dissertations on legal subjects.

A History of Land Tenures in England. By Principal J. Ghosh (Kar, Majumder & Co., Calcutta) 1922.

Mr. J. Ghosh—Principal Anandmohan College,

Mymensingh—has written *A History of Land Tenures in England*. The pages issued constitute the first part of a thesis which the author wrote for the degree of the doctorate of Philosophy, so far back as 1910. Naturally he apprehends that his essay is more or less out of date at places and 'comprehension is not quite unwarranted. He also feels that his survey lacks the freshness and directness derived from first-hand knowledge. But as the book is conceived and written from the Indian standpoint, "with an eye on the present needs and aspirations of India", it will be found useful by a large circle of our students who desire to obtain a general knowledge of the subject.

Reports of the Indian Election Petitions. By E. L. L. Hammond, I.C.S., Vol. I. (The Pioneer Press, Allahabad) 1922.

Mr. E. L. L. Hammond (of the Indian Civil Service, Behar and Orissa) is an authority on electioneering and its many ramifications and wrote an excellent work on the subject (as now provided for in Indian Law) shortly before the last elections. He has now issued the first volume of a useful compilation called *Indian Election Petitions*, which is to be completed in two volumes. In the volume under notice twenty-two election cases are brought together from all parts of the country and headnotes, texts of the petitions presented by the aggrieved party and the reports of the Judges constituting the election tribunal are supplied in full. The book is thus a valuable repertory of documents bearing upon the law of elections and it will be found of great value to all interested in the subject.

Trial by Jury. By C. M. Agarwala. (Butterworth & Co., Ltd., Hastings Street, Calcutta) 1922.

Mr. Clifford Agarwala is evidently walking in the footsteps of his father—Dr. Man Mohan Lal Agarwala—as an editor and expounder of Anglo-Indian Law. His latest exposition of a branch of the Code of Criminal Procedure is designated *Trial by Jury*. The important subject is comprehensively dealt with, all the sections bearing upon it being systematically arranged and commented upon in notes which are at once lucid and elucidative. The booklet—for such it is—will be found of very great utility by High Court and Sessions Judges and lawyers conducting prosecution or defence in trials by Juries.

The United Provinces Code. Three Volumes, Fifth Edition. (Superintendent, Government Printing, India, 8 Hastings Street, Calcutta) 1922.

The Legislative Department of the Government of India have done well to bring out a revised and upto-

date edition (the fifth) in three neatly-printed volumes, of *The United Provinces Code*, containing the Regulations and Acts in force in the provinces of Agra and Oudh as amended since their enactment, with a chronological table, an appendix and an index. The chronological table shows all repeals and amendments and is prefixed to each volume, and an alphabetical index to all the volumes is appended to the third. Altogether it is a very serviceable edition and will be found highly useful by the profession, the magistracy and the judiciary.

The Present Value of Comparative Jurisprudence.

By C. E. A. Bedwell. (Yale Law Journal Company, New Haven, U. S. A.) 1921.

Mr. C. E. A. Bedwell's essay called *The Present Value of Comparative Jurisprudence* (which originally appeared in March 1920 in the *Yale Law Journal*) is a masterly survey of the subject, and deserves very careful attention at the hands of students of the Science of Law.

PEDAGOGY.

Education and World Citizenship—An Essay Towards a Science of Education. By James Clerk Maxwell Garnett, C.B.E., M.A., (University Press, Cambridge) 1921.

Mr. James Garnett's *Education and World Citizenship* is a valuable contribution to the modern literature of the Science of Education. The author has been for years past engaged in prosecuting searching enquiry into what he regards as the proper method of imparting education. The object of the enquiry described in this book is to attempt, in the light of modern knowledge of physiological psychology, to formulate a few simple and general principles of education, and so take a further step towards a science of education. The need, and even the duty, of making this attempt was more and more impressed upon the author during eight years of work for the Board of Education and eight following years of work for education in the North of England. The enquiry has been in progress for most of this latter period, and many of the conclusions reached have been applied in practice by the university and the college of which he was then member. The book is divided into three parts: I. Introductory and historical; II. The aim of education; III. A system of education designed to achieve the aim set forth in Book II. The first book is intended to usher in the main discussion. The second dealing

with the aims of education expounds the investigations carried on by the author. They cannot be conveniently summarized nor appreciably followed in a mere outline. They should be read in the book itself. As a result of his enquiries the author is satisfied that "a perfect system of education must be world-wide; or, at least, that in the interests of human progress, the ultimate aim of education should be the same the world over". This is a novel and very interesting doctrine and deserves careful consideration. The third and last book works out an outline of the system described in the previous book. It is not possible to characterize a work of this kind in a small compass. Suffice it to say that however opinions may differ about the soundness of all Mr. Garnett's views, there can be but one opinion as to their originality.

The History of Education. By Ellwood P. Cubberley (Constable & Co., Ltd., London) 1921.

Mr. E. P. Cubberley's *History of Education* is a model of a text-book—compact, handy, compendious, accurate and up-to-date. Its subject is educational practice and progress considered as a phase of the development and spread of what may be called "Western Civilization". Believing (and rightly so) that the books already in existence deal fully with educational theories in their historical development, the author has confined himself in his work to a history of the progress and practice of education and its proper setting as a phase of the history of development and spread of European civilization. The author vividly describes the rise, struggle for existence, growth and the recent great expansion of the idea of the improvability of the race and the elevation and emancipation of the individual through the medium of suitable education. With this object in view he has luminously traced the many forward steps in the emancipation of the human intellect, and has set forth graphically the great historic forces which have shaped and moulded the progress of mankind, from the earliest times. A notable feature of the book is the wealth of illustrations it contains. On the whole it is the most useful one-volume history of educational practice and organization.

A Brief History of Education. By H. M. Beatty, M.A., LL.D., F.R. Hist. S. (Watts & Co., London) 1921.

Mr. H. M. Beatty's *Brief History of Education* has a value of its own, in spite of the larger works on the subject, with which it is clearly not meant to compete. The education of to-day has its roots in the past; and the simple experiments of earlier times often suggest a solution for our own similar but more intri-

cate problems. These experiments and problems, from ancient Greece to twentieth-century England, are described and explained in plain terms, in Mr. Beatty's book, without technical or antiquarian detail. This admirable little historical sketch of educational theories is a marvel of compression and clearness of exposition. In some two hundred pages it covers the whole ground and surveys the subject from Plato to Montessori. It is a vigorous, stimulating and thought-provoking book.

The Individual and The Environment. By J. E. Adamson, M.A., D.Lit., (Longmans, Green & Co., London and Bombay) 1921.

Mr. J. E. Adamson's *The Individual and the Environment*, dealing with some of the aspects of the theory of education as an adjustment, is a work of considerable merit and deserves attention at the hands of educational reformers and students of Pedagogics. The author, who is Director of Education in the Transvaal Province, has here attempted a serious contribution to the theory of Education. The book offers a careful exposition of theoretical principles together with discussions of practical questions, such as curricula in science, literature, history, and the like. It is written from a thoroughly modern standpoint, covers the whole range of the subject it deals with. We know of no other book which is equally comprehensive and suggestive.

RECENT LITERATURE OF ENGLISH PRISONS.

Sir Evelyn Ruggles-Brise, on retiring last year from his position as Chairman of the Prisons Commissioners of England and Wales—which he had held since 1895—gave us his excellent sketch of the subject he knew best in his book called **The English Prison System** (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London). Then some months later there was issued a very comprehensive work by Mr. and Mrs. Webb, entitled **English Prisons under Local Government** (Longmans, Green & Co., London) to which Mr. Bernard Shaw contributed a long and instructive Preface. And even more lately there has appeared an almost exhaustive survey called **English Prisons To-day** (Longmans, Green & Co., London), it being the Report of the Prison System Enquiry Committee edited by Messrs. Stephen Hobhouse and A. Fenner Brockway. A useful supplement to these three exceedingly informative works is Miss Mary Gordon's **Penal Discipline** (George Routledge & Co., Ltd., London) issued in 1922.

The first work in the list is, of course, the work of an official, but it is one representing the official mind

at its very best. It is a sketch written by one who is thoroughly at home in the subject he writes about, and who knows not only the merits but the defects of the system he has so accurately described. But the official bias is there all the same, as is evidenced by the following observations:—"Because it is more inspiring and a nobler task to reform a man by punishment, than to use punishment merely as the means of retribution by exacting from him the expiation of his offence by a dull, soulless, and a monotonous servitude, public sentiment, in all its zeal for the rehabilitation of the offender, is apt to overlook the primary and fundamental purpose of punishment, which, say what we will, must remain in its essence retributory and deterrent."

This is the view with which the officials have made us quite familiar in India. But that this view does not contain the whole truth is clear from the fact that in the preface to the volume, jointly written by Mr. Sidney Webb and his wife, Mr. Bernard Shaw strenuously contests it and rather vehemently attacks it. He urges with a great show of force and reason that so long as you are attempting to mingle retribution with the reform of the criminal, you are embarking on a hopeless and on an impossible task. Mr. Shaw continues:—"If you are to punish a man retributively, you must injure him. If you are to reform him, you must improve him. And men are not improved by injuries. To propose to punish and reform people by the same operation is exactly as if you were to take a man suffering from pneumonia, and attempt to combine punitive and curative treatment. Arguing that a man with pneumonia is a danger to the community and that he need not catch it if he takes proper care of his health, you resolve that he shall have a severe lesson, both to punish him and to deter others from following his example. You therefore strip him naked, and in that condition stand him all night in the snow. But as you admit the duty of restoring him to health if possible, and discharging him with sound lungs, you engage a doctor to superintend the punishment and administer cough lozenges, made as unpleasant to the taste as possible, so as not to pamper the culprit." This is sound sense, which cannot be dismissed or brushed aside by merely characterizing it as "Shavian."

We are not writing a political thesis and cannot, therefore, refer to recent political events and incidents. But there can be no gain-saying the fact that the revelations recently made of the treatment of prisoners of all classes in the Indian Jails have severely shocked the moral sense of the people. The books we are dealing with have, therefore, a very great interest for the Indian humanitarian and reformer. In Western

Europe—in spite of some serious defects—they are in the matter of Jail administration and prison reform far ahead of the system in force in this country. There, they utilize Psychology and preventive medical science as potent instruments for reforming the criminal and the Science of Criminology—thanks especially to the labours of Italians—is now one of the most advanced Sciences. Mr. and Mrs. Webb declare their conviction that what is needed is “a highly differentiated series of institutions according to the ten or dozen man classes into which prisoners should be divided.” Contrast such a—to us in India—utopian ideal, with the system obtaining in this country, the Jails of which have practically one rule governing in most matters the treatment of criminal offenders proper and political prisoners.

As bearing upon this subject we may usefully quote here an instructive passage from the third book in our list. “We have in the first place,” runs the summing-up of the conclusions of the Prison System Enquiry Committee, (called *English Prisons To-day*) “to deal with offences, chiefly by young persons due not to disease or inherent defects, but a lack of opportunity, of good education and influence, or, perhaps not seldom, to an adventurousness to which their surroundings give no satisfactory vent. For such cases we desire to see a great extension of methods, such as probation, which gives offenders opportunities to ‘make good’ without withdrawal from ordinary life. Where such methods fail, the treatment provided should be definitely educational. . . . For offenders clearly not amenable to such treatment as probation, we desire to see a drastic enquiry into the causes and antecedents of their offence, followed by a careful (though not minute) differentiation for purposes of re-education by various kinds of curative treatments for mind and body, and by a thorough, and probably arduous, training for ordinary life and resumed liberty—a training which will involve wide opportunities for individual and corporate responsibility on the part of the delinquents.”

The book we have quoted from—278 closely printed pages—is crammed with most useful information relating to almost every point of the present English prison system. Credit is due to the editors of this volume for the systematic way in which the data have been lucidly grouped and arranged, rendering the work informative, instructive and convenient for reference. Mr. and Mrs. Webb's *English Prisons under Local Government* consists practically of a history of English Jail administration upto 1877. The book is written with all the care, knowledge and clearness which we have long since learnt to associate with the writings of Mr. Webb and his very talented wife on subjects

connected with local government in England. Miss Mary Gordon's *Penal Discipline*—though obviously not so authoritative a work as the other three—is complementary to them, in spite of the attempt made in it by the author to make light of the alleged hardships of prison life, so far as women are concerned. She disposes of, as it were with a wave of the hand, the allegations of defect so elaborately set forth by Messrs. Hobhouse and Brockway. But her book is perhaps all the more valuable on that account—as presenting the other side of the shield. All the four books deserve careful consideration and earnest attention at the hands of Indian reformers.

POETRY.

The Sisters of the Spinning Wheel by Puran Singh, with an Introduction by Ernest & Grace Rhys (J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., London) 1921.

It is difficult to deny to the author of these prose lyrics the virtue of inspiration, introduced as they are with a disclaimer by the author regarding originality. The task of translation is hard enough, but when translation is coupled with transcription of ideas and motives behind the words, success can not be achieved without a substantial moiety of genius in the author. Guru Granth, the sacred book of the Sikhs, has attracted the attention of only one Western scholar so far. Mr. M. A. Macauliffe's book on *The Sikh Religion* is an authoritative study of the Sikh Scriptures and is a classic in its own line. Mr. Puran Singh does not aim at Mr. Macauliffe's comprehensiveness; himself a Sikh he does not feel the need of interpreting into the alien language what seems so obvious to himself. His method is different because his ideal is not interpretation but a sort of opening-out of the vista and give a taste of the beauties that enrich his faith. He finds emotion and love and ecstasy in the Granth and in his poetical translations would feign leave them so. But he cannot help his personality and his experiences and undeliberately, as if it were, he touches the lines with the fires of his own imagination and makes them radiantly aglow with something of the brilliance of the original. We are grateful to Mr. Singh for giving us a work full of the grace and mercy of the Sikh religion—a pioneer work in its own line. The Sikh as a warrior and as a devotee is unsurpassed. That he has retained to this day the virtue of self-abnegation and sacrifice—the true fruits of his faith—is being proven to-day before us in the Akali movement in the Punjab. The religion of Nanak was not

a dogma or a string of articles and creeds. It acted as a living force and sought to instil in the minds of a rapidly deteriorating but proud race the true tenets of freedom and of faith. As Mr. & Mrs. Rhys, in their wholly admirable Introduction, write:

"The sense of warfare is often present in Indian religion; and the Sikh apotheosis of the fighting genius of its men empowered to save their people, is not a break with tradition. With the Sikhs, too, the cult of the sword is another expression of the struggle for a pure and free religion held by the morally brave: Nanak's conception of religion was not one for slaves. It bred freedom and truth; under the yoke of Islam there was no place for the free."

Mr. Puran Singh has caught the spirit of this strong note in his religion and his Poems on Simran and Poems of a Sikh exhibit the delicate imaginings of the great leaders of the Sikh race. The heroic struggle of the Sikhs against a debauch tyranny and their final victory find a record in the sayings of the successive Gurus. It is a fine achievement to render available for English-speaking people the crystallised essence of the spirit that led to triumph over adversity; and Mr. Puran Singh deserves the grateful thanks of a large circle of people who love liberty and faith.

New Times and Old Rhymes by Charles L. Graves (Basil Blackwell, Oxford) 1921.

Mr. Graves is not the only victim of the craze for immortality which has so suddenly overtaken the literary circles of the Metropolis. There is an excuse for preserving in a book-form the whimsical outbursts of the hour, for there is the excuse for drawing our mirthful memories in the dull grey of middle age. But the preserved documents lose by age the aroma of rich humour that breathed life into the lines at the time of writing. The task of sifting accordingly becomes very difficult. Mr. Graves has not tackled the task at all well and his *New Times And Old Rhymes* suffers from the defect of 'topicality'. But the period is still not far back and we can recollect and enjoy the mirthful abandon which characterises Mr. Graves' poetry. There is a forceful flow of humour and wit accompanying the almost sneeringly contemptuous angle of vision of the author. *The Weary Titan* and *The Swabian Summer School* as well as the neo-Horatian efforts provoke the author into his best moods and one enjoys the sheer candour of such lines as these on the *New Biography*:

"Shun eulogy, and ban, as 'twere the pest,
The notion that whatever was, was best.

Throw mud discreetly; some is sure to stick;
The dead are safer targets than the quick;
Avoid the living, for if hurt they scratch;
Stone dead (you know the proverb) hath no match."

Mr. Graves is frequently delightful in his renderings of the sensational events of the day; and if the context be known the reminder is very full of mirth and laughter.

Poems by P. A. Canon Sheehan, D.D. (Maunsel and Roberts Ltd., Dublin) 1921. 3s. 6d.

This little volume is a posthumous collection of the unpublished verses of Canon Sheehan. That Ireland in her long tragic history has always sustained an immutable faith in her destiny is attributable to her brave, unshaken spirit no less than to unrelenting zeal and fervour of her religious hierarchy. That the shepherd has counted for more than has the flock is true of Irish history right through her struggle for freedom from England's domination. Canon Sheehan leaves in his unpublished fragments the unmistakable duality of an Irishman's life: his faith and his love of his land. Sophistical casuistry has not blunted his vision of a brighter, free-er Erin; parochial patriotism has not blurred his sight of the Ever-Loving Mercy of God. Religion has sustained as it has nurtured the growth of the brave hearts that have from decade to decade given their all at the altar of Liberty and Freedom. We do not mourn the loss for they have enriched this world. What heart will not respond to the call for sacrifice which pervades each line of *The Fenian Mother*?

"Do I begrudge you to God, mo bhuachill,
Do I begrudge you to God?
Not if He calls you for Ireland's sake,
To die on the brave ould sod!
To redden the grass with the life-blood.
You drew from my aching breast,
I have given my boy for his country's cause,
And God—He will see to the rest!"

Like a true Irishman Canon Sheehan is fond of picturesque imagery. It is in Irish genius, born and bred amidst a grandeur of Nature's bounty. Characterised as his poems are by the rich love of man and God, Canon Sheehan has not omitted to look to the skies and the winds, the mountains and the waves for inspiration. The beautiful Sonnet which begins with the lines "I asked the mountain: 'Why art thou so dark?'" is redolent of the simple love of nature which defined his faith in Erin's destiny. The publishers have done a service in bringing out this little collection which we heartily commend.

By Camel and Cary by Douglas Macmillan (Somerset Folk Press, 16, Harper Street, London) 1921.

Ultimata and other questions by Douglas Macmillan (The Bookroom, 15, Ranelagh Road, London) 1920.

The Somerset Folk Movement originated with the idea of preserving "the lore and the luck and the learning of their vills and countrysides". It was an admirable move for reviving the interest of village lives and the effort deservedly met with great success as far as the county of Somerset was concerned. We have not only a beautiful collection of the local tradition but also a record done with love of the physical attractions of the county. A series of booklets have been published with a three-fold object: "To the man of Somerset who has left us but still loves his county; to him who has stayed at home and with enlarged opportunities is becoming aware of a deeper beauty and meaning in the familiar things which surround him; and to the stranger who comes to see and is anxious to understand". It was with the latter purpose that we looked into Mr. Macmillan's books. Neat and charming as his lines are, Mr. Macmillan has succeeded in imparting the dreamy softness of the hills and dales of Somerset to his poems of Nature. Camelot and Cary River become invested with a romance which is full of beauty and charm. His *Ultimata* is an effort in another direction and succeeds because the author depends for success upon the forceful imagery of his folk songs.

Poems from Punch 1909—1920 with an Introductory Essay by W. B. Drayton Henderson (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London) 1922. 7s. 6d.

The object of this collection is, in the words of the Editor, "to represent a larger number which amid much delightful but, as is fitting, ephemeral verse, serve the permanent interest of the Comic Spirit." *Punch* has always been fortunate in the number and quality of its contributors. The rich humour and rare excellence of style that illumines its pages from week to week does indeed deserve to be preserved in a form different from the morocco-bound files of the paper. But the task of culling the more permanently interesting from the transient topicalities is by no means a light one. Mr. Henderson, himself a distinguished votary of the art, has admirably essayed the sifting process; and the result is an eminently readable book every line of which is full of good humour and wit reminiscent of the atmosphere in which they were written. Who will not read with pleasure again C. H. Bretherton's memories of Cambridge and Oxford or his lines to Smith in Mesopotamy? Sir Owen Seaman's poems, specially the lines on Swinburne and Meredith, will always have a permanent place in English litera-

ture. That the editor owed an apologia for the shearing he has done in his selective process impresses Mr. Henderson and he has compensated us with the brilliant Introductory Essay which prefaces the book. We congratulate the Editor and the Publishers in making available for us the luxury of delightful relaxation which we enjoyed years before and whose recollection will provide an hour or two of cheerful memories.

A Little Loot by E. V. Knox (George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London) 1920.

Mr. Knox is a well-known contributor to the *Punch*. He is honourably mentioned in the pages of the *Poems From Punch* reviewed above. The ironic Comic Spirit which rules over Mr. Knox's art has frequently been the source of pure delight and pleasure to many a care-worn mind. His sheaf of contributions to the press which deserve preservation is therefore to be welcomed, for the distinct quality of freshness and good cheer which defines Mr. Knox's art is well displayed in these pages.

DRAMA.

Plays of Old Japan Translated by Leo Duran (Thomas Seltzer, New York) 1921. \$2.50.

Five dramatic sketches—rather fragments—of Japanese art are here brought together by an American author who has made a real honest attempt to interpret the Nipponese tradition as faithfully as an alien mind can possibly be expected to do. The reading has been a revelation to us, for hardly ever such situations (in the theatrical parlance) as here represented could be considered as fit themes for playwrights. Songs there are in plenty—beautiful, melodious songs, interspersed with poetry of the choicest fragrance. But the denouement is invariably horrible, the action almost revolting. Mr. Duran himself sums up that "the Japanese theatre is a mixture of brutality, delicate poetry, and wonderfully beautiful stage pictures and scenery". While the author's verdict is fully supported by the pieces he has collected together one is hardly convinced that the Japanese mind delights to revel in such horrifying incidents as are, for instance, portrayed in the sketch entitled "The Hands in the Box". Mr. Duran's effort is, however, a welcome one, for if he has over-stressed the unpleasant side, as we have a suspicion that he has, he has at the same time rendered a distinct service of great literary value. Altogether it is a commendable representation of Japanese drama as seen through American eyes.

The Dawn-Mist. A Play of the Rebellion by Frank J. Hugh O'Donnell (The Gael Co-operative Printing, Publishing & Trading Society, Ltd., Dublin) 1922 2s. 6d.

Bedmates A Play in One Act by Geo. Shiels (The Gael Co-operative Society, Ltd., Dublin) 1922. 1s. 3d.

Ireland symbolises the eternal story of the sacrifice of youth to idealism during tragic centuries. The youth alone never counts the cost. For him achievement is not the end of life; striving is the truer goal. Recent Irish literature abounds in the portrayal of such idealism which ended in murder, death and arson and yet handed on the torch of life to coming generations: always a symbol of inspiration. *The Dawn-Mist* is a dramatic representation of the spirit of the Easter Episode (1916). The author professes that when he wrote it he had never seen the inside of a theatre or witnessed the performance of the play. Accordingly no regard is made for dramatic forms; the author depends upon the idealism, that covers the tragedy, for success. A father and son dreaming of Erin's freedom: "Next to You, my God, what nobler things could I dream about";—another son and uncle slaved down by little comforts of crumbs and doles accommodate their conscience with the cynical delusion that "The Irish people aren't worth losing a breath of air over"! What passions inspired their breasts, what sensations dominated their beings as they read of Youth's glorious sacrifice! Ireland above all claimed their love and if they are dead.

"They're gone. But as the grass doth greener grow
After each passing shower, so too, shall we,
Within our vengeful hearts, keep mem'ry's fire aglow
For those who died in dreams—that we might see."

Bedmates depicts the criminal wooing of Ulster by Great Britain in her efforts to solve the Irish question. Imperialism has never understood that it is a short-sighted policy which reckons not of fundamentals of the struggle of the oppressed but coerces and cajoles by turn in order to postpone the evil day. British treatment of Ireland has been no exception: "These Irish 'ooligans are easier fooled than ruled, that's wat I see". "The bit of blarney always saves the bloomin' mutton." *Divide et impera* may have served the colonial administrator so far, but there is an end to such fooling and then is the final exit. There are Ulsters everywhere there is an Imperialism and the problem of governance resolves itself into maintaining the factious schism which has preserved the Empire. *Bedmates* is a concrete representation of a small episode and deserves notice if only for the warning it conveys.

Judas: A Tragedy in Three Acts by Claude Houghton (C. W. Daniel, Ltd., London) 1922. 3s. 6d.

Judas is one of the admirable series of Plays For A People's Theatre which the enterprising firm of Daniels is placing before the public. The plot here is a representation of the famous Biblical episode where Judas, the most loving disciple of Jesus, betrayed the Nazarene for forty pieces of silver. Mr. Houghton has attempted to give a new shape to the incident and shows Judas to be victim of his own deep faith which required for proof a tragedy and for illustration the hallowed sufferings of his beloved Master. Despaired of mercy for the sorrowing world Judas' mind is represented as riven between hope from the new gospel and a final, deep slumber. Mr. Houghton dissects and analyses the double rift and builds up a thesis of intense sorrow and woe which overwhelms the soul of Judas and prompts him to put to test his meandering faith. And when the light breaks

"Deliberation, doubt, procrastination,
And all the shadows that obscured thy path,
Are swept away. The man is dead, the god
Born, and the wildered earth stands free....."

Mr. Houghton's art is complex but of rare delicacy. He has put some very fine lines in this play. Who will not enjoy, for instance,

".....there is something here I cannot reach:
A sense beyond the sound, as though the words
Prison but part of their divine intent,
Hinting at glories not to be confined
In set captivity."

And these powerful lines on a woman's Love:—

".....In her love
Is all her hope, her life, her heaven, her God!
Destroy her love, and thou destroy'st the temple
Wherein her passionate soul was wont to find
The image of the ever-loving God,
And homeless she must wander the great world,
Blind to its glory."

There is a distinct sense of charm and beauty about his play which contains perhaps a very difficult theme for the playwright to elaborate and make use of with success. That Mr. Houghton has succeeded is due to the unusual gifts he possesses—gifts of poetic imagination combined with an expert technique. Although at places he becomes difficult and uses strange combinations such as "Immanent in immensities of space, Holding the constellations of the heavens In rhythmic unison." Mr. Houghton never fails to interest the reader by the smooth flow of his diction and the sublime heights to which his thought soars.

Shakespeare: A Play in Five Episodes by H. F.

Rubenstein & Clifford Bax, with a preface by A. W. Pollard (Benn Brothers, London) 1921. 5s.

Professor Pollard has summed up the strength of the play in one word: 'gripping'; and so it is from beginning to end. The Shakespeare question will never fail to be interesting for we know so little and yet so much about him, but one would have fancied that 'Shakespeare' as a subject for playwrights will prove as grotesque as, say, Pavlova in the pose of a trepischorean critic. But the authors have struck an entirely new line in this play, and as Prof. Pollard says, they have tried to do "for Shakespeare what Mr. Drinkwater has done, with so large a measure of success, for Abraham Lincoln." One may feel inclined to dispute the picture-portrait of Shakespeare as sketched here:—"Your jack-of-all-trades, your stop-gap, your poet-player-prompter and I know not what else.....who abhors the calling of a player and curses the trick of fortune that steered him on to the stage....."; but there can not be two opinions about the power and charm which Messrs. Rubenstein and Bax have put into the play. Their summing up of Shakespeare's works is noteworthy:

"In *Love's Labour Lost* I know you as you were at the outset of life.....careless and gay and wild as a morning of April. In *Romeo and Juliet* I see you as you were in young manhood, your merriment tempered with pity, your freedom constrained by the gyves of love. In *Hamlet* I find you a man who perceives that the world is crazy and will not be cured. In *Timon* that humour has become a passion, a loathing of mankind and a hopelessness for the world, from which it seems that imagination can totter only into madness. At last—in *The Tempest*—I watch you making peace with your fellows, forgiving them their evil, and looking out on the world with a lantern of wonder in your hand. And through all these varying pictures..... I recognise the dignity and the pride of genius."

It is a rare success that the authors have achieved in characterisation and it is to be hoped that their example will initiate a new school of dramatic biographies.

FICTION.

The Enchanted Canyon by Honore Willsie (Thornton Butterworth Limited, London) 1922. 7s. 6d.

It is difficult to appraise correctly a work that throws so many luminous shadows as *The Enchanted Canyon*. And yet one rises with a feeling of satisfied

enjoyment as one turns over the last page. Mrs. Willsie has not attempted to get out of her feminine temperament, so to say. For we frequently notice it to be a distinguishing trait of women-novelists that they revel in portraying multiple personalities in their male hero-characters. Perhaps it is as well. The eternal feminine seeks for an ideal and views the purely male problem from many facets. For her the ideal remains to be a sort of self-contained demi-god with all the virtues and none of frailties of this wicked world. In *The Enchanted Canyon* Mrs. Willsie endows her hero with as varied a career as one could hardly expect to find happen in true life. But such variety was essential to bring out the strengths and weaknesses of Enoch Huntingdon than whom no more loveable personality has been portrayed in recent fiction. The waif of the slums, with the poignant consciousness of a stigma attached to his birth—a consciousness painfully quickened by the vituperative reminders of Luigi, Enoch's erstwhile guardian and step-father—could hardly develop into the strong, forceful personality of the statesman-patriot without having undergone the Fire-Baptism, told of the Chelsea sage. Mrs. Willsie has beautifully touched the crisis, and the story of the Canyon and the desert expedition is as picturesque in design as it is masterly in execution. The charming figure of Daisy Allen is successfully drawn, though one is left wondering on numerous occasions why such a forceful character does not assert herself with more persistence. The delineation of a conflict between Enoch and Daisy would have done honour to the skill of a master-pen and we regret a bit that Mrs. Willsie chose the easier way and sacrificed the interesting complexity of a conflict of personalities in her desire to sketch the perfect Man. But the change does not detract much from her story. A rich vein of subdued humour runs through the tale. Jonas, the Negro valet and gyp to Enoch, supplies the interlude and no reader can fail to learn to wholly love this embodiment of faith, service and charity. We congratulate Mrs. Willsie on her fine work and commend *The Enchanted Canyon* as a successful story in line with the best traditions of modern fiction.

Wanderers by Knut Hamsun (Glyndendal, Scandinavian Publishers, London & Copenhagen) 1922. 8s. 6d.

This work is a translation from the Norwegian of the famous Knut Hamsun who rose to fame in literary circles by winning the Nobel prize for 1921. We opened the book accordingly with great expectations as the earlier work of the master who wrote *The Growth of the Soil* and *Pan*. We confess we were disappointed and but for Knut Hamsun's name on the cover would have had no hesitation in describing it

as a work of merit no doubt, but second rate all the same. We do not meet here with the infinite tenderness and delicacy of execution which characterises *The Growth of the Soil*. Neither are we treated to the charming fascination of *Pan*. The "I" of this tale wanders through life gathering varied experiences which do not appear to be in any way striking save in the lessons which the author abundantly draws therefrom. Grindhusen, his first helpmate, or Fruen Falkenberg, the tragic victim of a malicious destiny, fail to succeed because the characterisation is incomplete, or is it that it is purposely drawn this wise in deference to the halting natures so frequently the heritage of the middle classes? But the tale is not without a certain kind of charm. There is an air of easy non-chalance about the characters that attracts the reader, and there is something fine and melodious about the song of the Wanderer as he plays with muted strings when he reaches his 50th year:—

"No, we do not think we have the right to more sweet-meats than we get. A wanderer's advice: no superstition. What is life's? All. But what is yours? Is fame? Oh, tell us why! A man should not so insist on what is *his*. It is comical; and a wanderer laughs at anyone who can be so comical."

"If I thank God for life, it is not by virtue of any ripper wisdom that has come to me with age, but because I have always taken a pleasure in life. Age gives no ripper wisdom; age gives nothing but age."

Tales of Bengal by Sita and Santa Chatterjee, with an Introduction by E. J. Thompson (Oxford University Press, London & Calcutta) 1922. Rs. 2/-.

The two talented sisters who have here jointly offered us a selection of their work are the gifted daughters of our respected colleague Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, Editor of the *Modern Review*. The Bengalee Literature has steadily and successfully passed through a period of revival and now in the adolescent stage claims such masters as Tagores and Sarat Chandra Chatterjee as her own. It is good augury indeed that Bengalee daughters have come forward to take a share in the completer development of the literary traditions of the race. Misses Chatterjee are pioneers in the line and deserve grateful congratulations on their successful debut. Their theme, as was but proper, is the social side of a Hindu home; their measure the freedom of life so frequently denied to women in the Hindu households. For full appreciation of the art of the two sisters one should turn to the pages of the *Probasi*, the premier monthly in the Bengalee language. The translations presented in

Tales of Bengal though inadequate are strong enough to indicate the delicacy and finish of their work. The quiet dignity and charm which pervades every line of *The Cake Festival* is supplemented by the pathos and humour of the story of *The Ugly Bride*. That the power of these tales lies beyond recognition of craftsmanship will be apparent to everyone acquainted with Indian society. Misses Chatterjee have not stressed the unpleasant side, but touched with pathos and kindly charity these tales of social life in Bengal possess a reforming value greater than an armful of pamphlets and sermons. Would that Bengal respond to the ideal which her two young daughters have so delicately defined for her citizens!

The Shadow of the East by E. M. Hull (Eveleigh Nash And Grayson Ltd., London) 1922. 7s. 6d.

Innumerable plots have been woven by the imaginative writers of fiction in the West round the mysterious, unknowable and unknowing East—the land of glamour and of wild oats and accordingly a fit sojourn for the man with time and money to spare. It matters not to these writers if their pictures represent or not the correct and the sensible about a land they have never known, and if known, never learnt to appreciate. Their products are for the consumption of a public equally or perhaps more densely ignorant of conditions abroad, and therefore anything succeeds that passes muster. East, the unchanging East—the laughter and mockery of brutish hack-writers—presents a kaleidoscopic picture of varied hues and any ghostful fancy is good enough to be born of this clime. When we have said this we record our general impression of the average story of the East as written by the Western writers. The author of *The Shadow of East* has, however, skilfully managed to skip over the mysterious quantities of the East and has connected his powerful story by the slightest of threads with the un-knowing factor. No doubt a tragedy of the land of Nippon forms the basic strand in the plot, but the action proceeds mainly under Western conditions and in the West. O Hara San, the child of an illicit intercourse between the English gentleman-tourist and a maiden of the land of cherry blossoms, is the unhappy victim of a passion, which is reciprocated, for the legitimate son and heir of her father. As long as the knowledge of their relationship is withheld the lovers remain perfectly happy. But a shadow soon appears as the knowledge comes by accident to Barry Craven Remorse and deep sorrow trouble his soul and drive him to solitude to eat of the torments of hell. O Hara San, conscious only of her loss of love, kills herself as is the ancient custom of Japan. The blood of O Hara San stains Barry Craven's soul and the stigma clings

throughout his life. The rest of the story deals with the psychological penances of Barry at his home and in Africa, his hopeless passion for Gillian Locke, his ward, the strange proposal for marriage that was not to be marriage, the aftermath of a strange alliance culminating in the heroic struggle of Gillian to shake off the shame of protection induced through pity on her helpless condition (as she understood Barry's strange proposal) coupled with Barry's exciting adventures after death and release in Africa—form an interesting and charming reading. What we deplore however is the insinuation in the title that the story is of the East when there is so little of the East in it. There is of course the problem of incestuous passion, the plot of which is laid in Japan, but is this a peculiarity of the East alone? Rather, to the contrary, Western countries present more shocking examples of this pattern. But we pardon the author his weakness in yielding to the desire to tack on something of the mysterious to his book, presumably for sale purposes. The strength of his work lies in the analysis of the spiritual struggle that underlay Barry Craven's fight for life and love, and it is a successful delineation.

Flower of Asia by Gilbert Collins (Duckworth & Co., London) 1922.

We have expressed in the notice immediately preceding this an impression of general untrustworthiness of the Eastern pictures as painted with the brush of the West. *Flower of Asia* is an exception, however, to the usual run of stories of the East in that a genuine attempt is made to explain and interpret the spirit which seems alien and therefore, perhaps, strangely un-moral to the Western sense. But the *Flower of Asia* is more than a successful tale of unusual charm and interest—it aims at revealing the hypocrisy of contact between the East and the West as it is displayed in all big centres in the Eastern lands to-day. The author attempted to classify his impression of the average literature about Japan and failing to derive satisfaction because of a lack of sympathy and imagination, he sets out on purpose to remedy the want. Mr. Collins has been eminently successful. He has built a story of intensely poignant charm and delicacy and interspersed the action with deliciously frank comments upon the problem which provoked him to write the book. He has invested each line with his clear perception of the conflicting ideals of the land of Nihon and of the West, but in his narration he has not failed to appreciate the viewpoint of Japanese traditions in their appeal to the people of the land in contrast to the fog of misunderstanding and abuse which beclouds the mind of the average Western tourist. The conflict is woven round the

personal tragedy of Barrenger, the young Englishman sent out as an Attaché to the legation at Shanghai. Barrenger's powerfully sensitive mind reacts to the permeative influences of Japanese charm and poetry. On his first night in the land of Nihon he is taken round the town to see the sights which included a visit to the geisha house. He meets there with Ainsoke San, the embodiment of all that is beautiful in a land full of charm and beauty. The duties at the legation soon take him up but he never forgets Ainsoke and her delightfully surprising love-letter written in the quaintest of English. In Japan again, on a holiday, he seeks her out again and finds her among the rustic old home of her father—an old Samurai of high class but shorn of affluence and plenty. Barrenger is quite honest in his love and when his proposal for marriage is accepted he congratulates himself as the happiest of mortals. But he is fully conscious of the reception his alliance would receive at the hands of his white countrymen. Did not the good Miss Annandell, whom he had rescued, tell him in plain, unvarnished, language?—

"In official circle the Colour Bar is never mentioned, or even recognised as existing. I've met highly placed Chinese and Japanese and seen white people mix with them socially as if there was no gulf between. But there is one, nevertheless, a gulf deeper than the ocean we crossed last week. It doesn't make itself felt until a man begins to show too real a sympathy with the native. Then his friends advise him to remember the colour of his skin. If he holds on, he grows unpopular, and the warnings get stronger. If he goes the whole length—such as marrying the Asiatic woman—he may as well make up his mind to live the rest of his life among the Yellow: he is finished for good as far as the White are concerned. Everybody quietly drops him. He becomes a pariah. He is socially damned".

And it was monstrously hard for Barrenger to understand, until he realised that it was really the Fudgeby, Fanshaw & Co. who controlled the destinies of the white race; he realised that

"he had been sent to the Far East, a quarter of the earth peopled by races much differing from the races he had known; and here, by dint of his graces of culture, tact, manners, persuasion and acquired knowledge, he was to plead or negotiate or threaten with foreign rulers, to the end that among other things white men of the Cophod kidney might settle and money-grub without let or hindrance in lands where they might have rights,

Treaty or otherwise, but were palpably as out of place as a garden toad in the clouds. It would be his sacred duty to champion the Cophods, to see their side of every quarrel, to stand by them through thick and thin; not because they appealed to his personal consciousness as just and lovely creatures, but because they had happened to be brought into such parts of the world as cartographers usually print red."

In bitterness Barrenger cries out against the inhumanity of this all. His own convictions are, however, firmly founded on sympathy and broad-mindedness and charity born of love. The tragedy develops as he is forced to flee from the Consulate under suspicion of a false charge. He belongs to Nihon henceforth and he attains Japanese domicile. Towards the climax the heroic and lovable figure of Ainsoke justifies the young Englishman's love and sacrifice as she takes the matter in her own hands when Japan and England declare hostilities and rather than be the cause of a perplexing dilemma for her husband Ainsoke puts an end to her life. Barrenger realises the sacred trust and love which decided Ainsoke and follows her to her eternal rest. Mr. Collins does not show reluctance or fear in developing his theme to its rightful conclusion. If his work tends to overstress the common abuse prevalent among the white community abroad he has very good reasons for doing so. *Flower of Asia* is not, as we have said, a mere work of fiction; it conveys a moral to all men of sympathy of which humanity is sadly in want these days. We consider that Mr. Collins has done a distinct service to his country particularly whose contact with the East is of so absorbing and vital a nature for her very existence.

A Daughter of Allah by Cecil H. Bullivant (Jarrolds Publishers, Ltd., London) 1922. 2s.

Another story of the East, or rather of Africa, which, however, touches very meagrely upon the people that inhabit these mysterious regions. Mr. Bullivant is a reputed traveller to these desert places, and he has laid the principal action of his plot amid the delightful oasis of El Khargeh where Sidi Murad, the Paris-trained Arab Sheikh dwelt and exercised absolute authority. The Arab methods of vengeance for a jilted passion or broken troth may appear primitive and uncouth at first knowledge but it does not make the slightest difference whether you brood over your wrongs and coolly calculate before you strike back, or try to kill your sorrow through violent action. But the author does not dwell long on these side-issues: he is entranced in the building up of his

romance which rushes tumultuously through his pages. The work can be described as possessing real charm and interest though the incidents are a bit forced and made to subserve the purpose of the novelist a little too blatantly.

Our Library Table: Reprints and New Editions.

So far back as 1873, Mr. Ameer Ali—then just called to the Bar—published his **Critical Examination of the Life and Teachings of Muhammad**. In 1891, the book appeared—revised, rewritten and recast—as **The Spirit of Islam**. It now reappears, exceedingly well got-up, under the latter title, with the sub-title added: "A History of the Evolution and Ideals of Islam" (Christophers, 22 Berners Street, London, W.). In its present form the work constitutes a masterly account of the life and ministry of the Prophet and of the evolution of Islam as a world-religion; of its rapid spread, and the remarkable hold it obtained over the conscience and minds of millions of people within a short space of time; and a comprehensive review of its aspirations and ideals, alike in the past and the present. Two new chapters have been added to this Edition, on the "Apostolical Succession" and "Islamic Mysticism," as well as considerable new matter in the Introduction and in the chapter on "The Rationalistic and Philosophical Spirit of Islam."

In all Moslem centres of instruction throughout the world **The Spirit of Islam**, based on Islamic records, is recognised as the standard life (in English) of Mohammed, and indispensable to students. At the present time such a comprehensive view as it presents of the Moslem ideal is of peculiar interest and importance. The book is learned and luminous and though at times needlessly polemical and biassed against the non-Muslims, it is a standard work on the subject and may be justly regarded by now as great a classic as Muir's famous biography of the Prophet.

In the "Percy Reprints" which are being issued by the firm of Basil Blackwell of Oxford, the two latest additions are Dekker's **Seven Deadly Sinnes of London** and Congreve's **Incognito**. We have already—in noticing the earlier volumes—characterized the excellence of the series and the two latest additions fully sustain its reputation for textual accuracy and scholarly editing. Each volume has a striking Introduction and elucidative notes. The "Percy Reprints" are almost ideal editions of classical English literature.

Young India (Ganesan & Co., Madras) is a systematic reproduction of the editorial articles which were written by Mr. Gandhi in "Young India" from the day in which it came into his control to the time of

his arrest, from, that is 8th October, 1919, to March, 1922. Almost the whole of the articles and notes together with the more important of the special articles have been reproduced and properly edited, and of those omitted, whatever there was anything new in them either in substance or in method of presentation has been extracted as footnotes in appropriate places. Thus the present volume is unique not merely for the quantity of matter it contains, but also for the convenient arrangement of matter in a manner that would satisfy the needs of readers desirous of obtaining Mr. Gandhi's views authoritatively expressed. As the volume is equipped with an elaborate table of contents and index which between them afford the readiest reference to any particular point on which information is required regarding Non-co-operation it is likely to be of great value both to the supporters and opponents of the Non-co-operation movement.

Messrs. Natesan & Co. (Madras) have lately issued a new (third) edition of **Speeches and Writings of M. K. Gandhi**, with an Introduction by Mr. C. F. Andrews and a biographical sketch of Mr. Gandhi. The edition is most complete and authoritative. It is also fully upto-date. This and **Young India** give the fullest exposition of Mr. Gandhi's views.

If of the making of books there is no end, so is there none of the making of anthologies. One of the latest and one of the best is in five handy volumes called **English Prose** (Humphrey Milford, University Press, Oxford) chosen and arranged by Mr. W. Peacock. It covers the whole range of English prose literature—from the earliest to the latest times. The extracts are judiciously made, with a sense of proportion and discrimination, and the result is an anthology of English prose which is perhaps the best and most suited to the wants of the average reader. This anthology may be usefully supplemented by the two volumes of **Selected English Short Stories**, which is very well-known as "The World's Classics"—about the best series of reprints of the classics.

The University Press, Oxford, have recently added two valuable books to their series of reprints of famous Anglo-Indian classics. These are Grant-Duff's **History of the Mahrattas** (in two volumes), a revised, annotated edition by Mr. S. M. Edwards, C.S.I. (late of the Indian Civil Service) and William Knighton's graphic and vivid descriptions of the court life in Lucknow during its Badshahate, called **The Private Life of an Eastern King** and **The Private Life of an Eastern Queen**. The two latter are now reprinted together called **Eastern King and Queen**. The Oxford University Press reprints of the classics of Anglo-Indian literature deserve a wide circulation in India.

Lowson's **Text-Book of Botany** (W. B. Clive, High

Street, New Oxford Street, London, W.C.) is an excellent students' manual; but the edition revised and adopted to Indian requirements by Professor Birbal Sahni has a distinct value of its own for the students of the science in this country. The third edition, under notice, is fully upto-date and is a students' *vade mecum* of the highest utility. It should be widely used in India.

Sir James Fraser's **Golden Bough** (MacMillan & Co., Ltd., London) has long since been justly regarded as a classic on the subjects it deals with—Magic and Religion. But it was voluminous and cumbersome—a cart-load in one dozen volumes. The author has, therefore, done well in publishing in one handy and compact volume an abridgement under the original title which is likely to appeal to a much wider circle of readers. Students of the subject should be grateful to the author for providing them in a small compass the results of his life-long study and researches.

In his **Empire at a Glance**, Mr. J. B. Thornhill (of 14 Jermyn Street, London, S.W.) presents a bird's-eye-view of the United Kingdom and the British Colonies. Curiously he makes no reference to **India**, which is rather surprising. The data it brings together will be found useful for reference.

The late Mr. C. H. Wyatts' **The English Citizen: His Life and Duty** (MacMillan & Co., Ltd., London) appeared so far back as 1893. It has been frequently reprinted, it being the clearest exposition of the subject for young readers. We, therefore, welcome its second and thoroughly revised edition, in which the statements of facts have been fully brought upto-date. In its present form, the new and present revised edition of the students' old favourite is likely to hold its own against its rivals in the field.

A Kipling Anthology (MacMillan & Co., Ltd., London) was bound to come and so it has come at last. It is confined to the prose writings of Mr. Kipling and offers rather short extracts from his many books. There is no foreword, preface or introduction, which is a pity. The book should be useful to those who would like to have some general notion of Kipling's prose.

Four Years in the Underbrush. Adventures of a Working Woman in New York by a Novelist of Note (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York) 1921. \$2.50

This book contains the living record of an extraordinary experience. The author walked out of her Club into the 'underbrush of the greatest jungle of civilisation' and for four years, in her own words,

"I remained in the underbrush—the world of the unskilled working woman of New York City. During that time I held 25 different positions in almost as many different fields of work. I

directed envelopes for a large mail-order house, was a sales-woman in one of the most advertised of metropolitan department stores waitress in one of the hotels in a noted health resort, packer in a cracker factory, head chambermaid in the home of a millionaire, maid of all work in a two-servant family, gentlewoman maid of all work in a philanthropic institution for dependent children, assistant in the loan department of a Wall Street banking institution” etc.

The story is told in wonderfully simple language full of sympathy and kindness which is wholly refreshing. It is a human document of great personal interest and will well pay study.

The Cambridge University Press deserve the thanks of school teachers and students for their admirable series of handy Volumes in the Modern Language Series. The latest additions are **A manual of French** by H. J. Chaytor (1922, 4s.) and **Supplement to A Manual of French Composition** by R. L. Graeme Ritchie, D. Litt. and James M. Moore, M.A. (1922, 6s.). The former is meant as a sort of first reader for students who have limited time and opportunities. The grammar has been reduced to the very essential minimum and the selections from French authors show excellent renderings. The vocabulary is very useful. The Supplement contains 200 select pieces from English authors for purposes of translation. Great care has been taken in selection, in order to illustrate differences between the English and the French prose styles for the use of teachers.

It has always been a difficult matter for average people who love to keep a dog about them to be able to select correctly the right kind of dog. The dog-fanciers have unfortunately been a non-literary lot and the literature on the subject, though ample is not sifted properly for the purposes of the amateur dog-lover. In Captain Frank T. Barton's **How to choose a Dog** (Jarrolds' Publishers, London, 1922, 3s. 6d.) much useful information is carefully itemised and put in a handy form. It will enable the prospective purchasers to get just the right kind of knowledge needed for good selection.

The subject of birth control has only recently come into the limelight. The Victorian prudery forbade it in the West; and the almost medieval social conditions in India taboo it even in ordinary talk. That conditions have materially changed and time has arrived to analyse the population problem in its full aspects will be apparent to all serious students of human welfare, despite the anathema of the Church. A good deal of literature has recently been put on the market on sexual relations but unfortunately, as

was perhaps inevitable, most of it is trash reading and mordantly erotic. We can not say this of Brenda Barwan's **Marriage and Birth Control** (The Anglo-Eastern Publishing Co., Ltd., London, 1922, 6s. 6d.) where this delicate subject is dealt with in an highly intelligent and instructive manner. The attitude of the author towards the sexual problem is entirely praiseworthy and the discussion full of information and good points. The birth-control issue is explained and supported by well-reasoned arguments. A brief description of known contraceptives is helpful. We commend the book to the attention of social reformers and young persons interested in the intensely human aspect of marriage in its relations to the race-stock.

The mission which the late Mr. Tilak led to England in the summer of 1918 succeeded in drawing the attention of the British radical party to the anomalous position of India as a member of the British Commonwealth. This interest has been sustained by the course of events in India and several prominent persons, specially of the Labour Party, have attempted to understand appreciatively the problem as it appears to unprejudiced minds. Mr. Wilfred Wellock is a well-known publicist of the advanced school in the ranks of the Labour Party and his little book **India's Awakening** (The Labour Publishing Co., London, 1922, 1s. 6d.) is an attempt to summarise for the British readers the ethics of the political struggle in India. Mr. Wellock has studied his subject with care and supports his case with numerous quotations. His summing up is interesting—"that the Indian Home Rule Movement possesses world-wide significance and cannot long be ignored by people of this country (England) and secondly neither violence nor persecution can extinguish it—for its roots are spiritual." We thank Mr. Wellock for his sympathetic study of the Indian problem.

Gospel of Swadeshi by Prof. D. B. Kalelkar of the Sabarmati Ashram (S. Ganesan, Madras, 1922, 4a.) has been commended by Mahatama Gandhi as fully elucidating the Gospel according to his views. The booklet is a carefully argued thesis on spiritual economics of India, if such a relational tendency be allowed. Swadeshi, according to Prof. Kalelkar, is an essentially religious principle and as such enjoins upon the citizens certain duties and obligations which he owes to himself and to his country. An interesting study.

In times of political upheavals thoughts of few men turn towards the spiritualities of the struggle. But these few men are of the salt of the earth. They become the beacon light and guiding stars for succeeding generations. Their example serves to impart a correct understanding amongst bewildered

humanity. Of such men of light Mahatma Gandhi is undoubtedly one. His example has been an inspiration to many and it is a pleasure to read Mr. W. W. Pearson's *Dawn of a New Age* (S. Ganesan, Madras, 1922) wherein he hails Gandhi and Tagore as harbingers in India of a new age of universal love. Mr. Pearson, in this collection of Essays, summarises his views on the constructive programme before India in economic and spiritual spheres. A book for the young, full of wide sympathies and genuine inspiration.

To the sketches of Mr. Gandhi, Lala Lajpat Rai and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co. Madras, have appropriately added *Sketches* of the lives of other leading Non-Co-operators like Mr. C. R. Das, Pandit Motilal Nehru, the Ali Brothers and Hakim Ajmal Khan which is from the pen of Mr. C. F. Andrews. Babu Aurobindo Ghose is not exactly a Non-Co-operator but a sketch of this poet-patriot is long overdue. These sketches recount the lives and doings of the persons described and give ample extracts from their speeches and writings. Each sketch has a fine frontispiece and is priced 4 annas.

The Truth of Life by Barindra Kumar Ghose (S. Ganesan, Madras, 1922, 8a.) is a collection of five

articles which Mr. Ghose contributed to *The Bengalee* after his return from the Andamans. Barindra Kumar has suffered the greatest suffering in the cause of the country and his views on the present political situation and general life in India should command attention. His effort is directed towards giving an intellectual glimpse into the divine revolution of thought and life, which end is the only one worth fighting for, in his Judgment.

The House of Ganesh (Madras) deserve to be congratulated for their enterprise in making arrangements with foreign publishers for the right to publish useful reprints in a cheaper style for the consumption of Indian readers. The latest addition to this series is *The making of A Republic* by Kevin R. O'Shiel (The Talbot Press, Dublin, 1922) which tells us of the story of American Freedom. The book is not a dry historical composition, as the publishers well contend, for the sympathy and kindness of the author have breathed a live spirit in his work. We seem to live through that age of repression and tyranny over again and line ourselves with the valiant pioneers who staked their all for freedom and liberty. Altogether an inspiring reading.

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THE DISTRUST OF ENGLISHMEN

By MR. ALFRED NUNDY.

II*

The first article with this heading was written when the Unionist Government was still in power, with Mr. Lloyd George as Prime Minister of England. It gave the reasons why Indians distrust Englishmen, and promised in the next to show that the incident of the pronouncements of the late Prime Minister on the status and prerogatives of the Indian Civil Service and on the nature and fixity of British rule in India can serve a good purpose, inasmuch as it will clear the air of a good many misconceptions for which the Die-hards or reactionaries on the one side and the revolutionaries on the other side are responsible. Since then there has been a kaleidoscopic transformation of the scene. Events and incidents having a vital bearing on the constitutional reforms that have recently been introduced and on the onward march of India towards the promised goal of self-government have followed each other in rapid succession. It is honestly believed by a certain section of politicians that there has been an aggravation of causes tending to provoke distrust, and it would be futile to deny that there is a considerable amount of truth in this. But for all that I am optimistic enough to hold the view that the picture is not entirely dark, that there has been an advance and not a retreat in the gradual progress towards Home Rule

and that on the whole we have no reason to despair for the future.

The struggle for freedom in which India is engaged follows the ordinary course of all other struggles. There are moments of elation when we are sailing in the tide of victory. There are periods of depression when the issue becomes doubtful by reason of the formidable array of the forces of reaction which threaten to overwhelm us and to feed our distrust of Englishmen. Into the various events and incidents provocative of this feeling we need only take a cursory glance, for we are here concerned with the inquiry whether taking them at their worst they justify a change of attitude towards the British nation and whether India cannot secure political salvation by utilising to the fullest extent the constitution that has been given to her. Our first serious misadventure was the retirement of Mr. Montagu which had a sinister significance, not only to the Moslems, in advocating whose cause he was struck down, but to the people of India whose political interests he had championed and who had hoped under his cautious and efficient guidance to traverse with the assurance of safety a long distance in the stormy seas which intervene before the destined goal of self-government can be reached. The removal of the staunch and experienced master-mariner had a depressing effect on the voyagers which was increased by his post being filled by one of whose sympathy there was no assurance and whose capacity to

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hold the helm was an unknown quantity. Mr. Lloyd George's pronouncement that England held India as a trust in perpetuity was propped up by Lord Curzon in the course of the Montagu controversy stigmatizing the Government of India as a subordinate branch of His Majesty's Government. And yet with a flourish of trumpets the announcement had been made that from British rule in India the characteristic of autocracy had been removed for ever, that with the helping hand of England she was to shape out her destiny towards the attainment of Dominion Home Rule and that the foundation for this had been laid and a part of the superstructure had already been erected.

It is no doubt true as stated by Lord Chelmsford and reiterated by the Duke of Connaught that the inauguration of the new constitution had once for all removed from the Government of India the reproach of autocracy, but recent events lend countenance to the view that it has been transferred to the Secretary of State for India. The Government of India Act reserves to him certain powers, and how these have been exercised we shall see further on, but even the method of disposing of matters referred to him has given room for a good deal of irritation which might have been avoided. The Autonomy Resolution of the Legislative Assembly, the Report of the Military Requirements Committee, the Report of the Racial Distinctions Committee, all hung fire for a considerable period, giving rise to conjectures detrimental to His Majesty's Government generally and the Secretary of State for India in particular. And when the despatches relating to each did see the light of day they were found to be unsatisfactory and disappointing. The power of superintendence, direction and control reserved for the Secretary of State was being utilised to the fullest extent, whilst that salutary recommendation of the Joint Parliamentary Committee was being set at naught that in all matters in which the Government of India agreed with the Legislative Assembly the Secretary of State should refrain from interference and their joint decision should be given effect to. Good faith is being pleaded in self-defence, which is a plea which has ere this been utilised with reference to acts the most arbitrary in their nature. Plausible reasons are given for arriving at certain decisions. They may be good reasons, but the impression left on the people of India is that Englishmen are

unwilling to give up a thing unless they find that its retention will be attended with serious consequences. And thus it is that suspicion begets distrust.

Perhaps by far the most controversial question and in respect to which the greatest amount of distrust is displayed is that relating to the Indianisation of the services. It is a question responsible for the sudden stoppage of the recruitment of Englishmen in the various departments, for the remarkable pronouncements of Mr. Lloyd George, for the O'Donnell Circular which brought on the Government of India the implied rebuke of the Secretary of State and finally for the appointment of a Royal Commission dealing with the position and prospects of the services. Now as regards the pronouncements of Mr. Lloyd George these may finally be disposed of by the remark that though they may have served the immediate purpose of stimulating recruitment yet his unhappy speech has been practically condemned in all quarters. Mr. Montagu has stigmatised it as "mischievous and bristling with inaccuracies," and he declared that the statement that Government cannot interfere with the Civil Service or deprive it of its functions to be "particularly dangerous." In view of the Reforms he thought the late Prime Minister was talking "nonsense." As to the Royal Commission the peculiar feature about it is that no one wants it, not even the Civil Servants for whose benefit it is to be brought into existence, for they rightly think they run the risk of their position being made worse by raising an animus against the British services. The delay in taking steps for the Indianisation of the Indian Army, the appointment to the Indian Civil Service of a number of ex-British officers and of 30 British medical men on special terms have been condemned as distrust-provoking, while the speech of the Viceroy delivered to the Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta in respect to the fiscal reforms produced suspicion and alarm that he might ignore the recommendation of the Fiscal Commission. This is a fair summary of the distrust-provoking incidents.

There is a complete unanimity amongst all parties in respect to the propriety of the resolution of the Legislative Assembly asking for an inquiry leading to the enlargement of the powers of the Legislature, and the much deferred reply of the Secretary of State for India is rightly considered unsatisfactory and

disappointing. The first question that arises in this connection is whether there is a legal bar to granting the request of the Assembly. Mr. Montagu who bears the reputation, the evil reputation in some quarters, as the father of the Indian constitution stated in Parliament that there was nothing in the Government of India Act to preclude a comprehensive inquiry within the first statutory period. This opinion was shared by Mr. Fisher who performed the duties of the Secretary of State in the interval between Mr. Montagu's resignation and the appointment of Lord Peel. And this position is not controverted in the despatch of the Secretary of State. Nor is there any reflection to be found in it as to the manner in which the Legislatures had discharged their novel but responsible duties disqualifying them from asking for enlarged powers. Even Mr. Lloyd George in that memorable speech of his alluded to "the able and distinguished Indians who have made the reforms a success." And Lord Reading has not been wanting in his appreciation of the tact, moderation and reasonableness of the members of the Legislature. The ground covered by Lord Peel as against an advance before the fixed period of ten years is certainly curious. His main contention is that the electorates are not sufficiently educated. That was precisely the ground taken up by the English reactionaries, and indeed some Anglo-Indians also, that the masses were inarticulate and the percentage of educated men was so small that there was no electorate worth speaking about. Any reform aiming at the introduction of any kind of parliamentary institution was therefore considered premature and meant to satisfy a noisy group of political agitators who were the pernicious product of the English education that had been imparted to them. Even the Reforms Report in dealing with the interest in political questions taken by the people confines it to that fraction of them who are town dwellers, amongst whom the presence of political leaders drawn from the educated classes has made itself felt. "On the other hand," it is recorded, "is an enormous country population, for the most part poor, ignorant, non-politically-minded and unused to any system of elections,—immersed indeed in the struggle for existence. The rural classes are poorly equipped for politics and do not at present wish to take part in them." Probably this was true when it was written, but its accuracy

may be questioned if applied to-day to the masses of India, for their placid contentment has undoubtedly been disturbed. Their minds have been stirred by new ideas and new sentiments, thanks largely to Mr. Gandhi and his novel propaganda. If then the country was reckoned to be fit in 1919 to be entrusted with certain responsibilities and powers much more is it fit now for an extension of these. If a certain standard of education is held to be indispensable or the hand of progress is to be stayed till the masses should become articulate in their demand for political rights then it is far from likely that these conditions will be fulfilled within the next decade or two. So that either the *status quo* must be maintained, and indeed logically what we have unduly received should be taken away, or the education of the people and the development of political institutions must proceed *pari passu*. The longer a further advance is denied, the greater will be the scope for hostile agitation and for the aggravation of embittered feelings.

Ireland should afford the English nation an object lesson. I was present in the House of Commons when the Compensation for Disturbances Bill was being discussed. It proposed a compensation for the tenants who were ousted by the landlords. The Bill was thrown out. Next day on going to the chambers of Messrs. O'Donnell and Finnigan, two Irish members of Parliament, I expected to see them downcast but found them instead in the best of spirits. In six months they explained the Irish people would extort from the English twice as much as they had asked for now. And then commenced an organised terrorism of which the landlords were the victims; the burning of their houses and the mutilation of their cattle. Law and authority were set at defiance. Concessions on a generous scale were made, but not being prompt they failed to produce the desired effect, the conciliation of the Irish. Such has been the policy of England all along, both in Ireland and in India, granting a boon a day too late. The sequel we know, the Irish have gained their freedom, but it is sad to contemplate, it is doing them positive harm, instead of good. Internal dissensions are eating them up. And who knows, England may yet have to stretch her hand to protect them from anarchy and from making mince-meat of each other.

The position of India is somewhat analogous.

The Irish presumably were not fit to govern themselves and came under British domination. Nor were the Indians, and they had to pay a similar penalty. The Irish cry has been that English rule with its absentee landlords impoverished Ireland and enriched England. The Indian cry is that the exploitation of India and the strangling of her industries has drained the wealth of the country to the decided advantage of the English. The Irish demanded certain alleviative measures to relieve their distressed condition. These were systematically and persistently refused. Later on there was from time to time a series of surrenders, but the grace of the gift was lost, for it came too late and in the meantime there was an increase in the demands that were made and mutual relations had become more strained and bitter feelings more accentuated. India has gone through a similar experience. She started with very modest demands. These were flouted and the persons who had the temerity to make them were stigmatised as self-interested agitators and rebels, the natural consequence being that bitter feelings were engendered. During the last 35 years England has given India much, but always too late. The gift neither satisfied the people nor could prevent the bitterness of feeling gaining fresh strength, for neither side would believe in the integrity and the good will of the other. But perhaps in no other country has the extraordinary spectacle been witnessed of a man being one fair day transported for life as a rebel and his property confiscated and within a couple of years being appointed a Minister with a responsible share in the government of his province. And the curious part of it is that his political ideas have undergone no change. His estimation now of the English and of their rule is precisely what it was before. The Irish would be satisfied with nothing less than Home Rule. Gladstone would have given it and would possibly have won over Ireland, but the English nation refused to grant the boon. They thought better of it afterwards when they found that power was slipping out of their hands, and have given Home Rule and something more besides, but an appreciable section of the Irish declare now that nothing less than independence will satisfy them. In India also the ever increasing demands culminated in a resolution to which all communities subscribed to secure self-government at a date as early as possible. The idea was at

first scouted by the English Government but at last the logic of events forced the conviction that it would be better to concede even this demand, nominally at least as is being contended by some while others admit that a fair start has been made, but that in the interests of the country and for the sake of good government enhanced powers and responsibilities should be conferred on the representatives of the people. In the matter of the Autonomy Resolution the extremists on both sides are labouring under a strange misconception. The reactionaries in England believe that their tactics have succeeded in choking up any advance in constitutional reform, but past experience should convince them that sooner or later a surrender is inevitable and the later it is the larger will be the measure of advance. On the other hand there can be no question that the extremists in India by their eccentricities are arresting the hand of progress.

The analogy between Ireland and India does not end here. The reason was identical that prompted England to flout for a period the demands made by either the Irish or by Indians, which were presumably reasonable as they were conceded later on. It was the conviction that those making these demands were so disunited as to exclude any common action on their part. Ulster had no sympathy for the demands of those in the South of Ireland, who again were split up into various parties. The case of India is more deplorable. Hindu-Moslem antagonism is reflected by differences of sorts among the minor communities. Joint action on their part for all purposes is next to hopeless. And yet they have had a splendid illustration of the effect of united action. Constitutional reform in India was brought within the range of practical politics by the combination of the Hindus and Mahomedans, moderates and extremists, in enunciating at Lucknow in 1917 programme of Home Rule on which future agitation was to be centred. Here expediency came into play and dictated surrender on the part of the British Government as the lesser of two evils, for the other alternative would have driven the people into active antagonism, which was liable to degenerate into and show of physical force. Some there are who would like to follow Ireland's example in this respect, hoping for equal success in the liberation of the country from foreign rule. In the first place the final issue was never doubtful in respect to the use of force

by either Ireland or India. England with all the military resources at her command could easily have crushed either of these nations if they had ventured to try conclusions with her. But Ireland had the advantage of having more or less the sympathy of America and apart from that a certain section of the Irish entertained such a bitter hatred towards the English that reconciliation seemed impossible. India has the sympathy of no other country nor can Indians entertain a similar hatred, for England saved India from internecine quarrels and from being a prey to foreign invaders, and even now her presence in this country is indispensable.

The moral is obvious. Though Ireland has gained its desire the absence of unity has thrown it into anarchy, and such would be the fate of India if left to its own resources. There are some individuals who talk glibly of preferring anarchy to the British connection, but their number is limited and they need both a mental and a moral cure. "Out of chaos comes order" connotes a disease which it is difficult to diagnose. On the other hand if we were to put our house in order and compose our communal and sectional differences and if we were to put forward our claims with a united voice it is more than probable that what moral force and physical force cannot achieve we may obtain by the inscrutable working of the principle of expediency. England also should profit by past experience. It has had some striking lessons of the effect of putting off till to-morrow what can be done to-day. Having regard to the dictates of justice and expediency the Secretary of State's reply to the Legislative Assembly's request for an inquiry leading to an enhancement of its powers and responsibilities should not have been of the nature of an abrupt refusal. It has not only provoked distrust but an excellent opportunity has been lost of cutting the ground beneath the feet of the extremists, who are jubilant at the rebuff the moderates have received. Even the appearance should be avoided that advantage is being taken of the fact that the people are disunited and hence no fear need be entertained of their proving dangerous. And as to that there is nothing to prevent their uniting against Government as they did in 1917 for the common purpose of insisting on the grant of something which they believe they are entitled to. The holding of an inquiry would not necessarily have meant the granting of the privileges asked for, because it

would have been open to the Government to demonstrate that the Legislature are not equal to undertaking any further responsibilities. As it is the matter will not be allowed to drop, for there is an unanimity of opinion in respect to securing full provincial autonomy and the introduction of responsibility in the Central Government in all departments, except Military, Foreign and Political, at an as early a date as possible. Lord Peel will be taken at his word that there is much scope for expansion within the constitution and that the Legislature should utilise it.

The pronouncement of Mr. Lloyd George in respect to the Indian Civil Service no doubt provoked a certain amount of natural indignation. But never have the utterances of a Prime Minister received such scant support from the press and the public, excepting the blessed fraternity of Die-hards, who thrive on the mischief they can create. As a matter of fact it is they who supplied the brief to a busy and hard-worked man, who with the best of intentions was unable to verify facts and figures. But after all the immediate object in view was to stimulate British recruitment of the Indian services which was languishing owing to the misrepresentations of the reactionaries in England. Was this an unpardonable offence? Not so, unless we desire an immediate cessation of the British connection. If the Premier's speech was distrust-provoking, it was also thought-provoking. Can we do without the English element in the Civil Service? Not so long as our internal dissensions are maintained at their present strength and not till we learn toleration and cultivate a desire to live and let live. So long as Mahomedans assert and act on the principle "Moslems first and Indians afterwards" they can render no help in welding the various communities of India into a united nation. In face of the anxiety for the extension of communal claims in every direction, from the public bodies on to the public services, what prospect is there of mutual good will being brought into action apart from public embraces and fraternal greetings which are enough to stamp us as a nation of hypocrites? The English element in the Civil Service must be retained if for no other reason to compose our differences and indeed to prevent our rushing at each other's throats, which will be the most prominent characteristic of the Swaraj some of us desire to attain. But at the same time the position of

the permanent services in India must be approximated to that of the permanent services in England and the Colonies.

As to the Royal Commission to go into the question of the position and prospects of the services, its appointment has no doubt created a certain amount of alarm and suspicion. It is feared the pay, allowances and pension of the English members of the Civil Service will be enhanced. And why not pray? The labourer is all the world over paid according to his deserts. When we are ready to get at each other's throats or to filch each other's pockets, literally or metaphorically, for the assertion of communal claims has a peculiar significance, the Englishman intervenes and says, "now my good fellows, don't make asses of yourselves." He must be paid for this service according to his demands. We must either do this or adopt the other alternative not to make asses of ourselves. But we evidently glory in possessing the pertinacity of this animal, for jeers and taunts have no effect on us. We chuckle over a paltry benefit one community has obtained by trying to overreach others. Now the Royal Commission will be helpful to us in several ways. We have asked for the Indianisation of the services, and the Government stands committed to give effect to this request, but at its sweet will it appoints to the Civil Service a batch of retired British officers or engages a number of British Medical men on special terms for a special period. An excellent opportunity is afforded to us to fix once for all the meaning of the term Indianisation of the services and to obtain a precise idea on what lines it is to proceed and how soon it is to be completed. This does not mean the complete elimination of Englishmen. They have yet for some time to come to minister to the people of India as they have done before with the proviso that they understand that their services have been transferred from the British Government to the Government of India as by law established. They should be treated as honoured experts with pay, allowances and pension on a different scale to Indians occupying the same positions. The time has come when in the interests of the country and having regard to the seriousness of the financial situation the Legislatures must fix the salaries of Indian public servants, commensurate to their abilities no doubt but with due regard to the capacity of their own country to meet the outlay that is to be incurred on them. Then alone

will it be possible to fix the number of English experts, who as generals in the army must be far and far between. The Royal Commission has a peculiar significance from another point of view. It has been brought into existence to consider a certain position that has arisen owing to the operations of the new constitution. Carried to its logical conclusion there is no reason why other situations that have arisen from the operations of the same constitution should not form the subject of an inquiry. And indeed the exercise of a little tact and acumen a good deal may be squeezed into the four corners of the Royal Commission, the announcement of whose birth has just been made.

The other day a remark was made in the Council of State that the Secretary of State had negatived many of the recommendations of the Government of India. This was not controverted and could not be, for amongst other reforms foreshadowed by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who having just left the Government of India speaks with an inner knowledge of its working, not the least important was the relaxation of the powers of the Secretary of State of superintendence, direction and control. In defence of this the theory of responsibility to Parliament is run to death. When anything is done by the Secretary of State in the interests of India as in the case of the Reforms the complaint is made that Parliament has been over-reached and dust has been thrown in its eyes, and when any action is taken adverse to the people the theory of responsibility is trotted out, whereas in both cases the English Legislatures knew little and cared still less about Indian affairs. So that in reality the Secretary of State occupies a position that is autocratic, and as such can interfere with the Government of India as it pleases him. The most effective remedy for this will be found in the Indian Legislatures asserting themselves strongly in respect to matters in which they have come to a decision after due care and deliberation. The Reform Scheme recognised in a general way that it will be impossible for Parliament to retain control of matters which it has deliberately delegated to representative bodies in India. And as the Secretary of State derives his authority from Parliament it is possible to put a restraint on his actions without going outside the corners of the Government of India Act and no change of the constitution is called for. At the Delhi Conference of political leaders there seemed to be a fair amount of unanimity

that instead of drafting a new constitution, as appears to have been originally Mrs. Besant's idea, the possibilities of the Government of India Act should be exhausted. In the natural course of events greater weight will be attached to the deliberations and decisions of the Legislatures which if supported by the Government of India will constitute a check to any autocratic action on the part of the Secretary of State.

Looking at recent events it would appear a somewhat exaggerated view is taken of the arbitrary action on the part of Lord Peel. Take the recommendations of the Racial Distinctions Committee as a case in point. These were on the whole accepted with only two modifications. The one related to the status of the Colonials. The Committee was right in denying them the privilege of European British subjects having regard to their general attitude towards Indians, but a conciliatory policy is more likely to help us in the achievement of our object which is the amelioration of the condition of Indian settlers than an affront which would put up the back of the Colonials. And as to the special privilege allowed to English soldiers, subject to certain safeguards, the Legislative Assembly acted wisely in accepting the modification introduced by the Secretary of State. But the main object that of removing invidious distinctions was achieved by the Racial Distinctions Bill and this had received the sanction of His Majesty's Government. The credit for this much called for reform must be given to Lord Reading, who by his sympathetic speech at the Chelmsford Club in Simla on the subject of racial equality encouraged the Legislature to take up a matter which for many years past has aroused considerable bitterness of feeling. The appointment of the Royal Commission in spite of the adverse criticism directed against it has also its bright side, though from the reticence of Sir Malcolm Hailey the inference may rightly be drawn that it has come into existence over the heads of the Government of India. It will clear the artificial atmosphere which has operated to stifle the recruitment of British youths to the Indian services. This was urgently called for. An opportunity will be afforded to arrive at a clear understanding as to the pace at which the Indianisation of the services is to proceed. It will play into the hands of Indian politicians who will utilise it to solve questions of constitutional advance, from which it is inseparable. It will also be an object lesson to the functionary

dealing with Indian affairs at Whitehall that his somewhat arbitrary act has been repudiated by even the non-official European members of the Indian Legislature. He will of course be in no way affected by what amounts to a vote of censure passed on him, but its moral effect cannot be wiped out and no Government can afford to ignore the fact that the people whom it governs disapprove of its conduct. A blunder has no doubt been committed by the Secretary of State which may recoil on those he is interested in, on himself and on the Government he represents by accentuating the distrust against each one of them. It bodes ill for the preservation of the sense of tranquility which Mr. Bonar Law claims is a striking characteristic of his Government. But fortunately forces are at work to counteract this effect.

If we look at the credit and debit account of our progress towards self-government we have no reason whatever to be disheartened, nor any reason to be apprehensive of the future. The reactionary party in England is more than counterbalanced by the Labour party who muster so strong that they are recognised as the official opposition in the House of Commons. They are pledged to immediate Home Rule for India, as Col. Wedgewood's speeches in this country and in Parliament too have made sufficiently clear. As to the Liberal party it stands committed, Mr. Lloyd George included, to Mr. Montagu's Reform Scheme, in respect to which his latest utterance is that "the Government of India would be Indian, made by Indians and suited to India." If these two parties coalesce or at least adopt a common line of action as regards India the prospect of Great Britain's pledge to India being redeemed at an early date will be bright indeed. In India itself we find Lord Willingdon an ardent advocate of provincial autonomy, and there is perfect harmony between him and his ministers in Madras. Neither Lord Lytton nor Sir George Lloyd can be said to be unsympathetic to Indian aspirations and at any rate will not oppose a reasonable expansion of the powers of the Legislatures. As to the Government of India it is between two mill-stones in the Legislative Assembly on the one hand and the Secretary of State on the other hand. Lord Reading has given us sufficient evidence of his anxiety to govern wisely and well and to help the people in the discharge of their new responsibilities. And his European colleagues seem to be more and

more kindly disposed to India's desire to govern itself. In his closing speech on the Racial Distinctions Bill Sir Malcolm Hailley affirmed that "on the one hand Indians realised that they must take Europeans with them and on the other that Europeans were prepared to show good will and take real interest in India's development." How the reactionaries in England will groan over a speech like this, which is destroying their stock in trade in England! The degenerate officials of to-day with non-official Europeans co-operating with them are parting with the birth right of Englishmen. The privilege of holding arms without license has been done away with. Racial distinction in criminal trials has been abolished, and violent hands have been laid on the products of Lancashire. Sir Basil Blackett the new Finance Minister inaugurated his entry into the Legislative Assembly by the announcement that he accepted whole-heartedly India's right to decide her fiscal policy and that he would stand by it. And as India wants protection, the Government of India, presumably with the sanction of the Secretary of State, have agreed that the fiscal policy of India will be based on protection. And a fatal blow has been inflicted on the old theory that India was won by the sword and must be kept by the sword. The sword is now being transferred to the Indians. A Military College has been opened at Dehra Dun to train Indians as officers, and it has just been announced that eight regiments are to be officered entirely by Indians.

A most encouraging feature of the present day political situation is the sympathetic attitude of non-official Europeans towards Indian aspirations. Up till recently they had held completely aloof from domestic politics with the result that they had very often from sheer ignorance been unable to understand the Indian view point. But since the introduction of the Reforms they have contributed their share to make them a success. They resented the interference of the Die-hards in England which led the latter to send the famous telegram, "mind your own business." Their relations with the Indian members of the Legislature have been most cordial, and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru testifies to the fact of Englishmen and Indians joining hands together to put pressure on what they considered an unyielding and unreasonable Government. They have thrown in the weight of their influence in favour of retrenchment.

They have entered their protest against the exorbitant military expenditure. In last year's budget debate they helped in the reduction of the estimates by nine crores of rupees. In respect of the appointment of the royal Commission Mr. Spence and Sir Montagu Webb both joined in supporting in the Legislative Assembly the motion for the adjournment of the House, and Sir Campbell Rhodes gave a general support to the Racial Distinctions Bill as an equitable compromise. The European members of the Fiscal Commission consented to the declaration of the fiscal policy of India to be one of protection. The European Association has announced as its policy the fostering of a relationship of cordiality and co-operation with those Indians who are working constructively for the good of India, and that in respect of the burning questions of the day it stands for the orderly development of the Reform Scheme.

The only fly in the ointment is the Anglo-Indian. He bemoans that Indians are progressing in the acquirement of self-government and are enforcing their demands for the Indianisation of the services. But all the same he hopes that he will be allowed to share in any plums that may be going. The ludicrous part of it is that the question of qualification is conspicuous by its absence. Europeans take a pride in their knowledge of the vernaculars, but will an Anglo-Indian be guilty of such an enormity? God forbid. He would at once stamp himself as having Indian blood in his veins. But what about his tell-tale skin? That is a detail that is ignored in the hope that most people are colour blind. Col. Crawford on his appointment as Secretary of the European Association toured all over the country and urged Europeans to take an active interest in politics and to be sympathetic with the legitimate aspirations of Indians. For this he incurred the wrath of Anglo-Indians who accused him of aiming at the annihilation of Britishers and the descendants of the British. But here again it is gratifying to notice the change in the angle of vision with which a good many Anglo-Indians now look at political affairs. Col. Gidney addressing the Bombay Provincial Branch of the Anglo-Indian Association advocated unity and the adaptation to the changed conditions, and exhorted the community "to associate themselves more and more with moderate Indians who were working for the attainment of self-

government for India and not to keep themselves aloof or show antagonism to the political progress of India. They could not any more look upon Englishmen as their prop and they had to get on amicably with other larger communities." I have heard similar sentiments expressed by other Anglo-Indians.

My task is done. Englishmen have given much cause for distrust, but on the whole the future outlook is reassuring. In the new order

of things there is every reason to hope that they will co-operate with the people of the country in securing India's political salvation. And we would do well to moderate our prejudice against them, for their presence for some time to come is necessary for the political and material prosperity of India. It is to the interest of both parties that mutual confidence should be restored.

THE RIGHT HON'BLE SRINIVASA SASTRI'S REPORT.

By "AN ONLOOKER".

The report of Mr. Sastri's tour in the dominions of Australia, New Zealand, and Canada is a document of first-rate importance. Its value as a contribution to the scanty and not always well-informed literature on the subject of Indians overseas is out of all proportion to its modest size. Those who expected wonders from the deputation will doubtless feel disappointed. Those whose only occupation in life is to minimise the value of the most substantial achievement on grounds of political difference or personal antipathy to the individual to whom the achievement is due will derive the customary satisfaction from a violent vilification of the man and his work. It is doubtful, however, whether any reasonable section of opinion in this country or outside will fail to appreciate the results obtained by Mr. Sastri as a signal contribution to the adjustment of a problem of great significance to India and the Empire. In the words of Mr. Lloyd George the British Empire is an association of autonomous peoples. The phrase hardly represents more than an ideal at present at least so far as India is concerned. But if her equality in the association with the other partners is to become an accomplished fact, the disabilities under which her sons who have become lawfully domiciled in the self-governing and other territories under the British flag now labour must be removed without the elimination of the disparity of status to which Indians resident in some parts

of the Empire are subject. Equality is a mere fiction. The Imperial Conference which met in London in the summer of 1921 recognised the incongruity of the present situation. It accepted the principle of equality of status as the ideal to be aimed at—the only dissentient member being the Union of South Africa. Mr. Sastri visited the assenting dominions to endeavour to get the resolution of 1921 translated into legislation. The only reasonable criterion of his achievement is the extent to which this end has been brought nearer realisation. The alchemy of eloquence and the intrinsic justice of a cause can not uproot prejudice in a day. Change of opinion is a protracted process. Acceleration of the machinery of democratic government is a slow affair. Miracles have no place in the ordering of human affairs. Results of negotiations over which national psychology must exercise a decisive influence are not susceptible of arithmetical computation. It is in the light of these considerations that we must pronounce the mission to have been a conspicuous success.

In Australia and Canada, Indians are subject to political disabilities. Two States of the Commonwealth, viz., Western Australia and Queensland do not admit them to the franchise. As a consequence the federal franchise is also withheld from those Indians who are resident in these States. Mr. Sastri conferred with the

authorities concerned on this question and from the Governments of Western Australia and the Commonwealth, he seems to have received favourable replies. The attitude of Queensland does not appear to have been so satisfactory but it is doubtful whether the Government of that State can long continue to occupy a position of unenviable isolation after the two other Governments have conferred the right to vote on the Indian community. The federal Government of Canada has actually promised to refer the question to the parliamentary franchise committee; the cabinet of British Columbia was less definite in its reply, but equally sincere in its desire to do justice. More important than the pledges and promises of Governments is public opinion. Over this most important factor Mr. Sastri's advocacy seems to have exercised considerable influence. It is from the orientation in the attitude of the public towards the rights of Indians that one might reasonably expect the happiest results. Nobody can foretell with accuracy how long it will take the converts to make their influence felt. We mustn't forget that local issues loom large in the eyes of every electorate; and both in Canada and Australia there has been much to engage the attention of the respective Governments which had to take precedence over the Indian question owing to considerations of political expediency. But the mere fact that the imperial aspect of the Indian problem has been brought clearly before every important political party is a distinct gain. Mr. Sastri has sown the seed. It is the duty of the Indian people no less than that of the Indian Government to see that it germinates and grows to fruition. The first deputation must not be the last. Mr. Sastri rightly dwells on the need for more frequent intercourse between India and the dominions. We should like to see an unofficial deputation from India visiting Canada, New Zealand and Australia. The task of political education which Mr. Sastri began must be continued by others. From pertinacity of endeavour we may expect a great deal, without it we can achieve little.

The economic picture drawn by Mr. Sastri, is on the whole, pleasant to contemplate. Indians in these dominions appear to be far removed from the poverty which is the lot of the majority in crown colonies like Ceylon, Malaya or Fiji. They are in a position of comparative affluence even though they are restricted in the choice of a vocation as in

Queensland. We hope that the Government of this State will completely remove the disabilities which circumscribe the sphere of activity of our fellow-countrymen who reside within its jurisdiction. No argument based on economic rivalry can justify the continuance of distinctions which are invidious in character, and iniquitous in their effects. In the case of the Indian, the rivalry is hardly effective for his numbers are too small. If the authorities find it difficult to act without precedent the promise of the Commonwealth Government to admit Indians to the benefit of the Invalid and Old Age Pensions Act should hearten them to move. Exclusion from the privileges of this beneficent measure is the only economic disability which the federal law imposes on the Indian. If that law is amended in the interests of 'imperial solidarity' the continuance of other restrictions on the provincial sphere will become a danger and an anomaly.

Mr. Sastri has made a suggestion that a Protector of Indian subjects should be appointed for the South Pacific. We emphatically endorse this proposal. As the report points out nothing can be more humiliating for India than to leave her sons overseas unprotected. Every petty State has its Consuls. We can hardly expect correspondence to do service for a prompt human agency working on the spot. There are between two and three thousand Indians in Australia and New Zealand. There are nearly 60,000 in Fiji. The care of 63,000 Indians living in a homogeneous geographical group of territories is a moral duty which we cannot shirk consistently with our self-respect. The lachrymose but somewhat empty sympathy which has been expended on the sufferings of Indians in the Colonies in the past might suitably take a more practical and effective form. We hope that no considerations of economy will defer the Government of India from accepting Mr. Sastri's suggestion.

It is in its relation to the general problem of Indians in other parts of the Empire that the appearance of the report provides a suitable opportunity for comment. Two other deputations were sent by the Government of India last year; one to Guiana and the other to Fiji whose investigations and recommendations have not yet been made public. The position in Kenya is a source of grave anxiety to the Government and people of India. The direct negotiations which we presume have been in progress between the Government of the Union of South Africa and

the Indian Government regarding the position of Indians in that country do not appear to have advanced the problem a stage nearer towards solution. The list is impressive as evidence of the variety, the complexity and the number of questions awaiting settlement. It cannot fail to emphasise the need for a thorough and dispassionate survey of the situation as an essential prelude to the formulation of a plan of campaign. We shall attempt in the following paragraphs to deal as concisely and clearly with the subject as the space at our disposal will permit.

The first point to bear in mind is that different methods have to be followed in dealing with the Indian question in the self-governing dominions and the Colonies. The autonomous parts of the Empire are in no way subordinate to Whitehall or Westminster. The only support that the Government of Great Britain can lend us is its moral support. Its value must depend on the strength of the imperial sentiment in the dominion whose action is to be invoked. We must not minimise the weight or importance of the intervention of the imperial authorities. But it is evident that in dealing with a democratic Government jealous of its autonomy, a direct appeal is likely to be much more effective than indirect pressure. Particularly is this the case because of the nature of the Indian problem. Indian disabilities are largely the outcome of prejudice, racial or economic. They owe their tendency to become permanent to the prevalent ignorance in the dominions of Indian history and civilisation. Neither can be effectively corroborated by despatches. Mr. Sastri's visit to Canada, Australia and New Zealand has clearly demonstrated the superiority of treating direct over the antiquated and dilatory procedure of mere correspondence. Our first endeavour, therefore, should be to secure the right of direct negotiation.

The second consideration which we are apt to overlook is that certain preliminary understandings already exist between India and the dominions. There is the reciprocity resolution of 1918 which gives each 'community the right to regulate the composition of its own population.' This arrangement gives India the right to exclude the nationals of a dominion: but it also imposes on India the obligation of respecting the immigration laws of the dominions. It is no longer possible, therefore, to argue that imperial citizenship—a term which

has no legal significance—carries with it the right of free migration and settlement within the Empire. The talk of repudiating the arrangement of 1918 is mischievous—for repudiation will not automatically create the right of the free entry; and will discredit India's fair name, besides giving anti-Indian sections in each community an occasion for harassing our nationals domiciled in their midst. Whether we should at once adopt a policy of retaliation is a matter which deserves very careful consideration. It can only be justified as a last resort, for against a handful of colonials who might be thus affected, thousands of Indians will suffer.

The next most important understanding is the equality resolution of 1921. South Africa did not accept the resolution because in Natal the Indian population exceeds the European, and in the Transval Dutch traditions and laws preclude the possibility of equal treatment of white and non-white races. Laying aside the question of South Africa for the moment, we must consider the bearing of this resolution of the position of Indians (a) in other dominions and (b) in the Crown colonies and protectorates. Mr. Sastri's embassy was specially intended to secure a translation of the ideal of political equality into fact in the dominions. Public opinion has partially been prepared for this. Governments have agreed to do their best. All that remains is to repeat the effort.

The application of the principle to the Crown Colonies stands on a different footing. These territories do not enjoy responsible Government. Their civilisation has not assumed an exclusively 'white' character. The majority of them have large open spaces, awaiting colonisation. Their resources need capital and labour to develop. They are a heritage of the Empire to which every class of His Majesty's subjects should have free access and in whose advancement every enterprising community of the Empire should have the opportunity to share. Within these areas there should be no distinctions of the race, no restriction of opportunity. In other words the principle of equality should be applied to Indians without qualification or equivocation. That is the acid test of Empire, on this point there must be no faltering.

We are naturally reluctant to indulge in remarks which might jeopardise a satisfactory solution of the difficulty in Kenya. It is in that colony that the application of the principle of

equality is being opposed by a section of the community. We can only say that any whittling down of the principle in deference to threats of violence will be an encouragement to the apostles of force elsewhere, and a severe blow to British prestige. We have no doubt that if the authorities in England had grappled with the problem boldly and promptly, a settlement would have been reached long ago. Delay has nearly destroyed the chances of an equitable and satisfactory adjustment. The Government of India have worked manfully for the Indian cause. But our men in Kenya need guidance. Government cannot provide that guidance directly. Will the Indian public send a deputation for the purpose to East Africa? Here is scope for a practical manifestation of sympathy which otherwise explodes in angry but fruitless protests. But Kenya is a warning—whatever the outcome of the present crisis! Everywhere, whether in Rhodesia or far-off Fiji the white settlers seem reluctant to admit the Indian to political equality, when the demand for such equality becomes insistent, the reluctance alters to active opposition and threats of violence are frequently indulged. In South Africa, and to a lesser extent, in East Africa we see what are the

results of a policy of drift. Fortunately the new Indian Emigration Act enables us to restrict emigration to lands where a satisfactory future is not assured for our nationals. It is only by treating the problem of emigration as an organic whole that we shall be able to secure to Indians abroad a position of political dignity and economic freedom. The sparsely populated parts of the Empire need men. It is for us to lay down the conditions on which we shall supply the population that they so urgently need. We have the power and the opportunity. Shall we have the skill and the foresight to use them? One thing is certain. The problem will not be solved by dealing with the different colonies piecemeal. It is but natural that the Colonial office should endeavour to drive as hard a bargain as possible. Its primary duty is to further the interests of the most powerful community in each colony. But it is in treating direct with an agency like that our main advantage lies. If we made it clear that without a general guarantee of fair and just treatment in all territories subject to its jurisdiction no Indian migration for purposes of labour will be allowed to the colonies, and firmly adhere to the decision there should be no doubt as to the result.

HINDUSTANEES ON THE PACIFIC COAST*.

By MR. RAJANI KANTA DAS.

The most important ports at which the Hindustanees made their first landings were San Francisco and Vancouver. From these two centres they gradually spread over towards the south, east and north, reaching different parts of the Pacific Coast in the course of time.

According to the report of the census of 1910, the whole of the Hindustani population which arrived in the United States were distributed as

follows:—

California	...	...	2,742
Washington	...	...	1,414
New York	...	...	492
Oregon	...	...	208
New Jersey	...	...	131
Missouri	...	...	119
Rest	...	...	118

Total in the U. S.	...	...	5,424
Hawaii	...	...	362

Total ... 5,786

*From the report Dr. Das made to the Department of Labour of the United States Government, by which he was appointed a special agent for the study of the social and economic conditions of the Hindustanees on the Pacific Coast.

From the above table it is seen that next to British Columbia where 5,179 Hindustanees arrived in the four years from 1905 to 1909, California had the next largest number of Hindustani immigrants, 2,742 in all. Washington stood next with 1,414. A few of these arrived at Seattle but most of them came from British Columbia. In Oregon, most of the Hindustanees were located in lumber camps. The majority of the 492 Hindustanees in the State of New York were congregated in the city of New York where they arrived mostly as sailors. Some few, however, came for the purpose of trade. This is true also of New Jersey and Missouri where the Hindustani population numbers 131 and 119 respectively.

There has been a good deal of change in the distribution of the Hindustani population in the United States in recent years, most of them being now located in the following centres:

1. THE SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY.

About 75 miles south of San Francisco lies the great valley of the San Joaquin comprising some of the richest counties of California. The soil is generally sandy loam to light sand and contains all the mineral elements of plant food. In the delta near Stockton, the soil is especially rich in humus, in some places to a depth of ten or twelve feet. The annual rainfall for the whole valley amounts to ten inches with a dry period from May to September. The temperature rises as high as 82 degrees F. in the summer and falls as low as 47 degrees in the winter. Grapes, peaches, apricots, almonds, olives, figs, oranges, beans, peas, potatoes, corn and sugar beets are among the products of the valley.

Besides its agricultural wealth the valley itself is charming and picturesque. Blue, clear skies with specks of white clouds floating lazily above, the half-clad and misty hill sides on the distant horizon, the never-ending vineyards interspersed here and there with orchards, the tall and lusty eucalyptus towering over the groves and cottages are fascinating even to casual travellers. To those who desire to settle down, the San Joaquin Valley appears to be the "promised land."

It was not long after their arrival in this country that the Hindustanees came to appreciate the resources and opportunities in the San Joaquin Valley. While working on railroads they had occasion to travel and get acquainted

with the rich resources of the valley and were soon filled with a desire to secure employment on the ranches. It was in 1907 that the first Hindustanees appeared in the San Joaquin Valley. Gradually a large number of them settled around Stockton, Fresno and Bakersfield, and these three cities became the important centres of the Hindustanee workers in the San Joaquin Valley.

Of the above three centres, Stockton naturally took the lead. A large number of the Hindustanees engaged in the work of cultivating farms around Stockton and while moving from farm to farm, they made it their headquarters.

The other important places around Stockton in which they are located at the present time are Holt, Lodi and Sando.

Their second important center in the San Joaquin Valley is Fresno County. Fresno, the "Queen of Raisins," has attracted perhaps the largest number of Hindustani settlers on the Pacific Coast. They are scattered around Lone Star, Conejo, Clovis, Madera and other places.

2. THE SACRAMENTO VALLEY.

The Sacramento Valley is another rich section of Northern California. In physical features, soil texture and composition and climatic conditions it is not essentially different from the San Joaquin Valley. Some of the products such as grapes and peaches are practically the same as in the latter, but there is one essential difference: Unlike the San Joaquin Valley, the Sacramento Valley has large tracts of swamp land which are especially fitted for the cultivation of rice.

The Hindustanees began to arrive in the Sacramento Valley about the same time as they did in the San Joaquin Valley. It was not long before the City of Sacramento became one of their centers. Like Fresno City, Sacramento is also a stopping point for the migrating Hindustani laborers. In the periods between the agricultural seasons in the rice fields in Northern California and the orchards in the west and south they rest at Sacramento and carry on their social activities there.

Besides the city of Sacramento, the Hindustanees in the Sacramento Valley are found congregated in two different sections, first, in the fruit growing section of Folsom, Orangeville, Loomis and Newcastle, and second, in the rice-growing districts of Marys-

ville, Coluso, Tudor, Willows, Chico, Butte City, Nelson, Gridley and Briggs. It is in the last center that they have become very successful businessmen and control a large percentage of the rice production of California.

3. IMPERIAL VALLEY.

Imperial Valley is a county in Southern California bordering Mexico. A large section of the valley is below sea-level. It is about 60 miles long and 45 miles broad and had a population of about 43,000 persons in 1920. The precipitation for the whole year does not amount to more than one inch. The air is dry all the year round. The temperature does not fall below 24 degrees in winter and rises as high as 115 or more in the shade in July and August. The soil is very rich. Agriculture is altogether dependent upon irrigation. Among the chief products of the valley might be mentioned grapes, cotton, alfalfa, milo, barley and canteioupes.

The Hindustanees began to appear in Imperial Valley about 1910 when the country was still undeveloped. The extreme heat of the summer does not attract many American settlers. Here the Hindustanees found a great opportunity for carrying on their industrial activities. In 1919, their number in Imperial Valley amounted to nearly 300 and although the failure of the cotton crop has driven out a large number of them, there are still about 200 engaged in agricultural operations near such cities as El Centro, Calexico, Holtville and Brawley.

4. BRITISH COLUMBIA.

British Columbia is one of the richest provinces of Canadian territory on the Pacific Ocean, having an area of 372,630 square miles. Although mountainous and rugged, the soils near the coast and in the valleys are rich and productive. The climate is mild, and rainy on the coast. The soil is adaptable to fruit-growing. In fact, the Fraser Valley is a "perennial garden" and produces some of the best fruits and vegetables found in any part of the world. Gold, silver, copper, zinc, mercury, coal and iron are among the minerals found in different sections of the Province. There is an abundance of fish both in the deep waters and in the rivers. Lumbering is one of the most important industries. Gold mining is extensively carried

on in the Island of Vancouver. These various industries offered excellent opportunities to the Hindustanees upon their arrival at Vancouver some two decades ago.

Since their arrival, Vancouver has really become the largest center of the industrial activities and of the social and religious life of the Hindustanees of the Pacific Coast. There are more Hindustanees, especially Sikhs in Vancouver than in any other single city in either Canada or the United States. Next to Vancouver, Victoria is the city in which a large number of Hindustanees carry on their industrial activities. From Vancouver they have scattered all around and at present are located at New Westminster, Fraser Mills, Duncan, Coombs and Ocean Falls.

5. MISCELLANEOUS.

Besides the abovementioned centers there are also several places and cities in which the Hindustanees are to be found in more or less numbers.

(a) States.

Of the other States which offer inducement to the Hindustanees the most important perhaps is Oregon. A number of them are employed in the lumber mills of Astoria, Linnton and Bridal Veil. About a decade ago over two hundred of them were employed in Oregon, but due to the depression in the lumber industry and in the migration of the Hindustanees themselves, the number has been reduced to about 100 at the present time.

In the State of Washington, some of the Hindustanees were formerly employed in different lumber mills such as those at Bellingham and Tacoma, but the number employed there at present is very insignificant. Among other causes which have reduced the number should be mentioned the "anti-Hindu movement" started by a few politicians and labor-leaders.

Several of them have also found their way into such states as Utah, Arizona, Nevada and South Dakota. During the war when the price of wheat went up, some of them bought land near Chandler in Arizona and began to raise wheat. Similarly, several of them have gone to Utah and started farming. There are at present about 15 Hindustanees who are engaged in agriculture near Brigham City, Utah.

(b) Cities.

Except in the cities of Vancouver and Victoria, B.C., and Sacramento, Cal., there are scarcely any Hindustanees to be found engaged in industrial activities in the cities on the Pacific Coast. But in several cities on the Atlantic Coast a number of them are to be found in different industrial activities. It has

been estimated from various sources that there are at present nearly 50 Hindustanees in Chicago, Ill., 20 in Detroit, Mich., 25 in Buffalo, N. Y., about 35 in New Orleans, La., about 30 in Charleston, S. C., and a few near Asbury Park, N. J. The number of the Hindustanees in such important ports as Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, is difficult to estimate.

MODERN INDIA.

A Literary View.

By ROBERT SENCOURT.

From the day when Clive arrived in India in 1743, Englishmen began to associate their ideas of the wealth and splendour of the country with a moral and administrative problem. And so they have ever since considered it. They were outraged by Clive's rich contemporaries who returned from the plunder of provinces to an English life of almost incredible ostentation, as indeed Clive's was; and these Asiatic plunderers, as they were called, involved Clive's own honour in the scandals connected with themselves. The next scapegoat was Hastings. It is one of the ironies of history that Hastings who was the first administrator to associate himself with scholars interested in India, and who sought, as Clive had done, to purify the administration of the Company, could only defend himself at the cost of maintaining traditions he deplored.

It is now 130 years since the long trial of Hastings terminated in 1793. But all questions with regard to India which have arisen since that time arise out of the matters involved in the tremendous case. The problem of Indian religion arises from the study of the Sanskrit classics founded by Hastings' friends Halhed, Wilkins and Jones. Interest in the political problems, and the financial problem connected with them has been little more than a response to the impassioned eloquence of

Burke. The problem of education arose when Charles Grant, among the ideals he cherished to combat the prevailing tone of the Company's servants from Hastings downwards, conceived the idea of teaching Indian students in English. And the moral attitude of England towards India was argued out between Sidney Smith and Scott Waring, supported by Hastings, on the one side, and Grant's missionary following among whom Heber was eminent, and by whom also Macaulay was inspired on the other. Macaulay's contemporaries were fascinated by his gorgeous Indian essays, and to them decorated as they are by brilliantly picturesque reminiscences of his Eastern experience the mind of England has most often turned for its view of India. In passage after passage he has outlined and painted the Indian scene.

But if we look for that view of India which England took during the reign of Victoria through her imaginative writers, we must turn to the pages of Thackeray, of Tennyson and of Ruskin.

In Thackeray, the two types of Anglo-Indians who debated so keenly which was the right attitude towards missionary endeavour come before us with the Newcomes, and a third and less admirable type is furnished in Jos Sedley. *The Newcomes* begins with a vivid picture modelled on the life of Macaulay's

progenitors at Clapham and their friends. In that company where Grant was so welcome and Teignmouth so much admired, figures like Sophia Alethea Hobson were what one would expect to find. "Her mansion at Clapham" writes Thackeray "was long the resort of the most favoured among the religious world. The most eloquent expounders, the most gifted missionaries, the most interesting converts from foreign islands were to be found at her sumptuous table, spread with the produce of her magnificent gardens. Heaven indeed blessed those gardens with plenty, as many reverend gentlemen remarked." Her uncle's name Zechariah was but another form of that borne by Macaulay's father. The work of Mrs. Venn or Mrs. Thornton was not unlike that of Mrs. Thomas Newcome: "to attend to the interests of the enslaved negro; to awaken the benighted Hottentot to a sense of the truth; to convert Jews, Turks, Infidels and Papists; to arouse the indifferent and often blasphemous mariner; to guide the washerwoman in the right way; to head all the public charities of her sect, and do a thousand secret kindnesses that none knew of, to answer myriads of letters, pension endless ministers and supply their teeming wives with continuous baby linen; to hear preachers daily bawling for hours, and listen untired on her knees after a long day's labour while florid rhapsodists belaboured cushions above her with wearisome benedictions; all these things had this woman to do, and for near fourscore years she fought her fight womanfully."

It was a quaint fancy to make these scenes the first home of a character modelled on the adventurous Thackerays of whom the author was born. Very likely the career of Macaulay, who went out to India just after Thackeray, coming of age, began to lose his money, had suggested envy and a little satirical treatment of the successful family; and the novelist's taste for history made him still more willing to study a company who affected India so deeply: but for the most part he drew Colonel Newcome from his own people. The Thackeray family regarded the novelist's cousin Colonel John Shakespeare as the original of the famous character, and there is obviously something of Colonel Shakespeare's younger brother, Sir Richmond Shakespeare, who in 1840 delivered the Russian prisoners in Central Asia and in 1841 rescued the wives and children of the men who had been annihilated in Afghanistan, and of

whom Thackeray wrote in the *Roundabout Papers*: "'Can I do anything for you?' I remember the kind fellow asking. He was always asking that question of kinsmen, of all widows and orphans, of all the poor, of young men who might need his purse or his service. His purse was at the command of all. His kind hand was always open. It was a gracious fate which sent him to rescue widows and captives. Where would they have found a champion more chivalrous, a protector more loving and tender?"

And in Colonel Newcome also was there not something of two of Thackeray's less fortunate relations? Of Peter Moore, his grandfather's sister's husband, who retired to England with a great fortune and who after making his Manor House at Hadley a centre for radical politics and after promoting many companies in the inflation of ten years after Waterloo, was ruined in their ruin and, compelled to escape the debtors' prison by exile from England, died at Abbeville in 1828. Also of Richard Becher, his mother's kinsman, who after living a life of unimpeachable honour, retired with a competence in 1774, and who lost it in trying to help a friend, and who after holding a position in his earlier years next to that of the Governor, was allowed to return in his old age to earn a moderate living as head of the Calcutta mint, and who was killed by climate and disappointment a year after his return.

It was to these relations that Thackeray owed the success of his great sentimental character, the officer whose honour and innocence were such objects of devotion to the subjects of Queen Victoria. But there was another side to the Thackerays' qualities in many of them more like Clive and Hastings, which made them a little impatient with virtue the sentimentalism of which had not fortified itself against misfortune, and which revealed to the novelist himself the deficiencies of his affecting creation. "He is a dear old boy" Thackeray wrote to Miss Procter "but confess you think him somethings of a twaddler." "He is a twaddler" adds Mr. Charles Whibley* "who harmonizes very ill with his surroundings, even when all deductions are made for his training and for the many years he spent in India. He carries unselfishness to the point of unhumanity, his generosity, his kindness, his folly, are all too great for flesh

*C. Whibley: *W. M. Thackeray*, 1903, p. 199.

and blood." But Newcome was not as Mr. Whibley asserts the "travesty of a man", he was merely a composite portrait of kinsmen, who must have been almost as trying to their more hardened relations as the poor Colonel is to Mr. Whibley. For the Thackerays of India, taking them as a whole, were by no means sentimentalists. The novelist's grandfather, William Makepeace Thackeray, was the sixteenth child of a mother who, when he was eleven years old, became a widow, and who was thankful enough to get him a place in the Company. This young man at the age of 17 sailed for India with his mother's Family Bible (the clerical father had been headmaster of Harrow), in the same ship as George Grand, whose wife died in 1835 as *Princesse de Talleyrand*, to what Sir William Hunter has called the "wild arena" of Bengal as it was before Clive returned to it for the last time. "I believe he understands what he has learned as well as most young gentlemen of his age and experience" his tutor had guardedly written to the Court of Directors: arrived in Calcutta he showed himself a good deal ahead of them. He retired at the age of twenty-six with a comfortable fortune, having married off, furthermore, two of his elder sisters. Henrietta, three years older than her brother, was a beauty who married the Chief of the Council at Dacca, a man who has since been forgotten; Jane, seven years older still, married a man who was not, and never could have been, a prominent official, and who is still remembered. "If there's a sensible man in India, he will find out Jane" her mother had said. She was found out by Major James Rennell, pioneer of geographical history, a contemporary of Vincent, whose *Voyage of Hearchug*, published in 1797 tended, like Rennell's own work, to revive interest in the history of Indian geography, as William Robertson in his *Disquisition on the knowledge which the Ancients had of India* anticipated the work of Mc Crindle, Sir Aurel Stein and Mr. Edwyn Bevan. All were predecessors of Sir Henry Yule and Sir Clements Markham. Their daughter married Admiral Sir John Rodd two years before the novelist was born. A more distant descendant has lately been His Majesty's Ambassador in Rome, and has maintained the literary traditions of the family.

Rennell's first great work was the *Bengal Atlas*, published in 1779, a work necessary both to strategists and administrators; his second great work, an approximately correct map of

India, which came out in 1783, after his return to England. He lived on for nearly fifty years writing *The Geography of Herodotus*, *The Topography of the Plain of Troy*, *Illustrations of the Retreat of the Ten Thousand*, as well as dissertations on St. Paul's Shipwreck, Babylon, the delta of the Ganges, and the travels of Mungo Park.

Nor was Rennell Thackeray's only family example in the connection of literary interests and India. His uncle Charles Thackeray was a journalist in Calcutta about the same time as the novelist was beginning to make his name, and at that time, drunken and rather a failure as Charles Thackeray himself was, *The Englishman*, the paper for which he was writing, was the chief newspaper in India. Another uncle was Francis Thackeray, a clerk in Anglican orders and a man generally interested in fairy tales: his *History of the Earl of Chatham* was that reviewed by Macaulay, and it is repeatedly quoted by Carlyle in *Frederick the Great*.

But interesting as this literary gift in his uncles is, it is not so important in the development of his work as the general Thackeray tradition which his grandfather had begun, making a fortune, shooting elephants in Sylhet, and marrying a beautiful girl, a grand-daughter of a Captain in the Guards and an indirect descendant of the Webb who won Wynandael and was wounded at Malplaquet, and of whom we hear rather too much in *Esmond*. The second son of this marriage, Richmond Thackeray, went to Eton in 1791 and became a Bengal Civil Servant in the year the *Lyrical Ballads* were published; and in 1803 he was officiating as Collector of Birbhum. He married like his father before him a beauty. This was in 1810. Thackeray was born the next year and when he was four years old his father was buried in Calcutta.

Anglo-Indians from very early times have been united in loyalty to one another, and with a very extensive Anglo-Indian connection in the family, Thackeray could not but have had opportunities of making a study of the species in less pleasant types than his own gentlemanly family provided. He is in fact, through Jos Sedley and James Binnie, a remoulder of the sinister impression made in England by nabobs and never entirely forgotten. The first William Makepeace Thackeray had arrived in the very worst days of the Company's abuses, and he was never so much in love with the country that it could keep him after he was twenty-six years

old. The accounts he handed down to his family could not have been entirely favourable, and perhaps he himself made fun of such people as Joseph Sedley; for Sedley, though an insignificant figure goes back to the days of Barwell and Holwell: he had had a bourgeois education, he had made enough money to swagger when he came back to England, but he was never *au courant* with the life of the capital, his idea of humour was to give people curry and chilis and see them ask for cold water afterwards, he was always trying to seem like a gentleman and made himself still more *guache* in doing so, and had cut off his sympathies with his early connections. He was a new, a more innocent, but on the whole a more contemptible Mathew Mite.

The natives of India are satirized in the person of Rummum Loll, the fraudulent Bank director, who offers the guileless Colonel an investment which will treble his capital in a year. Newcome puts into it the greater part of his fortune, and it is not until Rummum Loll's sudden death necessitates an examination of the accounts that the old man finds he is ruined. There can be little doubt that Thackeray drew some hints for Rummum Loll's great social success in England, where he was greeted as "His Highness" and "His Excellency", from the visit of Rajah Ram Mohun Roy, who, though he was in fact a very different person from Rummum Loll, was perhaps hardly estimated at his true worth by Anglo-Indians, who very likely did not understand the scope and value of the Brahmo Samaj and may have thought of the great reformer as "little better than a missionary."

But Thackeray does justice to the striking appearance of the Hindu in England with the great turban wound round his head, the loose garments which swathed his body, the shawl over his shoulders spangled with gold, a heavy gold chain around his neck, and on his feet his pointed embroidered slippers. His dark complexion and black moustache curling upward add to the mysterious suggestions of his Hindu garb and made him a treasure to those who seek sensations. What a contrast to James Binnie, the Civil Servant, whose short legs were "arrayed in a tight little pair of trousers, and white silk stockings, and pumps", his smooth pink face above them "shining like a billiard ball, his jolly gills rosy with good humour!" The contrast is worthy of Macaulay.

But Binnie was neither a joke nor a scoundrel really. He is described as coming home with Colonel Newcome as a jolly young bachelor of two or three and forty, who had spent half his life in India and meant to enjoy the rest in Europe. "The nabob of books and traditions"* Thackeray even says, "is no longer to be found among us. He is neither as wealthy nor as wicked as the jaundiced monster of romances and comedies, who purchased the estates of broken-down Englishmen with rupee tortured out of bleeding rajahs, who smokes a hookah in public, and in private carries about a guilty conscience, diamonds of untold value, and a diseased liver; who has a vulgar wife with a retinue of black servants whom he maltreats, and a gentle son and daughter with good impulses and an imperfect education, desirous to amend their own and their servants' lives, and thoroughly ashamed of the follies of the old people."

Thackeray's interest was more in persons than in outward scenes, and it was not often that memories of his early childhood in India, and the recollections of it, that must have been revived by the gossip of his relatives were clear enough to provide him with a picture. But there is one, Chapter XXVIII of *The Newcomes*, which it is worth while quoting. Thackeray's subject is the "selling of virgins": "Though I would like to go into an Indian Brahmin's house and see the punkahs and the purdahs and the tattys, and the pretty brown maidens with great eyes, and great nose rings, and painted foreheads, and slim waists cased in Cashmere shawls, Kincob scarves, curly slippers, gilt trousers, precious anklets and bangles; and have the mystery of Eastern existence revealed to me (as who would not who has read the *Arabian Nights* in his youth?) yet I would not choose the moment when the Brahmin of the house was dead, his women howling, his priests doctoring the child of a widow, now frightening her with sermons, now drugging her with bhang so as to push her on his funeral pile at last, and into the arms of that carcase, stupefied, but obedient and decorous." And what, asks the moralist, is the selling of British virgins but Suttee? "Yonder" he says "the pile is waiting on four wheels with four horses, the crowd hurrahs, and the deed is done".

The India that Thackeray popularised was

* *The Newcomes*, Ch. VIII.

not the brilliant picture painted by Macaulay. It was the land of officers and officials who moved almost unconscious through the dazzling scene. It was not so much the land of brandy pawnee as of exiled though splendid officials and lonely mothers. "In America" he writes "it is from the breast of a poor slave that the child is taken; in India it is from the wife, and from under the palace, of a splendid proconsul." It was the land of Ranjit Singh and the Bundelcuund Bank, of the treachery of Boggley Wallah and enlarged livers, and yet it was all the time a country of the Arabian Nights, dim but unforgettable, fascinating though far. It was the Indian of a hundred years ago remembered with the glamour of early childhood upon it.

* * * * *

With Thackeray, Ruskin also represents the change which had come over England's view of India since Vasco da Gama's discovery reorganised the conception current in *Mandeville* and *King Alysander*. Thackeray saw India mirrored in the Anglo-Indian. Ruskin apprehended her imaginative and creative genius by a comparison of the spirit of her art and architecture with that of Europe. Though she was no longer the dim colossal portent, India was still alien and sinister to Ruskin. "How can two walk together except they be agreed?" Some vast difference in the essential nature of the two countries still maintains separation, in spite of the points of mutual influence and service which the two, with strange frequency, unite.

Ruskin's view of India was overshadowed by the Mutiny. The dark terrifying spectre of ferocity haunted all his interpretations of the Hindu genius, and he ignores the Moslem when he speaks of India; after all the spirit of Mahomet invaded the country from where, far across the mountains, another people lived among the rocks and deserts of Arabia. Ruskin never appreciated that there was real difference in the religions however. In his old age, when he gave the preliminary lectures on Sir Herbert Edwardes which he afterwards worked into "*A Knight's Faith*", he actually insisted that the differences between Moslem, Hindu and Sikh in religion were unintelligible. The mountains of Solomon were the impassable barrier between East and West he said, in one of his more obstinately stupid flights of fancy, and what was east of them was Hindu.

He speaks in *Aratra Pentelici*† of Indian Architecture like Chinese design, arising out of a state of vile terror destitute of thought, out of an ignoble conception of a presence where no presence was, in a word out of idolatry. Later in the same essay* he refers to a sculpture of an Indian bull which, as he mentions in *Val d'Arno*, is seen in Delhi, "colossal and elaborately carved, which you may take as a sufficient type of the bad art of all the earth. False in form, dead in heart, and loaded with wealth, externally. We will not ask the date of this; it may rest in the eternal obscurity of evil art, everywhere and for ever." They did not know he said, the right thing to idolize. Therefore was their art "non-progressive, and, in great part diseased and frightful, being wrought under the influence of foolish terror, or foolish admiration."*** The Indians were "childish or restricted in their philosophies or faiths."****

The difference between Christian and Hindu art told always in Ruskin's mind to the inferiority of the Indian. "John of Pisa" he writes, in another of his comparisons of sculpture in *Aratra Pentelici* "undercuts fiercely, in order to bring out the vigour of life which no level contour could render; the Lombardi of Venice undercut delicately in order to obtain beautiful lines and edges of faultless precision; but the base Indian craftsmen undercut only that people may wonder how the chiselling was done through the holes, or that they may see every monster white against black."*****

It was not that Ruskin was incapable of appreciation of India's artistic beauty. Though he seems to have been ignorant of her noble traditions of form in pottery and other applied arts, when simplicity and perfection of contour are the most evident, and indeed often the only, characteristic. But looking round the Museum at the South Kensington, as he writes in *The Two Paths*,§ he saw no models, and remembered none in England, more admirable for the teaching of design than the decorated works of India. "They are indeed" he continues "in all materials capable of colour—wood, marble, or metal,—almost inimitable in their delicate appreciation of divided hue, and fine arrangement of fantastic line. Nor is this power of theirs exerted by the

† Page 44.

* *Aratra Pentelici*, p. 203.

** *Ibid.* p. 339.

*** *Lectures in Art*, p. 158.

**** *Aratra Pentelici*, p. 174.

§ *The Two Paths*, p. 103.

} Library edition.

people rarely, or without enjoyment; the love of subtle design seems universal in the race, and is developed in every implement that they shape, and every building that they raise; it attaches itself with the same intensity, and with the same success, to the service of superstition, of pleasure, or of cruelty; and enriches alike with one profusion of enchanted iridescence, the dome of the pagoda, the fringe of the girdle and the edge of the sword."

The contrast between the spirit of Indian religion and the steadfast loyalty of Scotsmen to their native heath was Ruskin's clue to his comparison of the craft of the two countries. Scotland's art was in her chequered tartans, and those he saw of them arranged as covers and curtains at Balmoral he would not always have rated high. Did the rude tartan, however, or the exquisitely fancied involutions of the Cashmere shawl close over the nobler hearts? To Ruskin the Mutiny gave a terrible answer. And in words which many among us would prefer to forget, but which the historian will not omit from his exact and balanced survey, he branded on the Indian his horror of revolting savagery. "Since the race of man began its course on this earth" he wrote * "nothing has ever been done by it so significant of all bestial, and lower than bestial, degradation, as the acts of the Indian race in the year that has just passed by. Cruelty as fierce may indeed have been wreaked, and brutality as abominable been practised before, but never under like circumstances: rage of prolonged war, and resentment of prolonged oppression, have made men as cruel before now; and gradual decline into barbarism, where no examples of decency or civilization existed around them, has sunk, before now, isolated populations to the lowest level of possible humanity. But cruelty stretched to its fiercest against the gentle and unoffending, and corruption festering to its loathsome in the midst of the witnessing presence of a disciplined civilization, these we could not have known to be within the practicable compass of human guilt, but for the acts of the Indian mutineer." The horrors of the Mutiny and the moral dangers of aestheticism were confused in Ruskin's mind, and his impression of India was poisoned by attempting to swallow them together; out of her ivory palaces, he writes, "come cruelty and treachery, cowardice, idolatry and bestiality; come all that is fruitful in the work of Hell."

What is the reason that an author so congenial to the Indian mind as the author of *Sesame and Lilies* comes to so violent a conclusion about a country which Burke, with moral ideals not less Christian or less impassioned, found such frequent occasion to admire? The first reason is Ruskin's Puritanism with its resultant obstinacy of spiritual pride and moral denunciation when prejudice was once, as against Hinduism it had long been, aroused. A second was his sentimentality which he was frequently prepared to take for intellectual acumen. A third was his doctrine that art for art's sake is *always* bad, and *no* art is good unless from an inspiration of moral virtue, even though it has the inspiration of a love of light or beauty, or of any other noble impulse. And still another was his ignorance of India. Besides one must not ignore the fact that some Indian art (and the bull of Delhi which Ruskin discussed as we have seen in *Aratra Pentelici* is a terrible but not a rare example), is bad.

And Ruskin makes one very subtle observation. "It is quite true" he says * "that the art of India is delicate and refined. But it has one curious character distinguishing it from all other art of equal merit—it never represents a natural fact. It either forms its compositions out of meaningless fragments of colour and flowings of line; or, if it represents any living creature, it represents that creature under some distorted and monstrous form. To all the facts and forms of nature it wilfully and resolutely opposes itself: it will not draw a man, but an eight armed monster; it will not draw a flower, but only a spiral or a zig-zag.

"It thus indicates that the people who practise it are cut off from all possible sources of healthy knowledge; that they have wilfully scaled up and put aside the entire volume of the world, and have got nothing to read, nothing to dwell upon, but that imagination of the thoughts of their hearts, of which we are told that "it is only evil continually." Over the whole spectacle of creation they have thrown a veil in which there is no rent. For them no star peeps through the blanket of the dark—for them neither their heaven shines, nor their mountains rise—for them the flowers do not blossom—for them the creatures of field and forest do not live. They lie bound in the dungeon of their own conception, encompassed

* *The Two Paths*, p. 104.

* *The Two Paths*, pp. 10, 11.

only by doleful phantoms, or by spectral vacancy."

Before the powerful sentences have closed, India has faded from his mind, it has itself become a doleful phantom, while he moves once again among the stately cadences of the Authorised Version of the Apocrypha and the literary splendours of the Prophets. The ornamentation of the Indians, he is telling us, is but the ignorant play of their own "heartless fancy." It was a sort of jugglery of perfect, because untiring, skill, as when the Indians in shawls and carpets use the minutest atoms of colour to graduate other colours, and confuse the eye. Such, he said, is the first secret in their gift of splendour; associated however, as he justly adds, with so many other artifices which are quite instinctive and unteachable: for their instinct was hampered by no rules: it was pure and true, being so subtle that the least warping or compression broke and blunted it.

But unsympathetic as Ruskin was, like most of his Victorian contemporaries, to the Indian genius, he indulged in no patriotic sentimentality about the English there. It was the result of our "invasion" as he terms it, an invasion where the invaders never became permanent inhabitants as the English had of Britain, and later of America, that the inhabitants of India wore Paisley instead of Kashmir shawls. To give India a regular and just government had been Sir Herbert Edwardes' idea of holding India, Ruskin thought; it had been his work for the security of Empire. But there was another hidden basic motive in most Englishmen's view of India, a silent calculation of what they could get out of it. It was that splendid maintenance of a British official class which failed totally to justify and therefore imperilled the British occupation. "Every mutiny, every danger, every terror, and every crime occurring under, or paralysing, our Indian legislation, arises directly out of our material desire to live on the loot of India, and the notion always entertained by English young gentlemen and ladies of good position, falling in love with each other without immediate prospect of an establishment in Belgrave Square, that they can find in India, instantly on landing, a bungalow ready furnished with the loveliest fans, china and shawls, ices and sherbet at command,—four and twenty slaves succeeding each other hourly to swing the punkah, and a regiment with a beautiful band to keep order outside, all round the house."

This is an echo in English literature of W. O. Arnold, the author of *Oakfield* and Francis Horsley Robinson, two men who argued that however honest and efficient the British administration of India might be it always failed through preferring its own maintenance to sympathetic imagination and to inspiring ideals and insight.

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Tennyson has a score of references to India in his poems, *India, the Queen's Empire*, the scene of Mahratta warfare and other exploits of English soldiers, the nourisher of sultry palms, and still the romantic distant Orient where still-eyed snakes are charmed, and where in ancient days Cama had sat enthroned. These various traditions, meeting with more exact contemporary knowledge are summed up in two of the poems Tennyson wrote before men sailed past Suez: in the *Defence of Lucknow* and *Milton*. In *Milton* he sums up the immemorial tradition in a vague but luminous picture:

"Me rather all that bowery loveliness,
The brooks of Eden mazily murmuring,
And bloom profuse, and cedar arches
Charm as a wanderer out in ocean,
Where some refulgent sunset of India
Streams o'er a rich ambrosial ocean isle
And crimson hued the stately palm woods
Whisper in odorous heights of even."

The *Defence of Lucknow* is a brilliant poetic paraphrase of a journal of the siege, a ballad which celebrated and will always commemorate the story of British endurance; it is the great pibroch of Britain's heroism in her Indian Empire of a continued noble impulse to high daring and high endurance:

"Banner of England, not for a season, O
banner of England hast thou
Floated in conquering battle or flapt to
the battle-cry!
Never with mightier glory than when we
had rear'd thee on high
Flying at the tops of the roofs in the ghastly
siege of Lucknow—
Shot thro' the staff or the halyard, but
ever we raised thee anew,
And ever upon the topmost roof our
banner of England blew."

Ah thrilling story! What sight in India is more moving to the Britishers than the ruins of the Presidency at Lucknow, covered with bougainvillea among the green lawns? What

English heart will not beat in the place of that suffering and that daring, the best that England had to give that there she gave.

But for nothing was the Indian Mutiny the last dramatic event in the Company which had exploited for two hundred and fifty years not without heroism the political, mental and commercial development of India finished with an outbreak and scenes of bloodshed. It had indeed done great things; nevertheless there had always been a principle at work which caused distrust and resentment. Just twelve years before the opening of the Suez Canal marked a new epoch, the feeling of the Company's servants so expressed itself as to warn English administrators that the old regime was over. In the long centuries of Indian history the two events came practically together, as in our own times the slaughter at Amritsar almost coincided with the inauguration of later, and more sweeping, reforms still. The Mutiny was but a political outburst of the same tendency as showed itself in the opening of the Canal: it was a closer bond with Europe. From that time on, India was not so much a mere field for commercial enterprise, as a nation meeting Britain on more approximate terms. The Charter of 1858 was more than a constitutional document; it was an expression of deeper mutual influence between India and England. The institutions and ideas of England were to be more definitely incorporated into the life of India. The old order was to change. In this process the Mutiny played a double part: it brought a flood of English attention over the country, it opened up new careers for young Englishmen, it gave their hold over the country a new dignity, it gave larger resources to the strength of their position. It created for a time a feeling of superiority deeper and more passionate than any feeling towards India has been: it cultivated the hatred and contempt of the Indian character which when returned upon the new Government established by law in British India became the high misdemeanour of sedition; for it encouraged a tendency of the British to rule India with an iron hand. But this was only its ephemeral aspect. This was only the dark contrast which outlined its essential signification. It can only be interpreted in the light of the great scientific adventure which connected Suez with Port Said. That made it impossible to think of India as simply a distant field for commercial wares, or for an administra-

tion even nominally under the Company. The telegraph, steam, oil, and electric transport have obviously reorganised the world. The present populations of Europe could not exist but for trade and transport, and nowhere is this truer than in England. It is not those reared beside them than provide them with their daily bread, it is the vast complicated organism of the modern world. The Sudra by the Nerbudda provides the means of subsistence for the cotton operative in Bolton: our brotherhood with India is not the monopoly of a few merchants, not the ideal of the religious and the philosophic, but a bond between masses and masses. It is the Suez Canal which has made it so, which has given a new extensiveness to the vast change wrought by Da Gama.

As though to mark the sweeping national character of the change, it exchanged especial splendour with the romantic careers of a Queen and an Empress. The character of Victoria which at once dominated and expressed the spirit of her people combined with a certain homely solidity, with a laborious respectability, a romantic appreciation of the new range and vastness of the British rule. It was another sovereign, it was the brilliant, lovely Spanish Empress of the French, who sailed triumphantly from Port Said to Suez when Ferdinand de Lesseps had realized the far-reaching conception which had been a possibility to Marlowe. The occasion of this splendid act was the zenith of Eugenie's career, and she lived fifty years a refugee in the country of the Queen whose country's riches bought the canal. Disraeli, with the help of the Rothschilds, carried through the great purchase of Canal shares, and laid it at the feet of Victoria: it was the offering of Jewish achievement and Jewish genius to the British Throne—an offering of the Orient by Orientals—which deeply affected Victoria's queenly imagination. They had wrested prestige and power by their commercial ability from the same nation that once disputed in La Bourdonnais and Dupleix supremacy in the East with the country represented by Clive and Lawrence. A few years later, in 1876, the Queen pressed through Disraeli's suggestion that a reference to the Indian Empire should appear in the style and title of the sovereign, and it was proclaimed at Delhi on the next New Year's Day. Victoria, more and more the presiding genius of her people, never forgot this imperial addition to her majesty: when a

very old lady indeed she began to learn a little Hindustani. It was a symbol of the consumption in the Canal of the tie which owed its binding power to the Cape voyages. The tie was symbolised in every appearance of the Queen by the attendance of her dusky subjects in her train, and the pictorial press made the tableaux familiar over the vast diversity of her Dominions. It has been vividly put by the last student of her personality: "The little old lady, with her white hair and her plain mourning clothes, in her wheeled-chair or her donkey carriage—one saw her so; and then—close behind—with their immediate suggestion of singularity, of mystery, of power—the Indian servants."^{*}

Singularity, mystery and power: power over remote, vast, ancient, wealthy territories; a chain of life with them; something which touched the imagination and carried it among things rich and strange;† such was still the suggestion of India to and through Victoria. But how much changed from the time when at Vasco da Gama's discovery it was simply so! "On est plus occupe a nous envoyer des cotes de Coromandel des marchandises que des verites" Voltaire had truly written in his *Essai sur les Moeurs*; but India had grown clearer and clearer after all. It was now a land of wise laws and ancient development, of noble princes, of subjects with moral and civic rights, of a literature and philosophy remarkable for their sublimity and their elaboration from the earliest twilight of epic and metaphysical thought, of the art and ceremonial of the chase, of mightily buildings and glittering cities, of the elephant, the monkey, the banian tree and the palm, of the lofty snows and the exotic vegetation of the coast. The dim outlines had gradually grown clear, shown the sari enfolding the female form, the figure of the fakir, naked in the dazzling sun, the jewels blazing in the turban of the rajah, and the silent animation of the swathed figures in the dust and smoke and light of the bazaar. And this effect was the result of a continuous movement—not of systematic and deliberate work; for indeed it had shown the toiling merchants, administrators, and soldiers from Britain and Ireland moving strange amongst this varied assemblage, toiling in the burning heat, idle and vacant

sometimes in the leisure of the conventional life of a small station, sometimes voracious and unscrupulous, more often brave, vigorous, practical, reforming, often carried away by excessive esprit de corps. It has shown the dramatic scenes of horror, the swarming life, the civilization and the savagery, the mastering power of religion and caste. It had shown the curious apartness of the Anglo-India from the life and standards of England. It has shown, in fact, what still is there to see both of England and of India.

While of all of our great writers only two gave years of their life to India (though Scott in the *Surgeon's Daughter* painted a brilliant detailed picture) there is one outstanding passage which graphically conveys the India of Literature for the words Macaulay used of Burke are still truer of himself. Burke saw with the inward eye, Macaulay looked for four years on the Indian scene itself before he recalled it to memory:

"The burning sun, the strange vegetation of the palm and cocoa tree, the rice-field, the tank, the huge trees, older than the Mogul Empire, under which the village crowds assemble, the thatched roof of the peasant's hut, the rich tracery of the mosque where the imaum prays with his face to Mecca, the drums and banners, and gaudy idols, the devotees swinging in the air, the graceful maiden, with the pitcher on her head, descending the steps to the river side, the black faces, the long beards, the yellow streaks of sect, the turbans and the flowing robes, the spears and the silver maces, the elephants with their canopies of state, the gorgeous palanquin of the prince, and the close litter of the noble lady, all these things were to him as the objects amidst which his own life had been passed. . . . All India was present to the eye of his mind, from the halls where suitors laid gold and perfume at the feet of sovereigns to the wild moor where the gipsy camp was pitched, from the bazaar, humming like a beehive with the crowd of buyers and sellers, to the jungle where the lonely courier shakes his bunch of iron rings to scare away the hyaenas."

But besides India herself, our literature had revealed another phase of her intimacy with England. Its occupation was naturally in the Britisher's surroundings rather than India itself. And as time has gone on, as the Canal has increased the rapport between the two countries, it is this peculiarity which has become more

^{*}Strachey: *Queen Victoria*. P. 305.

[†]A gorgeous orient as it was to Meredith, passionate with suttee

marked. England's interest in India at the present time is more than ever in the Englishman's India. It was Mr. Kipling's early satires of Anglo-Indian life in "*Plain Tales from the Hills*"*—a development of his Mother's letters from Simla to the *Pioneer* newspaper—in which he was most successful, and India is familiar to many of his readers by the wonderful tours-de-force by which he has distilled the romance of the East from the impressions India might make on the British Tommy and the Eurasian boy. His is an unreal India except to those who have seen the country first through his imagination, or who have been constrained to a frank crude British point of view: to the Indians themselves his work is meaningless. And this is true to a less extent of the writings of another imaginative writer of a very different style, of an interpreter of another even more unreal India, of Mrs. Besant. She has adopted an Anglicised India to her own reforming and directing zeal, as Mr. Kipling's direct anglicising has expressed his unflinching patriotism. It is an English point of view reproduced in Mr. Oscar Browning's little book of travel. It is a History of British India by which Sir William Wilson Hunter in the attention of the student has replaced the studies of Elphinstone and Mill. Mrs. Diver and Miss Ethel Dell have carried to a further extreme as painters of romantic India for the masses the methods of B. M. Crooker and Mrs. Steel: they have given the middle classes gaier and more melodramatic pictures of their Paradise. And the change by which India has thrust herself before us in the last year or two has been the stimulation which the institutions and the talkers of Europe have given to the minds of her own educated men. And this is the *raison d'être* of that masterpiece in which the phrases of their report expressed the reforms desired by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford. There are signs, and the influence of Dr. Tagore and Mr. Gandhi are the most striking of them, that this tendency has culminated, that the stimulation of intercourse between the East and the West when the exploit of de Lesseps superseded that of de Gama is working off, that a new National India is arising which will model herself less closely on her dominant Western example. It is possible that the lead in commerce and administration will give way to a religious influence, and that

the monks and missionaries are still to have their day. If so, the riches of India are not yet exhausted. Literature shows that it was not only the merchants she rewarded amongst Englishmen; in her vast spaces and her thronging life there were romantic treasuries of another order. The business of literature has not been to catalogue the cargoes of trading ships, or to assess the capital of the Peninsular and Oriental Navigation Company. For the merchant truly as Martino said: "*remplir son escarcelle et revenir a son port, c'étaient deux tâches assez difficiles, qu'on ne perdit pas son temps a s'ecstasier sur la vegetation hindoue ou a sonder les états d'une Persane.*"* But literature shuns the obvious: nevertheless she has found in India something which provokes those elusive qualities of the mind which give writing its distinction, which by their choice of sound and suggestion make life at once more mysterious, more poignant, vaster and more real. The influence of India on English literature has been no small one: few indeed have grasped its content or its range. Discoverers, travellers, traders, soldiers, administrators, planters, colonisers, missionaries, painters, adventurers have been at work. English prose and poetry are flavoured with the essence of the perceptions and imaginations of the thoughts and feelings which came to them as they looked around the Cape of Good Hope on that vast varied empire, changing yet unchanged, between Calcutta and Karachi, between Peshwar and Pondicherry. The essence has given satisfaction to an instinctive appetite of mind and heart which is more than a mere craving for the exotic. Without that hunger for the rich and strange it is impossible for the West to assimilate India. She reserves her value and fascination to those who never weary in their attentive study of her subtle lineaments because their love for her is that restless adventure of imagination, that active longing for what is rare and intangible in its rich hint of life, which has made deeds and made poetry and made the most absorbing prose. Its very name, echoes the name, as it suggests the power, of earth's Eternal City. We know it as romance.

Never Star

Has lost here but it rose afar,
Have cast where whole new thousands are!
In Vishnu land what avatar?

—Browning's *Waring*.

*These were translated into French under the quaint title: *Simple Contes des Collines*.

*"Les Indes dans la littérature Française." P. 49.

THE INFLUENCE OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS ON MASS EDUCATION IN INDIA AND ENGLAND.

By MR. K. G. SIVASWAMY, B.A.

II*

25. The Brahmo Samaj.

All ages of Indian history have claimed the right to interpret the Sastras in their true light. And in all ages the orthodox people have been a stumbling block in the way of reform. In the Hindu religion any infringement of rules in relation to social conduct has been considered as defection from its fold. While many caste-ridden Hindus may pose as its followers even though they do not understand its main principles as enunciated in the Gita or the Upanishad. It was Raja Rammohun Roy in Bengal who first raised the standard of revolt against the degenerate idol worship, the power of the priests as the interpreters of the Divine word, the conduct of the meaningless ceremonies, the seclusion of women from public life, and the burning of widows under the false name of religion. In 1828 he formed a 'Theists' Union to recite the Vedic texts and to arrange for sermons on morals and religion. In 1830 he founded the Brahmo Samaj, where the Creator is to be worshipped without any idols and for "the promotion of charity, morality, piety, benevolence, and virtue and the strengthening of the bonds of union between men of all religious persuasions and creeds." Rammohun was the pioneer in all fields of social reform as women's education, abolition of untouchability and widow remarriage. The movement started by him in eliminating the obstacles to social growth was given a new turn of devotion by Maharshi Devendranath Tagore. His sermons singing of God's bounty and Nature's glories appealed to the simple and emotional mind of the people. He laid down that it was wrong to hold any book as written by God and as infallible though he recognised the greatness of the sacred books as man's productions. He emphasised in the main, good conduct and cessation from idol worship. He did not consider it necessary to

exclude all the Hindus who were unable to free themselves from the tangle of rites and ceremonies. So the party of social reform under Keshab Chandra Sen's leadership seceded from the Adi Brahmo Samaj owing to its conservative character: and on 11th November 1866 founded another Brahmo Samaj. It was Keshab Chandra Sen who carried the mission of Brahmo Samaj through the length and breadth of India, by his forceful oratory, intense devotion and unceasing enthusiasm. It was under his guidance that a text-book of devotional hymns from the scriptures of all the religions was prepared. Again from Keshab's leadership the Samajists seceded owing to the marriage of his daughter according to Hindu ceremonies and founded the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj in 1878.

THE PLACE OF BRAHMO RISHI SASIPADA BANNERJI IN THE MOVEMENT.

The movement has satisfied the rational conscience of the educated Hindus to a great degree and has brought them into its fold. It has produced great leaders fired with moral courage to defy the conventions of the age and uplift the society from its ignorance and superstitions. Sasipada Bannerji who joined the Brahmo Samaj in 1865 and whose whole life has been devoted to initiating a series of educational movements to the present day for the improvement of the masses and the women, combined in himself the rare qualities of moral strength to practise truth and benignant love to serve mankind. He founded the Devalaya Association in 1871 in Calcutta, where men and women of different religious might meet for devotional prayers and the discussion of common problems of national life. He was the pioneer of working men's education. He started a school for them at Barnagar in 1886 and a Club in 1870. He started the first Hindu Widow's Home in 1887. He opened the first Girls' School in 1865. He started the first Temperance Association in 1864. By temperament prone to service, and not hampered by any

*Concluded from January 1923 issue.

intellectual strength which always hugs its own opinions, insists on their truth and thus creates more differences in this world, he tried to harmonise the different schools of thought in the Brahmo Samaj by bringing them together on common platform.

THE PRESENT ACTIVITIES OF THE BRAHMO SAMAJ.

The Brahmo Samaj has been organised on the model of the Western Church in its weekly divine service and missionary propaganda. Its rational system of worship has discarded many of the ceremonies of the daily life whose social value in bringing together the members of a family and creating a sense of communal unity cannot be ignored. The value of the movement lies in rooting out orthodoxy, in its practice of social reform and its educational work. The Sadharan Brahmo Samaj conducts a few colleges and High Schools where moral and religious instruction is compulsory. The Dacca Widows' Home works under its auspices and there is also a society for the improvement of the backward classes, worked by the Samaj. The Mahila Samiti (the Women's Association) is also one of its branch activities. According to the 1919 report, the Samaj has a membership of 1215 and there are 49 branches affiliated to it. Its religious work mainly lies in the spread of theism. There is a Sadhana Ashram with 3 branches where missionaries are trained. The Sevaka Mandali is an Association of Brahmosees who are laymen and who in their leisure hours supplement the work of the missionaries. Each branch conducts its weekly service and some of them hold the Sangat for the weekly discussion of religious subjects. The *Indian Messenger*, a weekly in English and *Tattva Kaumudi*, a fortnightly in Bengali are its organs. The total number of weeklies and monthlies published by the branches come up to 5 in number. Two new activities at the centre which deserve mention are the daily Evening Service followed by readings from Scriptures and talks on religious topics, and the formation of study groups on social, educational and devotional subjects.

THE PRARTHANA SAMAJ IN WESTERN INDIA.

No account of the movement can be complete without a resumé of the activities of the Brahmo Samaj in Western and Southern India. In Western India the Prarthana Samaj started to uphold the religion of meditation of God and

service for man. It was an independent movement and though it stood against idolatory and caste divisions, it did not sever its connection with Hinduism to such a marked extent as the Brahmosees of Bengal. Under the guidance of able men such as Sir Narayan Chandravarkar, Justice Ranade and Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, it has pioneered every social reform movement in the Bombay Presidency. It has its branches at Ahmednagar and Poona, it pursues the same religious activities as the Bengal Brahmo Samaj, keeps a Library and Reading Room, maintains some night schools and arranges for women's and students' meetings. Sometimes the Brahmo Missionaries of Bengal lend their services to the Samaj for the propagation of theistic principles. The Samaj maintains also an orphanage at Pandharpur.

BRAHMOISM IN MADRAS.

In Madras the Brahmo Samaj was first organised in 1864 during the visit of Keshub Chandra Sen. As usual with all the activities of Madras which can boast of intellectual sympathy to any movement, the Madras Samaj also, while accepting *in toto* its principles, resolved to adhere to them as far as possible without abruptly breaking from the time-honoured rites and customs. Bare duty towards the founders of the movement in Madras compels us to bring to public notice, the name of Shridharalu, a poor man of humble origin, who in spite of the difficulties of his position, reformed the Brahmo Samaj, to the model in Bengal, propagated the new rational religion, and, unmindful of public odium, persisted boldly in this endeavour. The Provincial Theistic Conference became an annual feature of the Madras Samaj from his time.

THE FUTURE OF THE BRAHMO SAMAJ.

The Brahmo Samaj may not successfully fare in uprooting the excrescences of Hinduism, for in its zeal to rationalise it, it has abolished many of the forms of worship as well as ceremonies which, having become fused with the Indian life, cannot be easily dissociated from it, and by their being destroyed, lead only to the extinction of many of the social and objective appeals of the Hindu religion. The permanence of any religion lies in the character and practice of its followers. Brahmoism has surely a promising feature as it insists on right ideals of living and

emphasises the intimate connection between religion and life. That it has achieved much in Bengal in evolving that type of character which combines the qualities of culture and service, cannot be doubted. Its strength is to be seen in the spread of theistic principles of living and not by the numbers it has converted to its fold.

26. The Arya Samaj.

If Brahmoism tried to uplift the Indian Society by seceding from it, and building a new and independent life of its own, the Arya Samaj began the reform of the Hindu Society from within the fold. It was founded by Swami Dayanand Saraswati who deeply felt that Hinduism had deflected itself very much from its old moorings of the Vedic period. Belief in one God, and the infallibility of the Vedas are the main tenets of the Arya Samaj. The Samaj was founded in 1877 in Lahore and from that time it has gathered to its fold the educated Hindus of the Punjab. It appealed mainly to the latter class because it eschewed caste narrowness, championed the cause of the depressed classes, and embarked on a campaign of social service. In a province where Hinduism cannot hope to live except by a militant aggressiveness on its part to resist the solid power of Islam, Arya samajists naturally have adopted Western Missionary methods to organise and expand Hinduism.

ITS CONTRIBUTIONS.

It is in standardising national ideals by a national system of education that the greatest contribution of Arya Samaj lies. In 1886 the Anglo-Vedic College was founded in Lahore and the Gurukul, at Hardwar. The former combines the modern education for secular life with moral and religious instruction, the latter insists on the ancient method of Hindu education, residential life with the Guru, training in self-control, and a knowledge of ancient sciences, combined with the modern ones. The education of the depressed classes as well as of women, the Samaj has been doing from its start. In the reclamation of criminal tribes and famine relief it has earned a name. Its great value is to be sought in rousing up the Indian consciousness to a sense of self-respect, and self-importance in the progress of humanity. Its insistence on the idea that everyone

can rise to Godhood by his own powers has evolved a self-confidence and a new awakening in the Punjab which have steeled the hearts of many an Indian to fight against oppression and stand for truth. Its strength lies in unifying the Hindu Community ; its weakness, in its religious character in holding like other religions that the patent key to unlock the doors of heaven is in its hands alone.

27. The Theosophical Society.

The next great religious movement in India that roused up the self-dignity of the Indian mind was the Theosophical Society. Founded in 1875 in New York, it transferred its headquarters to Adyar in June 1882, owing to the romantic fascination of Col. Olcott for the East, the birthplace of life-giving scriptures. Theosophy's greatest contribution to India is its awakening the Hindu consciousness to follow its racial ideal as enunciated in her ancient scriptures. The popularisation of Sanskrit books in handy editions, the founding of the Central Hindu College at the sacred centre of Hinduism, the starting of the Theosophical Educational Trust and the National University at Adyar are all different phases of activity undertaken with a view to imprint young minds with that racial ideal. With the confidence born of the inspiring words of a Colonel and an Irish lady, who, themselves aliens to our land and its ancient scriptures, realised their glories and propagated them with true understanding and sympathy, the Indian tried his new courage in strange fields of nationalism and social reform.

The second contribution of Theosophy is its unifying influence in this land of different races and creeds. Its leaders expounded the different religions as leading to the one goal but necessary for different peoples to follow if they are to evolve rightly and well to a fuller life. The traditional prophets and saints, ceremonies and forms of worship, have a value of their own in making the easiest, surest and the most effective appeal to the minds of the followers of different religions. It is impossible to conceive that any prophet or saint would have wished his followers to fight for their pet doctrines and force them through the throats of "unbelievers". Theosophy can rightly claim a place in evolving that sympathetic imagination to let live different beliefs in this slow-moving and imperceptibly evolving world.

Another contribution of Theosophy is its application of religious ideals to daily life. Thus it has destroyed medieval ideals of religious living without preaching for their destruction. When once ideas as "Service of man is the service of God", "the Lord shines in our actions done to the best of our ability," are implanted in the mind, then out go the medieval ideas of pleasing God by material presents and reaching a lazy and luxurious heaven through contempt for worldly life. To the great credit of theosophy it must be said that it has liberalised the Hindu institutions by its insistence on qualities and not on birth as the basis of caste, by raising women to an equal status with men and forming the League of Liberal Brahmins. The latter admits anyone as a Brahmin, if he is a vegetarian and a teetotaler. Its main objects are to disregard the idea of caste pollution, to raise the marriageable age of boys and girls to 20 and 16 respectively, to promote virgin widows' marriages and marriages among Brahmin subcastes, and to form a new community of Brahmins based on their good qualities.

Theosophy has also taught us what an organised institution can achieve in carrying out its purpose. There are about 7000 members and 450 lodges in India. The whole country has been divided into Districts, federations and conventions. There is a provincial Secretary for each province. There are lodge organisers for each federation. The whole Indian section is managed by an executive council and a general secretary. Summer schools are arranged for training Theosophical lecturers in methods of propaganda and the broad relations of different sciences to theosophy. Courses on sociology, physical and chemical sciences are also arranged in these summer schools. It is also noteworthy that theosophical journals are published in almost all the vernaculars of India. An English monthly is issued from Benares by the Indian theosophical section. Each lodge meets once a week and conducts a study circle.

28. Rama Krishna Mission.

The next religious movement in the latter half of the 19th century which contributed to the growth of national consciousness was the Rama Krishna movement. Saint Sri Ramakrishna in his life as sannyasin showed to the world the brotherhood of man and the father-

hood of God. As Swami Vivekananda, his foremost disciple said, "To proclaim and make clear the fundamental unity underlying all religions" was Ramakrishna's mission. His recognition of divinity in man irrespective of his caste, race, or creed gathered round him a set of ardent and sincere disciples wedded to social service as the sacred offering to God Himself. The Master died in 1886 and his first disciple Vivekananda propagated the doctrines of Hinduism in India, England, and America and showed how Hinduism embraced all religions and the whole humanity. The Ramakrishna Mission was founded in 1897 at Belur near Howrah with the object of training preachers on Hindu religion and doing social service. It has ramified itself into various branches mainly in Upper India, at Benares, Kankhal, Brindaban, Muthiganj, Barisal, Mayavati, and Dacca. The Mission also maintains a students' home in Madras and Bangalore. It is an undoubted fact that the readers of Sri Ramakrishna's sayings and parables came under his sweet and loving influence and breathe the air of toleration and brotherhood. The Mission has uplifted social service to the field of religion and the followers of this great saint, in their task of relieving the distress of the suffering many, bring to bear on it an amount of sincerity, earnestness and spiritual fervour which are the rare possessions of only those who realise the divinity in man.

29. The Devalaya Association.

The Devalaya Association started in 1873 at Baranagar and Calcutta in 1908 bears in it the seeds of growing into an international brotherhood of religions. Sasipada Banerjea got the idea of such a brotherhood in 1871 when he witnessed at Bristol a temperance meeting attended by men of different religious sects. He started one in his own place Baranagar in 1873 known as the Sadharan Dharma Sabha as a meeting place for followers of all religions to propagate knowledge and do social service.

"The Devalaya is the common meeting ground for men of all sects and denominations where they may freely mix and exchange their views on terms of love and fellowship. Monthly meetings are held and the subjects of discussion in these meetings mentioned in the report for 1919 show the catholicity of outlook of the Association. Reconstruction, the problem of national life, the Vedas, the service of man and many other topics of international interest were taken

up during the year. Weekly service is held and the motto of the association is "No creed our own: God is one: and Humanity is one".

30. The Order of the Star in the East.

A new movement originating from the Theosophical Society but conducted independently of it is the Order of the Star in the East. This Order prepares the world for the coming of a World Teacher by forming a body of servants to preach and practise ideals of "devotion, steadfastness and gentleness". It insists on the brothers of the Order to lead a pure personal life of devotion, steadfastness, and gentleness and thus create in their neighbourhoods an atmosphere of sweetness and love. The Order was started on January 11th, 1911, and its membership in April, 1921, came to 36,186. The students form about three-fifth of the total membership. There were about 307 organised centres of the order in India in 1921. The travelling Star Organisers have taken up the work of starting centres. Each centre arranges for study classes, lectures, and conferences. Some of them take up social service, some, the singing of kirtans and devotional hymns, some, educational work and some, distribution of food and like charities. Without entering into any controversy in the rationale of the belief in the coming of a World Teacher, the work which the Order is doing in evolving the spirit of service and brotherhood in the Indian society cannot be easily minimised. Many a man or woman, under its inspiration, regulate their lives, and try to do what little they can, to refine and enliven their surroundings.

31. The Deva Samaj Lahore.

In spite of its high ideals of life and social work for the uplift of the masses, the Deva Samaj, Lahore has been greatly misunderstood owing to its denial of the existence of God and its belief in its founder Deva Guru Baghavan as the only highly evolved being in the world. It was founded in 1887 by Siva Narayan Agni Hotri. It believes in evolutionary principles and considers that man has the greatest potentialities and hidden powers in him to create a better order in the universe. Members are admitted on their moral qualities as absence of immoral vices, drink, meat-eating, and killing of "any sentient being except on self-defence". Higher moral capacities are demanded from members for being

eligible to Executive Committee membership. Associates are admitted on their taking a less rigorous vow. Every member has to pay a contribution to the Samaj in proportion to his income. The Samaj consists of about 90 members and 120 Associates. During the year 1920, 6500 propaganda meetings were held by the Samaj. The Samaj has eleven full-timed workers for religious propaganda trained in the Seva Samaj Dharam Vikashalaya (Higher Life Academy). The Samaj claims that in the presence of the Deva Guru many a sinner confesses his sins and resolves to lead a better life. The reports for 1920 mentions that 640 souls were thus reclaimed from evil habits. The Samaj is mainly to be appreciated for its educational work. It maintains five schools for the depressed classes, four for criminal tribes, and 3 widows' and married women's homes.

32. Sri Bharat Dharma Mahamandal.

All the movements above-mentioned have grown out of a dissatisfaction with the Hindu Social System. Some of them wanted a radical destruction of the system, and others its reform as adapted to modern conditions of life. Some stood for the original principles of Hinduism while discarding the Puranas and the Sastras; some interpreted the Sastras as containing eternal truths, rejecting inconvenient ideas as interpolations; and some explained the puranic stories as parables with hidden meanings. But all of them condemned that implicit obedience to Hindu Sastras, rights and ceremonies as if they were ordained laws of nature. These Reform Movements naturally reacted on the society and led to Purist Movements as the Varnashrama Conferences in South India and the Shri Bharat Dharma Mahamandal at Benares. The latter institution composed of Ruling Princes, Religious Heads, and Dharmacharyas is adopting all the modern machinery of publicity to preserve intact the orthodox social system. It believes that the division of people into different castes is the most natural division based on scientific laws of social economy. It believes that every Hindu rite (Samskara) disciplines and purifies the soul. It maintains different departments of work to preserve Hindu temples, to encourage orthodox pandits, to publish Sanskrit literature, to educate students on the ancient system, and to do everything to "protect the socio-religious interests of the orthodox Hindu community".

The Mahamandal has about 600 branches, many of them dormant, and maintains a certain number of preachers to propagate the principles of Hinduism.

The Mahamandal has a great contribution to make to the Hindu society if it develops its literary and artistic side of work. It has enriched Hindi literature by translating Sanskrit works in Hindi. It co-operates with Hindu music and art conferences and thus assists in their development. It aids the Ayurvedic Academy with funds. It has published text books on Hindu religion for use in Schools, and it is conducting the College of Divinity with a view to evolve a Hindu Religious University. Its activities are many-sided as the preservation of the Hindu Social System means the regulation of the minute details of life of a Hindu. It conducts a Ladies' College and a Widows' Home where they are educated in Sanskrit as propagandists and doctors. It has organised a society to reform Harikathas (an oratorical performance combining poetic recitations with musical accompaniments and prose speeches). The spirit of toleration and brotherhood now abroad is also evidenced in the Mahamandal which has proposed to build a Hall of Religions as a War Memorial, for purposes of study and worship. It may be safely said of the movement, that it could not with all its efforts turn back the tide of social reform and re-establish the old Varnashrama Dharma in its pristine purity. Its strength lies in being a steadying influence on young minds easily aping western fashions and ever bringing before the mind's eye the value of self-control and self-discipline.

33. The Christian Movements.

Reference has already been made to the position of Christian Missions among the Social Movements in India. The several churches form an educational centre which infuses into the Christian community ideals of social service and charity. Of the Christian organisations, special mention should be made of the work of the Y. M. C. A. and the Salvation Army.

Y. M. C. A.

The work of the Y. M. C. A. has been mainly to provide hostels and recreation clubs for students. Of late it is taking more to social work in Presidency centres and directly connecting itself with the life of the people irres-

pective of their religious persuasions. All the centres hold Bible study classes, devotional and prayer meetings. But the report for 1920 indicates the tendency to social work in the Y. M. C. A. organisations. It says "it must be confessed that there has been a decided shifting of the distinctive emphasis on religious work, as the centre of the movement's interests..... definitions have been broadened, conceptions of Christian service widened, contact with the true source of all unselfish service deepened". The formation of study circles on current political and economic problems in the presidency centres, the organisation of citizenship lectures by the Y. M. C. A., Madras, the community work conducted at Parel by the Bombay Y. M. C. A., the new move to undertake adult education, the co-operative work of the rural department, the working of the Workmen's School and Institute at the Empress Mills, Nagpur, all point the way towards a broadening of its work and a spirit to co-operate with several voluntary agencies in the national uplift of India.

THE SALVATION ARMY.

The Salvation Army which first planted its foot in India consisting of four persons has become a powerful factor in the Indian Society specially in the rural parts. If the Y. M. C. A. is becoming national by shifting its basis of work from propagating the spiritual contact with Christ to purely social work, the Salvation Army has never deviated from its path of purifying sub-merged and down-trodden souls by pouring in them the solacing and the loving message of Christ. It has strictly adhered to its main mission of creating an army of Christ's faithful followers personally devoted to that one prophet and ever leading a truly Christian life. Concerned as it is with the translation of Christ's teachings into the daily lives of the people, its commanders, by precept and example, have wrought far-reaching changes among the low classes and raised them to a moral and refined living. In a letter to the writer of this article, the educational secretary for Western India Salvation Army refers to the spirit of his organisation in the following words:—"It seeks to promote a spirit of tolerance, love and unity for the general benefit of all without regard to race, colour, class or creed. The preaching of the gospel, the songs used in the meetings and the religious teaching given to the young all

tend to this end. The army's religion may be said to be Love in Harness. It consists in real love towards God and man resulting in purity of life, ready obedience to law, and life spent in the service of others'.

In India the Salvation Army is divided into four branches. It drills and disciplines the Christians from their youth to follow the path of Christ, to abstain from intoxicants and drugs, and lead devotional life. Every branch maintains a large number of Primary Schools for the "most needy and neglected communities", encourages hand-loom weaving by supplying looms, and conducts Reformatory Schools for the fallen and the disreputed. The Army conducts a number of organisations with a view to regulate the lives of the people under its charge. The Young People's League consists of youths from the age of 10 to 14 and about 45 workers in Western India are engaged in giving religious training to them. The League forms the Singing Brigade in its neighbourhood for reciting devotional hymns of Christ in simple vernacular language. The youths of the League are personally attended to and trained to avoid drink, tobacco, stealing, use of abusive language, and other prevalent vices in rural low life. Daily two meetings are conducted for them, one for Service in the morning and another for prayer in the evening. Boys and girls who give evidence of a better evolved character are admitted as junior soldiers.

Promising youths above the age of 14 are admitted as recruits for the Army. They pass through a period of probation when they are trained to lead a pure and simple life. They then take the vows of the Army called the Articles of War and are admitted as soldiers. Like an army, they are drilled under a Sergeant Resident who stays in their neighbourhood and the work of Residents is supervised by a Sergeant Major. From the soldiers are selected the Local Officers whose functions are to collect the people of the village for meetings, to visit their homes, to arrange for devotional gatherings and generally assist the order. These officers are laymen employed in secular work during the day but who give their leisure hours for the propaganda work of the order. From these officers are selected the field officers who are full-timed missionaries guiding with zeal and enthusiasm rural district work. The whole order is centralised under Staff Officers who from their headquarters push forward the army in their

range to the life of Christ through preachings and personal example. In the Western India division alone there were 23 Staff Officers and 620 field officers and teachers during the year 1921.

The teachers conduct weekly meetings in the villages where they interpret the life of Christ and pray for His blessings. Many a man sunk in the slough of irrecoverable vices, has shaken them off under inspiration of the meetings, and lifted up with a new hope and mission in life, has himself led the moral and religious propaganda to save his brothers from such sins. A road stone contractor, influenced to leave off his drinking habits through the propaganda of the Salvation Army, himself began a crusade against it with songs and bhajans. The Headquarters also arrange for occasional health and sanitation lectures in the rural parts. 728 meetings of officers and 1,040 public meetings were held during the year 1920-21 in rural parts. The orthodox Hindu may shut his eyes and refuse to know the quiet but effective work done among the masses by the Salvation Army. But the workers with unbounded zeal in their cause and moved by the one single purpose of serving Christ have created a disciplined army, pressing forward to a better life, and are, day by day, remoulding the lives of the submerged classes who vastly abound in India and for whose uplift the work of any number of agencies cannot be too much.

34. Religious Institutions and the Future of Mass Education.

Many of the above-mentioned religious institutions have to be valued for their breaking down, the encrustments, born out of human vanities and materialism, over eternal truths embodied in all scriptures, revealing them in their virgin purity, and bringing them to bear on the daily lives of people. It is true that many of these movements consider themselves as the divinely appointed monopolists for giving out the only true message to the world. But on two main points every religious movement must agree. All of them realise that man as a social unit has certain duties and obligations to his fellowmen, and social order should be based on enlightened self-adjustment arising out of the disciplined individual wills. It is but common knowledge that the ordinary man has not cultivated that civic virtue, that social character to consciously regulate his actions by ever thinking

how it reflects on his neighbour. And such an outlook on life is possible only, if the conception of human brotherhood is ever present before the mind's eye. All religious organisations can surely agree on this common work of evolving the civic character in the Indian people. Secondly, every religion has a mission of its own, and if, for its votaries it arranges for study classes, classes not intended for memorising hymns, or instilling the habit of belief and obedience to sacred books but for a rational discussion for the discovery of truth, it will be laying the foundations for independent thinking and a sympathetic imagination in ordinary human minds. Such classes for a close study of all religious movements and the doctrines of their authors will break down prejudices, clear up misunderstandings, refreshen the mind, and produce a new sympathetic outlook on men and things.

35. Mediæval Institutions.

In the consideration of the influence of the several movements on the education of the masses, the very large part which is being played today by mediæval institutions in ministering to rural needs cannot be forgotten. There are many Bhajan Samajes where large numbers of Hindus congregate every week. Folk drama is still holding the field in unsophisticated rural parts. The wandering minstrel plays on his harp and sings the local ballads which are listened to with rapt attention. Different communities are guided by traditional preceptors whose influence on their lives is nothing too small. Puranic readings attract the leisured villagers after the close of the harvest.

Some local genius tries his poetic powers in clothing mediæval stories in a new form and his songs are repeated by the men and women of the village. How to conserve these institutions and make them the vehicles for a new civilisation embodying ideas of equality and freedom are fit themes for sociologists who would like to pour new wine into old bottles.

36. The Relation of Political Movements to Mass Education.

The broadened sense of fellow-feeling and the spirit of service introduced in the Indian Society as a result of religious awakening, naturally aroused the political consciousness of the nation. English education began to spread from 1834 and

the studies on western polity naturally evoked the Indian aspirations for individual and national freedom. British liberalism also exerted its influence from 1832 in nurturing the new ambitions of the English educated Indians. The Indian mind was also stirred to its depths by the struggles of the European nations in the 19th century for preserving their nationalities and establishing democracies. In India itself pioneers of religious and social reform have created the self-confidence in the Indian that his capacities to improve are no whit less than those of any other nation.

So we find a growing desire even as early as 1850 on the part of the intelligentsia of this country to take their rightful place in its Government. Harischandra Mukerjee, editor of the *Hindu Patriot*, Calcutta, had his house auctioned in 1853 for championing the cause of ryots against the indigo planters. Political associations were started in different parts of the country in the latter half of 19th century to represent public grievances to the Government and press for its increasing Indianisation. The British Indian Association of Calcutta (1851), the Sarvajanic Sabha, Poona, (1870), and the Indian National Congress were the early pioneers of political education in this country. To the English educated, the goal was clear—that of establishing a national representative Government under the aegis of British Raj; while to the illiterate masses establishment of a national Government meant only the expulsion of the foreigner. Comparing the United Provinces and Bengal, Sir Charles Trevelyan wrote in 1838 in his book *The education of the people of India* that while in the latter province where English education has spread the desire only for broadening the administration on the national will, in the former the people thought only of driving the foreign and establishing the indigenous Raj. From 1885 the Indian National Congress gave organised and articulate expression to the political demands of the English educated Indian.

The desire for representative institutions naturally created different schools of thought for their achievement. There were those who, though actuated by high aims of establishing a democratic government, always felt the magnitude of the task, the unpreparedness of the people to take up political responsibilities, the want of corporate discipline among them, and the difficulties by way of caste, race and creed

in building up the Indian nation. The sense of fact which they possessed to an inordinate degree naturally made them to adopt themselves to existing conditions while trying to improve them by steady work. They directed their attention also to social reform and industrial progress, for social obstacles should first be removed if national solidarity is to be real, and a secular outlook on life should be created if India is to compete with the economic powers of the world.

This school held the field till 1915 and contributed not a little in infusing in the intelligentsia of the country the desire for representative institutions. Ranade, Dadabhoy, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, and G. K. Gokhale were the early pioneers in spreading this new gospel of attaining political freedom by consolidating the Indian position through steady constitutional and civil work, and pressing for new reforms. From the educational point of view, this party were eminently fitted to instil into the people of this country, the national value of habits of deep study and long preparation for political work, the cultivation of civic virtues among the people through local institutions, and the organisation of community service for building up the Indian nation. Ranade, as early as 1896, when he defined the scope of his party on founding the Deccan Sabha as a result of the Sarvajanic Sabha passing into the hands of the socially conservative and the politically radical school in Poona, stated it in the following terms: "Political activities are chiefly of value not for the particular results achieved but for the process of political education which is secured by exciting interest on public matters and promoting the self-respect and self-reliance of citizenship." And it is praiseworthy that at a time when the British Government was not tinkering with any political reform for this country and evaded the transference of any responsibility into the hands of the people, these great leaders never lost hopes but propagated the ideal of constitutional reforms with zeal and thoroughness. And what can the moderate party claim today as having done for the Indian nation specially when new responsibilities have been thrown on us as a result of our demands? Has it formed a sufficient number of political clubs in the country for shaping public opinion on political questions? Has it taken any pains to teach the 62 lakhs odd voters the great potentialities of the voting right? Has it organised and disciplined the voters for

influencing the local, provincial, and imperial administration of this country?

None whatever. The fact is that the moderate party though inheriting principles, wise and sane for all time, and a rich tradition of achievements by a previous generation, is suffering from inanition. The few sincere men of the party have either grown pessimistic or diffident of their powers to give a right lead to the country; while the immense energy, earnestness, and self-sacrifice evinced by other schools have swept it out of existence.

Side by side with this moderate school of thought which always commands a sense of proportion and balance and never fails to take note of realities, the extremist school in this country has been no less a powerful factor in the political education of the masses. Its differences with the moderate school cannot be easily understood by any thinking people. Its politicians are neither constitutionalists, nor passive resisters, nor constructive builders of the Gandhi school; but they are all of them rolled into one. Their only virtue is their national fervour and enthusiasm. They have played a great part in rousing up the mass consciousness through vernacular propaganda. Without any constructive genius to regulate the national aspirations for the building up of the Indian nation, they have succeeded only in creating a feeling of discontent and a sense of despair among the masses. Their strength is their enthusiasm to achieve Swaraj; their weakness, is their refusal to face inconvenient facts and undertake the training of the masses in corporate action and civic responsibilities which demand well-informed study and persistent work on their part. But none the less, their contribution to Indian nationalism in leavening the masses cannot be minimised.

A third political movement which a year ago swept over the country like a lightning flash and received very soon a short shrift from its leader himself is the movement of non-co-operation. The movement from the beginning suffered from two defects. Mr. Gandhi, a believer in the moderate principles of disciplining and organising the country, deluded himself into the belief that the country had already that keen sense of national unity to tolerate differences and preserve law and order in this country. Secondly, the high hopes he raised of attaining Swaraj within a year and the political bias of the movement of paralysing the administration attracted to his fold

impatient extremists who were out for anything to embarrass the Government, but who did not possess his statesmanship to understand the importance of steady work for evolving national unity, discipline, character, and civic virtues among the people. The inclusion of these unbalanced political enthusiasts in the movement deflected the course of propaganda from training the people in habits of civic action to one of inflaming them against the system of administration, thus leading to discontent and not to self-confidence which arise only out of corporate action. When once the work of constructing the nation was placed in the forefront of his programme by Mr. Gandhi, the enthusiasm of irresponsible agitators for his movement evaporated into thin air. The campaign of non-co-operation is to be valued for its arousing the spirit of self-sacrifice and self-suffering among a large number of people in this country and thus developing that national character necessary for any people determined to achieve and preserve Swaraj.

Political organisations in this country cannot be said to be broadbased on the will of the nation. Want of discipline, of leaders, and funds hampers them from any effective action for creating the corporate spirit in the masses. What has been achieved till now is the work of a few patriots who cannot be hopeful of any steady following but have been hammering in the hope that one day the masses will evince the spirit to act up to their words and not merely listen to them as a pleasurable and novel excitement.

Social Reform movements which had a vigorous existence in the latter half of the 19th century have lost their vitality either owing to the rapid social developments in the natural order of things, or the concentration of all national energy in the political field. The first National Social Conference was organised in 1887 and from that time till the time of the Amritsar Congress in 1910 it was held wherever the Congress was held. But it became merely an annual function in its latter days to register pious resolutions. The Poona Social Reform Association took a leading part in the nineties of the last century in bringing to practice the post-puberty marriage of girls, widow re-marriage, and abolition of untouchability. The late Mr. Agarkar was the bold pioneer in this field of work and the moderate party in Poona gave all its support for the reconstruction of the Indian Society on a natural and rational basis. The

Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association is the only active body in the west and is maintaining a widows' home. The Vidhva Vivaha Sabha, Lahore, is another active body engaged in popularising widow re-marriages. In the field of temperance, a wave of enthusiasm passed over our country in 1894 when the All-Temperance Federation was started with 130 branches from Peshawar to Cape Comorin. The movement of temperance received a fillip from Mr. Gandhi whose earnest organisation of propaganda and picketing work has forced the Government in every province to devise ways and means for its abolition. The Punjab Temperance Federation started in 1913 is a powerful association conducting vigorous propaganda through magic lanterns, bioscope, songs, charts, leaflets, etc., under the able secretaryship of Master Sant Singh. On the question of abolition of untouchability and elevating the depressed classes, the work of the early social reformers has swept away any difference of opinion among the educated classes and the work made sufficient headway even among the masses by the earnest campaign of Mr. Gandhi and his followers. When on this subject, the work of indigenous missions for the elevation of the depressed classes as that of Mr. V. R. Shinde cannot be left unnoticed. In the field of women's uplift the present century has taken a long stride specially in Maharashtra owing to the efforts of earnest workers like Messrs. Karve and Devedhar.

Social reformers in Bombay have taken the lead during last December in reviving the All-India Social Conference with a view to organise a vigorous party in the country to hasten the building of the Indian Society on a moral and rational basis. Just like political organisations, the social reform party also depends on the energy and earnestness of a few individuals for its work. But the fact should be admitted that the early pioneers who broke the hardened tradition of centuries against the popular will exhibited a rare moral courage, emboldened weaker hearts to act according to their enlightened views, and thus wrought vast changes in the social system perceptible only by a comparison of the social conditions of the last and the present century.

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It is not the purpose of this paper to describe the working of the several institutions engaged in

the education of the masses. The paper traces only the influence and the bearings of the various social movements in this country in educating the masses. The surging national enthusiasm created by the social and religious movements of the 19th century is improving itself in various directions. To analyse the phases of this national awakening, in what channels it is running and how best to regulate it for the good of the country is not our present object. Suffice it to say, that the education of the masses is a never-ending process and what is needed for any organisation in this country is men and money, men to organise the work and money to run it steadily till the masses themselves finance it. It cannot be claimed that

the spirit of nationalism is already there, permeating the whole life of the Indian nation. The grant of New Reforms has only turned the council halls in the Punjab, Bombay, and Madras into places of exhibition of the castes and creeds in this country. However sectarian may be the ideals of any movement, all institutions, in the interest of their own propaganda, can surely educate the masses by study classes in habits of clear thinking and correct expression. They can instil in the mass mind the habit of combined action for local social improvements. And it is only when the mass mind has been trained to act for common purposes, it will realise the value of associated effort for achieving national aims.

THE IDEA OF PROGRESS.

By MR. R. G. PRADHAN.

I

The biggest, and at the same time, hardest question which always oppresses the thinking mind is: What is the goal of human society? Human Society has now been in existence for thousands of years; nations have grown, flourished, decayed and risen again; the centres of intellectual and political greatness, and material power and prosperity, have shifted from city to city, from country to country; towering states have vanished like shooting stars; civilization has attained a complexity which has destroyed the primitive, narrow simplicity of life and imparted a subtle variety to human interests, aims, pursuits. Philosophers have risen with their multitudinous, intricate systems of thought, baffling the common, plain understanding. Social reformers consumed with impatience at the heavy mass of social misery, vice, injustice, wrong, oppression, which has condemned the toiling millions to a sad, cheerless existence, that knows no ray of happiness or hope, have conceived utopias where there will be perfect felicity for all. And yet the great riddle remains unsolved. The Sphinx is still calling for solution of the great mystery it contains within itself.

This great question of the ultimate destiny of mankind has long had irresistible interest for powerful minds. As Morley says "It could not be otherwise. The question strikes far deeper than merely social and political interest. It goes to the very quick of modern interpretation of the working of past history and our present universe." Vast amount of speculation has been expended on it, and it continues, as ever, a vital force animating varied intellectual activity and social endeavour. Two different strains of thought can be clearly discerned in the midst of the diverse speculation it has given rise to. In the past, ideas about life in the next world ruled the different societies on earth; this life was supposed to have no meaning and no purpose in itself, but only in reference to the life hereafter. Preparing men as men for a happy life in Heaven that was deemed to be the goal of human society. This conception of life and society has dominated all theocratic societies and all other societies during their theocratic stage. It is still a ruling idea with millions of oriental people of the Hindu and the Muslim faith and partly accounts for the philosophic indifference with which, they still, even in the din and turmoil of modern society,

look upon the concerns of life. The other idea, which is now in increasing control of thought all over the world, is that human society is steadily advancing on the path of progress, and may, some day, attain the highest state of knowledge, goodness and happiness. Sceptics there are, who say that this is a chimera, that the human race is essentially no better than it was centuries ago, and will be no better centuries hence, that it will never attain an ideal state of goodness and happiness. They point to such catastrophes as the great war, and confidently assert that one more war of the character and dimensions of the last will involve the whole human race and all its civilization in irretrievable ruin. In face of the bitter, shocking dis-illusionment caused by the war, it is absurd, they say, to talk about human progress. It cannot be denied that the war, and much more than the war, the aftermath of war, have weakened faith in the continuity of human progress, and in the possibility of human perfectability. Nevertheless, belief in progress is still the dominant note of modern thought and life, both in the East and the West. Progress is our watch-word, the moving force of all our activities, the criterion of our social projects, the measure of our political institutions. It is no exaggeration to say that progress has enthroned itself in the heart of the modern educated man as the idol of his worship and devotion.

II

It is the history of this great, fundamental idea of progress from its origin and growth up to the time when it became a current creed in the western world that Prof. Bury has traced in his book *The Idea of Progress*. Of course, he has dealt with the idea as it has been developed in the Western World; he has nothing to say about its origin, growth, or present state among the several nations of the Orient. This cannot detract from the merits of the book which are undoubtedly high; a western writer is not expected to have a knowledge of oriental literatures such as would enable him to write with usefulness on the idea of progress in the East. But a history of the idea of progress in the West naturally suggests a history of the idea in the East. And it is to be devoutly hoped that a scholar like Dr. Radhakumud Mukerjee, who has shown a wonderful aptitude for researches of this kind, will unearth our vast ancient literature and present a succinct, systematized account of

the ideas of our forbears on this vastly interesting and important subject of human progress.

Prof. Bury's *The Idea of Progress* is a highly learned book; it is written in a style which is bright and refreshing without being sentimental. He has ransacked the classical literatures of ancient Greece and Rome, as also the literatures of England, France, and Germany, and brought to light every author, famous or unknown to fame, who has had something to say on the idea of progress. He is a rationalist, as our readers are probably aware, and the impress of his rationalism is clearly borne by his own observations. His survey begins with Greek thought and ends with Frederic Harrison's discourse on the "New Era" delivered in 1889, the dominant note of which was "the faith in human progress in lieu of celestial rewards of the separate soul." Within the last generation, as Prof. Bury rightly says, almost every civilized country has produced a large literature on social science, in which indefinite progress is generally assumed as an axiom. But this literature, valuable though it is, he does not pass in review and thus his book does not tell us anything about the developments which the idea of progress has undergone during the last thirty years. We cannot help wishing that Prof. Bury had not assigned this artificial limitation to his book and think that it would have been better if his survey had extended down to our times.

III

What is the idea of human progress? Prof. Bury thus describes it:—"The idea of human progress is a theory which involves a synthesis of the past and a prophecy of the future. It is based on an interpretation of history which regards men as slowly advancing in a definite and desirable direction, and infers that the progress will continue indefinitely. And it implies that, as the issue of the earth's great business, a condition of general happiness will ultimately be enjoyed which will justify the whole process of civilization; for otherwise, the direction would not be general. There is also a further implication. The process must be the necessary outcome of the psychical and social nature of man; it must not be at the mercy of any external will; otherwise there would be no guarantee of its continuance and its issue, as the idea of progress, would lapse into the idea of Providence."

IV.

The idea of progress, as described above, is of comparatively recent origin. Its history definitely begins with the work of Bodin, a French historian, and Bacon the great English philosopher who both flourished in the 17th century. They did not, indeed, discover a theory of progress; but their contributions to thought directly led to its subsequent appearance. In the ancient world, no philosopher conceived the theory of progress. It is curious that the Greeks whose brilliant achievements in thought still rank high among the philosophic systems of the world did not hit upon the idea of progress. The Romans were first class Imperialists and administrators; but they had no genius for speculation; and it is no wonder they failed to adumbrate a view of human society to which even the Greek intellect had not been able to rise. The middle ages were, on the whole, barren of constructive thought, and their whole intellectual climate was entirely unfavourable to the conception of the theory of progress. Then came the transitional period of the Renaissance, lasting from the 14th to the 17th century, which marked an epoch in the history of European thought and civilization. Its greatest triumphs were the restoration of self-confidence to reason, and the vindication of this world as possessing a value for man, independent of its relations to any supermundane sphere. With the firm establishment of these triumphs, begins the modern age with its new attitude towards human life and society. With the elevation of life on this planet to its proper, independent place in the scheme of the universe, the question of its end and purpose was bound to be irresistible, and, in the long run, to give rise to a theory of progress.

We do not propose to linger on the general fermentation that took place in every sphere of thought during the Renaissance. But one figure of that period stands on such a lofty eminence of universal fame and has exercised such far-reaching influence, both beneficent and maleficent, on subsequent thought and life in Europe, that we cannot resist the temptation of referring to his view of human society. Machiavelli, the father of modern European politics, did not found any system of thought, though his name is given to a peculiar, sinister school of political thought. But his books are replete with shrewd observations which have received respectful attention ever since he wrote them. His view of history is that "At all times, the world of human beings

has been the same, varying indeed from land to land, but always presenting the same aspect of some societies advancing towards prosperity and others declining. Those which are on the upward grade will always reach a point beyond which they cannot rise further; but they will not remain permanently on this level; they will begin to decline; for human things are always in motion, and therefore must go up or down. Similarly declining states will ultimately touch bottom and then begin to ascend. Thus a good constitution or social organisation can last only for a short time." Holding such a view as this, it is no wonder that Machiavelli did not conceive any theory of progress.

Bodin and Bacon mark a definite break with the past; their views have a refreshing air of modernity about them. Bodin rejected the current theory of the degeneration of man, along with the tradition of a previous age of virtue and felicity. "If that so-called golden age" he says, "could be revoked and compared with our own, we should consider it iron." He declared that his own age was fully equal, and, in some respects, superior, to the age of classical antiquity, in respect of science and the arts. He regarded the world as a universal state with its various races, by their peculiar aptitudes and qualities, contributing to the common good of the whole. Thus he contributed an important element, viz., the idea of the solidarity of peoples, in the growth of the doctrine of progress. Bacon contributed another element, viz., the utility of knowledge. To him the proper aim of knowledge was the amelioration of human life, to increase men's happiness and diminish their sufferings. This view of knowledge ultimately turned men's thoughts to the problems of social science and led to the central doctrine of modern thought and life, viz., that the sole test of progress is the elevation of the common people to a state of happiness in the widest sense of the term.

V

There are two distinct stages in the evolution of the theory of progress. It was first conceived in the sphere of knowledge. Fontenelle, a French thinker, was the first to formulate, towards the close of the 17th century, the idea of the progress of knowledge as a complete doctrine. This was the first stage. The second stage was reached, when, with the extension of nationalism into the social sphere, the idea was

enlarged so as to embrace the conception of the general progress of man. The idea of progress of knowledge ultimately developed itself into a complete theory of progress. This development was achieved in the middle of the 18th century when the Abbe-de-Saint-Pierre, another distinguished French thinker, proclaimed the new gospel of man's indefinite social progress. Henceforth, the idea became more and more rooted in Western thought and life until it has now become the generally accepted creed of Western societies.

Just as the theory first originated in France, so also its growth and development owes much more to French genius than to any other. Prof. Bury rightly points out that the preponderance of France's part in developing the theory is an outstanding feature of its history. In the 17th and the 18th century French thought showed a phenomenal activity and it concentrated itself for the most part upon the live, vital problems of social life and national government. A galaxy of thinkers arose who in their several ways made contributions to the theory of progress, making it more and more complete and placing it more and more firmly on the secure foundations of enlightened rationalism. The speculations of all these thinkers form one of the most fascinating chapters in the history of European thought. Limitations of space forbid us from making more than a passing reference to them; but the views of one of them, Condorcet, deserve mention. In his 'Sketch of a historical picture of the progress of the human mind' published in 1795, he not only affirms in a general way the certainty of an indefinite progress in enlightenment and social welfare, but describes its nature and also attempts to forecast its direction and determine its goal.

He anticipates the times when the sun will shine "on an earth of none but free men, with no master save reason; for tyrants and slaves, priests and their stupid or hypocritical tools, will all have disappeared." He insists on the indissoluble union between intellectual progress and that of liberty, virtue and the respect for natural rights and on the effect of science in the destruction of prejudice. For him "the goal of political progress is equality, equality is to be the aim of social effort." He rightly says that "the true history of humanity is not the history of some men. The human race is formed by the mass of families who subsist almost entirely on the fruits of their own work, and this mass is the

proper subject of history, not great men." According to him institutions are obstacles to the free play of human reason, not the spontaneous expression of a society corresponding to its needs or embodying its ideals, but rather machinery deliberately contrived for oppressing the masses and keeping them in chains. He contemplated equality not only among all peoples of the earth. The backward peoples, he predicted, will climb up to the condition of France and the United States of America. For no people is condemned never to exercise its reason. His faith in human progress and perfectibility was so deep that he believed even in the improvement of man's physical organization and a considerable prolongation of his life by advance of medical science. He concludes his sketch of the future of the human race as follows:—"How this picture of the human race freed from all its fetters, withdrawn from the empire of chance, as from that of the enemies of progress, and walking with firm and assured step in the way of truth, of virtue and happiness, presents to the philosopher a sight that consoles him for the errors, the crimes, the injustice with which the earth is yet stained, and of which he is not seldom the victim! It is in the contemplation of this picture that he receives the reward of his efforts, for the progress of reason, for the defence of liberty. He ventures to link them with the eternal chain of the destinies of man; it is there that he finds the true recompense of virtue, the pleasure of having done a lasting good. This contemplation is for him a refuge into which the recollections of his persecutors can never follow him; in which living in thought with man reinstated in the rights and the dignity of his nature, he forgets man tormented and corrupted by greed, by base fear of envy; it is here that he truly abides with his fellows, in an elysium that his reason has known how to create for itself, and that his love for humanity adorns with all purest delights."

VI

The theory of progress received a temporary check from the failure of the French Revolution to fulfil the golden dreams of those who had promoted it. Chateaubriand, Bonald, De Maistre, and Laménais were the most prominent representatives of the reactionary school of thought that sprang up, reviving the old dogma of an original golden age and the degradation of

man. They denounced the whole trend of progressive thought from Bacon to Condorcet. Chateaubriand, for instance, wrote "when man attains the highest point of civilisation, he is on the lowest stair of morality; if he is free he is rude; by civilizing his manners, he forges himself chains. His heart profits at the expense of his head, his head at the expense of his heart." But this re-action proved, in the long run, useful in strengthening the doctrine of progress, and with the assimilation of fresh ideas from Germany and Italy the doctrine merged purified and renovated. Chateaubriand himself became a convert to the creed of progress in 1831. So strong became the control of the theory over the public mind that whereas the Revolution of 1789 had been inspired only by a vague confidence in progress, in the revolution of 1848 it was enthroned as the regnant principle. With the firm establishment of the principle of progress in popular thought thinkers began to apply themselves to the question whether it has any law of its own. Among these thinkers, Comte and Spencer occupy the highest rank. Comte built up a massive speculative system, the soul of which was progress. According to him, the movement of history is due to the deeply rooted, though complex, instinct, which impels man to improve his condition incessantly, to develop in all ways the sum of his physical, moral and intellectual life. Spencer applied the principle of evolution to sociology and ethics and asserted the theory of perfectibility as justified by the principle of evolution. "The ultimate development of the ideal man is logically certain," he said "as certain as any conclusion in which we place the most implicit faith; for instance, that all men will die." "Always towards perfection is the mighty movement—towards a complete development and a more unmixed good; subordinating in its universality all petty irregularities and fallings back, as the curvature of the earth subordinates mountains and valleys. Even in the evils the student learns to recognise only a struggling beneficence. But above all he is struck with the internal sufficingness of things." Herbert Spencer asserted progress as justified by the theory of evolution. But the same theory has been drawn only by some thinkers to defend a contrary view of the destiny of human society. Hartman, a German philosopher, was a convinced evolutionist but he held the view that civilization and happiness are mutually antagonistic and that progress means

an increase of misery. Huxley, also an evolutionist, said "I know of no study which is so saddening as that of the evolution of humanity as it is set forth in the annals of history. Man is a brute, only more intelligent than other brutes." According to him, even the best of modern civilisations appears to exhibit a condition of mankind which neither embodies any worthy ideal nor even possesses the merit of stability. He went so far as to say that he would welcome a kindly comet to sweep the whole affair away. But though the theory of evolution might lend itself to contrary interpretations of the course of humanity, the idea of progress became a part of the general mental outlook of educated people in Europe, in the seventies and eighties of the last century.

Prof. Bury does not consider the nature of progress, the several elements that go to make it up. The great difficulty about the problem of progress is that material development and moral advancement do not necessarily take place simultaneously, nor are they commensurate with each other. Material progress does not necessarily mean moral advance or a perceptible improvement in the general condition of the masses—the teeming, toiling millions of people. Herein lies the crux of the problem and therefore it becomes necessary to consider what are the various elements of progress and what is their relative importance. But this great question has not been treated in Prof. Bury's book which is only concerned with tracing the history of the idea of progress. The greatest problem of the future is to order human society in such a way that it will exhibit all the elements of progress in their due proportion and importance. The highest element is of course the ethical, in the widest sense of the term; and it cannot be said that human society is progressing unless its ethical thought and life attain a higher and higher development. A growing ethical life connotes growth in humanity and in sound, moral, international relations; and this involves the view that imperialism, that is, the subjection of one country or race to another is incompatible with the principle of progress. Unless the world consists of a federation of free nations and unless each nation exhibits a high standard of moral life, both in its internal and international relations, it cannot be said that human society is making a steady advance towards progress. But these are questions which are outside the scope of Prof. Bury's book. We, however, express the

hope that he will be able to bring out a book dealing with the question of the nature of progress. In the meanwhile, we recommend that his present book should find a place in every library and be read by every educated Indian. We also recommend that it may be appointed as a text-book in our University curriculum. The greatest value of the book to the Indian mind will be that it will tend to dissipate its peculiar

tendencies to pessimism and blind faith in progress, in man's power to improve his condition, to make society better, stronger, happier, and Prof. Bury's book is one which is eminently calculated to inspire her younger generations with such a faith and with the power of Self-consciousness that such a faith cannot fail to bring in its train.

FREDERIC HARRISON, 1831—1923.

By AN ADMIRER.

I

In the death of Mr. Frederic Harrison England has lost one of its greatest men of letters. Born in 1831, he had seen far-reaching, almost revolutionary, change come over the world. Till the last he was energetic and his pen knew no rest. Only a few months back he spoke at the National Liberal Club on the future of the Empire. He began his career as a writer by the publication, in 1862, of the *Meaning of History*, and his last book *Novissima Verba* was published last year. During these sixty years of his literary career he had written on various topics and Johnson's words on Goldsmith may well be applied to him that he left untouched hardly any kind of writing and touched none without adorning it. Among his numberless writings may be mentioned: *The Choice of Books*; *The New Calendar of Great Men*; *Victorian Literature*; *Byzantine History in the Early Middle Ages*; *Memories and Thoughts*; *The Creed of a Layman*; *The Philosophy of Commonsense*; *My Alpine Jubilee*; *Realities and Ideals*; *The Positive Evolution of Religion*; *Among My Books*; *Obit Scripta*; and *Novissima Verba*. He also wrote a large number of excellent biographies, of Cromwell, of Tennyson, of Ruskin, of Chatham. He was chief of the English Positivists for twenty five years. He was a member of several Royal Commissions, for twelve years professor of Jurisprudence and International Law to the Inns of Court; an Alderman of the London County Council

for four years; Rede Lecturer at Cambridge; Washington Lecturer at Chicago, and Herbert Spencer Lecturer at Oxford. He belonged to the Order of Merit and was a Fellow of the Royal Society.

II

A man, so distinguished in so many different walks of life, a keen controversialist, who had taken such a prominent part in the multitudinous problems that faced mid-Victorian England, who had met and known intimately so many giants of a by-gone generation, the friend of Meredith, the follower of Comte, the admirer of George Eliot, has, long after the companions of his youth had gone to their rest, passed away and created a void that it is not easy to fill. The historian, the biographer, the philosopher, the politician, the keen critic, the sapient author, the virile Alpine climber, Mr. Frederic Harrison resembled in his encyclopaedic variety of interests and depth of knowledge the early masters of the Renascence period. In his *Recollections*, Lord Morley, who is happily still with us, says: 'Frederic Harrison, in those days incomparable as controversialist, powerful in historical sense and knowledge became one of my most intimate and attached friends for fifty years.' George Meredith, in several of his letters, speaks with admiration of Frederic Harrison's articles in the *Fortnightly Review*. Mr. Harrison himself writes thus in his excellent biography of Ruskin:—'Though an ardent admirer of the moral, social and artistic ideals of Ruskin myself, I am sworn in as a disciple of

a very different school, and of a master whom he often denounced. As a humble lover of his magnificent power of language, I have studied it too closely not to feel all its vices, extravagances and temptations...If admiration, affection, common ideals, aims and sympathies can qualify one who has been bred in other worlds of belief and hope to judge fairly the life-work of a noble and brilliant genius, then I may presume to tell all I knew and all I have felt of Ruskin.' Mr. Harrison was a steadfast friend and a good hater. He was denounced as a red-hot socialist in his early years; but latterly conservatism found a warm champion in him. It is difficult, while the ashes of the controversies in which he was engaged are hot yet, to appraise his true position and finally and irrevocably to assign to him his niche in the tabernacle of fame. That task must wait. All that we can do, while the memory of this long and honourable life is still fresh, is to recollect his many services to the state, his literary skill, his strength of convictions well-tested in a hundred encounters, his steadfast courage and unfailing adherence to truth and justice. When the final story of the nineteenth century comes to be written, we have no doubt that the historian will have much to say with regard to Mr. Frederic Harrison.

III

He was born in London and received his early education at King's College. At the age of seventeen he was admitted to Wadham College, Oxford. There he distinguished himself. Not many men of letters have been able to do well at the University; Frederic Harrison took, however, a first class in Classics and was for several years Fellow and Tutor of his College. Soon, however, Themis claimed his homage and being called to the bar in 1858, he started his practice in London. Neither literature nor law ever had his whole attention; his interests were always multifarious. He was appointed a member of the Royal Commission on Trades Unions in 1867-1869. He was one of the founders of the Positivist School in 1870 and also of Newton Hall in 1881. In 1886, he attempted, without success, to be elected to Parliament as the representative of the University of London. No one need regret his failure. He might only have added to the long list of distinguished men who have so disastrously failed to gain the attention or acquire the spirit of the House of Commons.

IV

It was characteristic of Frederic Harrison that he celebrated his 80th birthday by the publication of two volumes of Auto-biographic Memoirs. During more than sixty years, Mr. Harrison had seen much of the world, had taken part in many of the political and social movements of his time, and had known well a large number of leaders in politics, in religion, in literature, in art, in society.

The following extracts from a review of his *Memoirs* will be found interesting:

Mr. Frederic Harrison has much to say that is valuable on his early years, and on the education that was given in "the forties". Between that time and this, what gigantic material improvements! But the thought they suggest to him, looking back, is "how small a substantial change has been introduced even into the superficial details of life" by "these material improvements and accumulated forces". It is not all progress; "the roai, the hustling, the kine-matographic whirl of modern existence is a veritable disease of mind and soul". With regard to education, he was convinced that "the system of the larger preparatory school now in fashion" (as compared with the old private day school), "is thoroughly vicious and wasteful. We learned as much in two years as they now learn in five". "As to the 'public school' system, I hold it to be a failure." "The practice of Latin and Greek composition is unpardonable folly, when made compulsory on boys indiscriminately." This, too, is the judgment of one who himself "wrote immense quantities of Latin verse and prose," and took delight in doing it; but he adds: "I know no hours of my life which have been more wantonly wasted." Mr. Harrison is equally opposed to compulsory public games at school. He was a cricketer, and fond of athletics; but he denounces "the extravagant value set on games to-day," as a national disease: and every form of "sport" which involves the killing of vertebrate animals he regards with acute loathing.

The man who was to become the foremost of English Positivists went to Oxford an orthodox young Churchman, a sincere believer in the creeds and the Bible, and thoroughly devout in practice. He left the University a radical and a free-thinker, "*Yeast*," he writes—by which, no doubt, he means Kingsley—"Maurice, F. Newman's *Theism*, Mill, and Mazzini, together,

made my orthodoxy melt away." "The whole orthodox fabric slowly melted away in me, mainly on moral grounds, such as F. Newman and F. D. Maurice used, and from growing disgust with such Catholicism as that of J. H. Newman and Pusey, and such Philistine Protestantism as that of B. Symons." Some of his future Comtist friends he met at Oxford, but they were not then Positivists. The political change had preceded the spiritual. "I was a hot Radical," he says, "before I had ceased to be an ardent Christian, I was a disciple of Cobden and Bright whilst I was still in the bonds of the Established Church."

With regard to Oxford studies, Mr. Frederic Harrison, after being a member of Wadham College for sixty-three years, doubts if the "incessant revisions of the course of studies and examination has been any real gain to learning and thought". He wrote:

"I believe the Old System which produced Peel, Gladstone, Bethell, Roundell, Palmer, the Arnolds, the Newmans, Keble, Goldwin Smith, Mansel, Tait, J. M. Wilson, Congreve, Pattison and Jowett was not inferior to the New System, which, ever since 1853, has been refurbished almost every year, like Paris hats or frocks. It is my deliberate conviction that Oxford does not breed in the twentieth century powers of mind so robust, so fertile, and so original as it did in the middle of the nineteenth century."

By no means was he enamoured of the modern 'ologies, with their "interminable specialisation, into fissiparous trivialities". He does not want "a Professor of Epigraphy, and a laboratory equipped for the 'science' of Seismology, another for researches into radioactivity and the canals of Mars". In his belief:

"The solid, patient, minute study of the ancient historians, as I knew it, at Oxford in the 'fifties and 'sixties, was as good a mental training as possible."

None the less after all his words of criticism, the writer is still "to the marrow of the brain" an Oxford man, and he still believes that his *Alma Mater* is the best school for those who know how to use it.

Mr. Harrison disappointed his friends by refusing to take Holy Orders, and by deciding to become a lawyer. He had some success, but no great ambition, in his profession, and no deep respect for its magnates. After living in close touch with not a few of the most efficient counsel and judges, he writes: "Some of the greatest

lawyers who ever filled the Woolsack have shown themselves to be bigots in religion, and party hacks in statecraft. Nor can I recall a great lawyer in full practice who had any serious interest in matters of abstract thought, or any rational sense of spiritual truth."

Great names did not impose on Mr. Harrison. A few pages further he scourges Macaulay without mercy for "his paltry, narrow, unbelieving view of the drama of history". "He is the great penny-a-liner!" Historians generally do not rise to the author's standard, and "The history of England is still to be written". So the lawyers may take heart.

* * * * *

Of his style at its best, one or two specimens may here be given. Speaking in his masterly essay on *The Choice of Books* he said, in words that should be remembered even more to-day than when they were first uttered: 'I often think that we often forget that other side to this glorious view of literature—the misuse of books, the debilitating waste of brain in aimless promiscuous, vapid reading, or even, it may be, in the poisonous inhalation of mere literary garbage and bad men's worst thoughts.' Or we may quote that other passage which conveys a truth that is so frequently forgotten: 'Who now reads the ancient masters? Who systematically reads the great writers be they ancient or modern, whom the consent of ages has marked out as classics; typical, immortal, peculiar teachers of our race. Alas! the *Paradise Lost* is lost again to us beneath an inundation of graceful academic verse, sugary stanzas of lady-like prettiness, and ceaseless explanations in more or less readable prose of what John Milton meant or did not mean or what he saw or did not see, who married his great aunt, and why Adam or Satan is like that, or unlike the other. We read a perfect library about the *Paradise Lost* but the *Paradise Lost* itself we do not read.' It will be of interest to trace the gradual evolution of Mr. Harrison's style. In the two passages just quoted, he is like a violent partisan who not only regards his own point of view to be correct but believes also that his opponent is a dunce. He writes not only with conviction, but with dogmatic force and sometimes, it must be confessed, even with bitterness. The change from this to his later style was due to the advance from a young to an old man. Writing last year in his *Novissima Verba* he said: 'I study the various proposals

of our elder statesmen; and with all the spirit of goodwill and of peace they breathe, I fail to see how their schemes would work out. These wild, indisciplined and barbarous reprisals must be sternly repressed. But what, then, if civilians, officials, police, soldiers, continue to be murdered by secret assassins?' etc. The voice is the voice of old, but the fire burns low, though steady yet.

It is no exaggeration to say that as a prose stylist Frederic Harrison will occupy a high place. It is true that there is not in his writings the volcanic intensity of Carlyle, nor the sweet persuasiveness of Newman; the music and the cadence of Ruskin were not his, nor the well-balanced periods of Froude, the chiselled perfection of Stevenson or the classical chastity of Pater. What forms the chief merit of Mr. Harrison's writings is his directness. The reader is never in any doubt with regard to his meaning. True it is, that as a controversialist, he was cruel, he hit hard, he shattered some popular idols. But he attempted, like the Augustans, to emphasise the sovereign qualities of reason and commonsense. Some of his frank articles in the *Fortnightly Review* in the eighties of the last century created a sensation in the snug parlours of Victorian prudery. He exposed the hollowness of some of the prevailing doctrines that were accepted without question or doubt. His books are full of passages that ring true, and that passing beyond the pale of Comte's creed, reach to the wider verities that recognise neither sect nor creed. It was with this mind that the present writer, only a few months back, ventured to approach Mr. Frederic Harrison for permission to make selections from his works. In

readily acknowledging the letter, the *doyen* of literature wrote back: 'I am quite willing that you should publish a selection from my books.' When he wrote that kind of letter on May 17 last, he had travelled from his retired solitude in Bath to the National Liberal Club to speak on 'The Future of the Empire.' Writing later, on September 28, he informed the present writer that address had been printed in the June number of his son's *English Review*. At the same time he was good enough to 'enclose a recent photo of myself.' This photograph shows a face of rare charm. The beard, the moustaches, the eye-brows even are snow-white. There are wrinkles on the face, but such as can be due only to the passage of time, not to any cares or crosses. The eyes look straight, undaunted, as though there was nothing in the man of which he need be ashamed. The eye-brows are shaggy; the mouth is firm. A high sloping forehead, smooth white hair, parted on the left, straight, rather thick nose, short venerable beard, the face altogether inspires respect. It is not the portrait of a recluse; the careless attire and unkempt appearance of the ascetic are not his; he does not despise the harmless vanity of a pearl tie-pin! And this individual, far advanced into his ninety-second year, wrote in a firm hand, the letters well-formed, the strokes clear. The hand is now motionless and the undaunted heart is stilled in the derisive silence of eternity.

And now that the vital spark is extinguished and the manly virile voice is still, one can only be grateful that such a man lived so long and so honourably. In the long and glorious annals of English letters an abiding and honoured place will be assigned to Frederic Harrison.

A STUDY IN INDIAN INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT.

By MR. SAROJ-RANJAN BOSE, M.A.

In this short essay I want to indicate the present position of Indian industries and specially her manufacturing industry; and the progress that she has made in this direction during the last three decades, from statistics which have been available, mostly government publications.

The statistics since the outbreak of the last great European War cannot be relied upon because it caused a complete dislocation of trade and industry and the country has not yet recovered completely from the effects of the great war; also because the prices of articles have soared to fabulous heights since 1915 and no profitable comparisons can be instituted between the total value of imports and exports in pre- and post-war years.

Immediately after the outbreak of war in 1914, there was a sudden diminution in many of our exports notably in coal, coffee, coir, rice, wheat and other food grains, manures, metals and ores, cotton piece goods, raw jute and silk, owing chiefly to want of accommodation in foreign vessels and owing to the general sense of insecurity that prevailed at that period. When the first shock of war was over many of our exports began to show signs of revival, e.g., wool, hides etc., while many, specially those required by the allied countries directly or indirectly in connection with the persecution of the war, such as saltpetre or those such as indigo, sugar etc., the supply of which they derived previously from the enemy countries, received an artificial stimulus, but others again could not regain their old position as long as the war continued, such as, for example, our exports of coffee, coir, lac, silk and wood.

As regards imports the immediate effect of the outbreak of war was similar, i.e., it led to a great falling off in the imports of coal, dyeing and tanning materials, copper, iron, steel, woollen goods. This was again due partly to the difficulty in obtaining freight or because India used to get her supply of some of these things from enemy countries from which she was now cut off. In the first year of the outbreak of war, 1914-15, the number and tonnage

of sailing and steam ships that cleared to foreign countries at ports in British India fell off from 4,323 and 8,762,329 respectively in 1913-14 to 4,023 and 6,545,340. Some of these imports however showed signs of revival after the first shock was over, such as woollen goods, raw cotton, zinc, tin, etc. But many of them showed no such sign as long as the war lasted such as coal, liquor, iron, steel umbrellas, cotton piece goods. The Indian industries producing these commodities took full advantage of this check to importation and under this artificial stimulus of the consequent high prices increased their scale of production of these things to supply the local market and thus fill up the gap so caused.

But it yet remains to be seen how far these new industries established under artificial stimulus will stand the foreign competition when normal order is again fully restored. Even just now foreign competition is making itself felt in industries producing iron and steel, leather goods, cloth, etc.

But before I begin my subject proper I must explain away, as far as I am able, some popular misconceptions which I cannot but notice in these days when the Indian atmosphere is surcharged with ideas about the political and economic reorganisation of the country. There always had been and especially in these days of Non-co-operation and the cult of charka, there are many who would like India to go back to her cottage industry and home manufactures; and who would, if they can, sweep away all the machines and the factories from the face of India and plunge them into the depths of the Indian Ocean. But though fully aware of the evils that the factory system has brought in its train in the Western countries and which are also being slowly introduced into India such as, for example, congestion in insanitary buildings with all its concomitants of ill-health, immorality, etc.; loss of independence and self-respect on the part of the labourers, the conflict between labour and capital with all its evil consequences of strikes and lock-outs, unemployment, overproduction, etc.; yet I must assert

that factory and machine production has come to stay and with the progress of time, will acquire more and more hold upon India as it has done in all the Western countries and Japan, whether we will it or not. It is better suited to the needs of the times and, as in the case of the biological law of the struggle for existence and survival of the fittest, it will survive and drive the older methods of production to the wall. A Mahatma Gandhi even with all the tremendous influence that he wields can but retard its progress for a short time; he cannot check it altogether. All that we can do is to profit by the experience of older countries whose industrial revolution came earlier than ours, instead of crying over spilt milk. We should try to minimise the evils of the factory system while retaining its benefits of efficient production and we can do this by a thousand and one devices that have been adopted and are being daily adopted by the industrially developed countries, such as arrangements for the better housing of the labourers, providing parks and play-grounds for their and their children's healthy recreation, providing better facilities for their education, better sanitation and medical advice, arrangements for the supply of fresh and unadulterated milk, ghee, oil and other provisions; establishment of conciliation and arbitration boards, the spread of the co-operative movement in all its many forms among the labourers, introduction of compulsory insurance, compelling the millowners to take more care of the health of the labourers by such devices as introduction of smoke absorbing contrivances and of cheap workmen's tickets enabling the labourers to avail themselves of the transportation facilities offered by the railway and tramway companies and to live (away from their place of work) in country houses. That much may be done in this way in India also will be apparent to any one who visits the Tata Iron and Steel Works at Jamshedpur. We do not certainly imply that cottage industries should wholly disappear; in fact, encouragement should be given to its spread and development in every direction in which it has reasonable chance of success and that it has such chance and can go hand in hand with the modern large scale manufactures is evident from a study of the condition of Japan.

Before the advent of the British rule in India we had our industries which were carried on in

their own way in different parts of the country. Though the chief industry of the country had always been agriculture, yet other industries were not rare and some of these were in a very flourishing condition so much so that many of the products of these industries found a ready sale even in foreign markets. A considerable amount of international trade was carried on in such commodities as the muslin of Dacca, jewels and precious metals, carpets of Mirzapur, silk of Murshidabad, shawls of Amritsar, silver filigree work of Cuttack. The productions of these industries and of others such as embroidery works of Ahmednagar, inlaid metal works of Bidar, enamelling work of Delhi and Lucknow commanded the whole of the Indian market.

But these industries could not stand the competition of cheap European machine-made goods which began to pour into the Indian market after the industrial revolution of England. The English manufacturers ever on the look out for extending the market for their produce found a vast field in India and by their competition slowly but surely caused the decay of the Indian industries carried on in the primitive way. The chief motive of the merchant adventurers who came into our country and the results of their activities have been thus described by Mr. Ranade :—

"The Great Indian Dependency has come to be regarded as a plantation, growing raw produce to be shipped by British agents in British ships, to be worked into fabrics by British skill and capital and to be re-exported to the Dependency by British merchants to their corresponding British firms in India and elsewhere. The development of steam power and mechanical skill, joined with increased facilities of communication, have lent strength to the tendency of the times, and as one result of the change, the gradual ruralisation of this great Dependency and the rapid decadence of native manufacture and trade became distinctly marked."

Things went on from bad to worse till the third quarter of the 19th century. This decay of the industries and manufactures is apparent from the fact that while in 1853 we were so much self-dependent in the matter of the supply of the cotton cloth that we wanted, that we imported cotton goods and yarn of the value of only 60 lacs of rupees but in 40 years' time our cotton manufactures had decayed to such an

extent and we were so greatly dependent on foreign countries for the supply of our wants of cotton goods that we imported in 1893 cotton goods and yarn of the total value of 25 crores. The same tale is told by the imports of our silk and woollen goods. In 1853 we imported these goods of the value of only 5 lakhs of rupees and in 40 years it had gone up to the huge value of $2\frac{1}{2}$ crores of rupees. Our exports during this period indicate the same tendency. Raw jute and grain were exported from India in 1851 of the value of 4 lakhs each but in 1893 their value had gone up to 5 and 6 crores of rupees respectively.

But this tendency was arrested in the beginning of the last quarter of the 19th century and since then, as Ranade has shown with the help of statistics that our exports of manufactured goods increased much more than in proportion to the increase in the export of our raw materials. Also the import of raw materials increased more than in proportion to the increase in our imports of manufactured goods. This was brought about by the fact that at this time a few industries conducted in the modern methods began to take root in India and this process has gone on increasing with the progress of time.

But though this development might be expected to be hailed with pleasure yet we hear some discordant notes sounded by Indians and Europeans alike. Some Indians obsessed with the idea of the evils brought in its train by the Industrial Revolution in Western countries, appearing in India also, set their faces against the industrialisation (in the modern sense) of India. But I have shown that their fears need not necessarily be realised if proper care is taken from the very beginning. The other class of critics (mainly Europeans) argue thus—why need we bother ourselves about the development of manufactures in India? What is the harm if India—eminently endowed by nature with all the facilities for becoming a great agricultural country—concern herself with supplying the raw materials, for the production of which, she being situated in the torrid zone, has greater and better facilities than the European countries, and take in exchange for her raw materials the finished goods manufactured by the European countries which being situated in temperate zone, have (according to them) better facilities for the production of such manufactures? It is nothing

but mere division of labour, so essential for efficient production, carried beyond the bounds of a single country. But against this class of arguments the following considerations may be advanced:—

1. In the first place torrid zone people may fairly appeal to past history, when their skilled products found a ready market in temperate kingdoms, and excited such jealousy as to dictate prohibitive sumptuary laws both in Ancient Rome and in Modern England (Ranade).

2. The differences in favour of temperate regions are all modern growths due to the employment of steam, machinery, and the abundance of cheap iron and coal. This is a real advantage, and has to be faced, but if it can be faced, there need be no misgiving about the success of our manufactures also (Ranade).

3. It is in the fitness of things that bulky raw materials instead of being carried thousands of miles *for their manufacture at a great cost*, and then again brought back in a finished form ought *if possible*, be manufactured in the same neighbourhood. As List has said, "A nation which has already made considerable advances in civilisation, in possession of capital and in population, will find the development of a manufacturing power of its own, infinitely more beneficial to its agriculture, than the most flourishing foreign trade can be without such manufactures, because it thereby secures itself against fluctuations to which it may be exposed by war, by foreign restrictions on trade and by commercial crises, because it thereby saves the greatest part of the cost of transport, because (at home) improvements in transport are called into existence by its own manufacturing industry, while from the same cause a mass of personal and natural powers hitherto unemployed will be developed".

4. As against the argument that if such advantages really accrue from the establishment of the manufacturing industry, it must be established in due time and it ought not to be encouraged by artificial means, it may be advanced that though these benefits follow no doubt after the manufacturing industry has been established on a firm footing, yet in its initial or infant stage it may be unable, without help and encouragement, to face the competition of its full grown rivals. In a continental country like India, with all shades of climate, soil and position, it is quite probable that there is plenty

of room for the healthy growth of many manufacturing industries if they can once get over the initial stage somehow.

5. If India remains wholly an agricultural country she will be placed under the bane of the law of Decreasing Return, while European manufacturing countries will derive all the benefits of the law of Increasing Return. The greater the increase of population and the greater the demand in India in such a case the higher the cost of food and raw materials, while the cost per unit decreases, as the demand and production increase in manufacturing industries owing to all the various economies of large scale production.

6. In agriculture there is much greater dependence on nature, *e.g.*, fertility of soil, sufficient rainfall, absence of hailstorm and flood, as a result of which India often suffers from famine visitations, which when they come, paralyse production and condemn millions to violent or slow death. Irrigation, emigration have been suggested as remedies but still the most powerful remedy would be a due co-ordination of the three-fold forms of industrial activity.

7. Manufactures make people more intelligent, resourceful, regular, energetic and liberal than agriculture which keeps the people dull, conservative, without the means of improving their lot by co-operative schemes and concerted action. "The densest ignorance and the most unrelieved toil often go with agriculture and certain kinds of vice prevail as much in the country as in the towns." (Sarkar).

We therefore find from the above considerations that both agriculture and manufacture depend upon each other and their co-operation is necessary to the progress of civilisation. Thus I think a case has been made out for our hailing with pleasure the rise of the manufacturing industry in India.

But there is yet another thing which must not be lost sight of and from which follow important results. The capital and enterprise which has been instrumental in the development of our manufactures have been mainly foreign capital and enterprise. This is partly a gain and partly a loss. As Prof. Sarkar says, "These foreigners have greatly extended the field of Indian labour and caused the development of many natural resources which would have remained neglected (at least for some generations) but for their enterprise, and the

educative effect of foreign capital and enterprise on a home-staying and conservative people like the Indians has been invaluable".

At the same time however, they have quite naturally forestalled the Indian capitalists of the future by taking up the most profitable lands and concerns. The belated Indian capitalist who is now venturing into the same field finds that only third rate concessions are left for him. For this reason in Japan foreigners are debarred by law from owning land and acquiring mining concessions, and the Railway Act prohibits the pledging of railway property to aliens. The conservation of natural resources for the future of the nation is of deeper importance to a people than the quick development of mines and industries.

Moreover at present we derive in the form of royalty only a small fraction of the value of our minerals exploited by foreign capitalists. Hence caution in exploiting Indian minerals would have ultimately benefited the country. Most of these foreign concerns (a) have their directing boards in England, (b) employ foreign labour except in the lowest and least paid grades, and (c) send their annual profits outside India to be paid as sterling dividends. They no doubt exploit the natural resources of the country, but it is for their own gain and the only class of Indian whom they benefit in the process are the landowners who have granted them concessions and the coolies and clerks whom they employ. As Sir T. Holland told a body of business men in England, "if the capital of the Tata Hydro-electric Scheme had been provided in England, the profits of the business would have come to England, whereas they would now remain in India."

With these preliminary remarks we may go into the details of our subject.

If we turn our attention to the foreign trade of India we find that it has grown at a pace which is anything but slow. This is quite apparent from the following statistics.

TABLE NO. I.

IMPORT TRADE (excluding treasure).			
1875—1884 (average)	1885—1894	1895—1904	1905—14
46 crores	68 crores	82 crores	139 crores
EXPORT TRADE (excluding treasure).			
1875—1884 (average)	1885—1894	1895—1904	1905—14
37 crores	99 crores	121 crores	197 crores

But this is not very important from our point of view. What we want to find out is how the absolute amounts and proportions of raw materials and manufactured articles which enter into the import and export trade of the country have varied in these different periods.

Now the classifications of the articles entering into the import and export trade of the country into raw materials and finished or manufactured goods is not easy; and different individuals have placed different items under different heads.

The Government of India in its official publications classify the imports and exports into 4 main classes:

- I. Food, Drink and Tobacco.
- II. Raw Materials and produce and articles mainly unmanufactured.
- III. Articles wholly or mainly manufactured.
- IV. Miscellaneous and unclassified.

A mere glance at this classification is sufficient to convince us that the above classification will be of little value to us in determining the progress which India has made in her manufacturing industry. In comparing her import and export of raw materials and manufactured commodities it will not do simply to compare class II and class III in different years because many of the items in class I *e.g.* cigarettes, sugar, etc., tea, coffee and also in class IV are the products of important manufacturing industries which are as important for the welfare of the country as any others and they must therefore be included in the list of manufactured articles.

Another objection to the acceptance of the classification appears when we enter into the details of the list, *e.g.*, such a commodity as myrobalam has been included in class III of exports and oils in class II of exports. I don't think this is quite happy.

But as soon as one tries to classify the goods that enter into the export and import trade of the country one is beset with difficulties. It is partly because of the fact that in the commercial statistics and trade returns of the Government sufficient care is not taken to separate raw materials from manufactured goods, thus they would not differentiate between crude lac and manufactured lac, ores and worked up metals, tanned and manufactured hides and skins and raw hides and skins; partly because the same things are not always included under the same class, thus paraffin wax was formerly included under mineral oils which is placed under class

II but since 1912 it has been excluded; and partly because it is difficult to classify those partly manufactured things which form the raw material in the production of other manufactured articles, *e.g.*, dyes, manures.

However after proper consideration of all these difficulties I prefer to classify the items in the export and import trade of India in the following way.

EXPORTS OF RAW MATERIALS.

Coal, myrobalam, hides, lac, manures, metals and ores, saltpetre, seeds, raw cotton, raw jute, raw silk, raw wool and wood.

EXPORTS OF FINISHED COMMODITIES.

Coffee, coir, opium, indigo, oils, sugar, tea, cotton goods, jute goods, silk goods, woollen goods.

IMPORTS OF RAW MATERIALS.

Coal, raw cotton, unmanufactured ivory and raw silk.

IMPORTS OF MANUFACTURED COMMODITIES.

All the other items in the import trade minus spices, provisions and books.

Now having adopted the above classifications let us mark the progress of the import and export trade of India since 1885-6.

TABLE NO. II.

VALUE IN RUPEES OF EXPORTS OF RAW MATERIALS

	1885-6	1903-4	1913-14	1918-19
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
		lacs	lacs	lacs
Coal ...	8,356	38	69	16
Myrobalam	29,94,449	42	57	45
Hides	5,33,62,290	8,94	15,95	19,05
Lac	58,66,098	2,72	1,97	2,95
Manures ...	10,83,846	44	94	62
Metals & Ores	14,75,177	55	2,42	3,36
Saltpetre ..	37,02,070	41	31	93
Seeds ..	9,97,51,280	14,51	25,68	11,22
Raw Cotton	10,78,20,207	24,37	41,04	30,98
Raw Jute	4,35,53,625	11,72	30,83	12,72
Raw Silk ...	36,56,173	65	26	67
Raw Wool	1,20,61,129	1,63	3,00	6,89
Wood (teak	55,07,664	92	79	61
Total ...	54,10 lacs	67,66	124,45	90,69

TABLE NO. III.

VALUE OF EXPORTS OF MANUFACTURED ARTICLES.

	1885-6	1903-4	1913-14	1918-19
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
	lacs	lacs	lacs	lacs
Coffee ...	1,36	1,37	1,54	1,21
Coir ...	20	50	91	36
Opium ...	10,74	10,47	3,42	4,23
Indigo ...	3,78	1,08	21	1,25
Oils ...	41	1,09	99	3,59
Sugar ...	73	15	35	2,15
Tea ...	4,40	8,62	15,01	17,92
Cotton goods ...	5,07	11,85	13,68	20,44
Jute goods ...	1,13	9,46	28,27	52,65
Woollen goods ...	12	32	29	33
Silk goods ...	37	15	16	51
Total	28,31	45,06	61,83	101,64

TABLE NO. IV.

VALUE OF IMPORTS OF RAW MATERIALS.

	1885-6	1903-4	1913-14	1918-19
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
	lacs	lacs	lacs	lacs
Coal ...	133	39	148	30
Raw Cotton ..	18	*20	27	140
Ivory (unmanufactured)	31	18	19	23
Raw Silk ...	72	59	126	103
Total ...	254	136	320	276

*The value of the import of raw cotton was the minimum on record in 1903-4, viz., Rs. 5 lacs, so I have taken the average for the previous 19 years.

TABLE No. V.

VALUE OF IMPORTS OF MANUFACTURED ARTICLES

	1885-6	1903-4	1913-14	1918-19
Total ..	Rs. 5,078	Rs. 8,751	Rs. 19,252	Rs. 17,993

(in lacs)

We find from these tables that the exports and imports of raw materials and finished goods have increased in the following way.

TABLE No. VI.

	1885-6	1903-4	1913-14	1918-19
	crores	crores	crores	crores
Manufactured Exports ..	28	45	65	105
Raw Exports ..	34	68	124	91
Manufactured Imports ...	51	87	192	179
Raw Imports ..	2½	1½	3.2	2.8

It must be remarked here that the figures of exports and imports in any one particular year cannot be relied upon as they are liable to great fluctuations in different years. This will be quite apparent to one who marks the progress of export and import in the case of such articles as sugar, raw cotton, etc. through different years. It would have served our purpose much better if we could have got the quinquennial or decennial average. But in their absence. I give the tables for what they are worth.

From the above figures we find, if we compare the figures of 1913-14 with those of the two other years, that

- (a) our manufactured exports increased by about 45% in the period of ten years, (1903—13) and by 132% in the period of 28 years (1885—1913).
- (b) our raw exports increased by 82% in the period 1903—13 and by about 265% during the period 1885—1913.
- (c) our manufactured imports increased by 121% in the period 1903—13 and by 276% during the period 1885—1913.
- (d) our raw imports increased by 135% in the period 1903—13 and by 26% during the period 1885—1913.

I do not compare the figures for 1918-19 for reasons already stated.

Now first, looked at from the export and import point of view the progress of the manufacturing industry of a country should show the following results:

- (1) Export of manufactures increase in a greater ratio than the export of raw materials.
- (2) Imports of raw materials increase in a greater ratio than the imports of manufactures.

Now though there has been increase in the absolute amounts of the manufactured exports and raw imports, yet judged by the above criterion we find that the progress of Indian manufactures has not been quite satisfactory at least up to the year 1913-14 (except in the minor fact that her raw imports increased more than in proportion to her manufactured imports in the period 1903—13 but even this ray of light vanishes if we compare the increase of raw and manufactured imports in the whole period 1885—1913).

Secondly the value of our manufactured

exports formed 82% of the value of our raw exports in 1885-6, 66% in 1903-4 and 52% in 1913-14. This is certainly disappointing.

Then as regards imports, the value of our raw imports formed about 5% of the value of our manufactured imports in 1885-6, about 2% in 1903-4 and less than 2% in 1913-14. This is also disappointing.

Thirdly the value of our manufactured exports formed 55% of the value of our manufactured imports in 1885-6, 52% in 1903-4 and 34% in 1913-14. The value of our raw imports were 7% of the value of our raw exports in 1885-6, 2% in 1903-4 and 2.5% in 1913-14. This is again anything but encouraging.

Now the conclusions arrived at on the basis of the classification into manufactured goods and raw materials (of the articles entering into the import and export trade of the country) I have adopted, are not at all encouraging. Let us now turn to the classification adopted by the Government (which I have mentioned before) and let us see what the figures can be made to tell us. I am however sorry the figures of the years before 1906-7 are not available to me, so I must content myself with tracing the development since that year, but I must add that unless we get the figures of the previous years, the comparison is of very little value.

TABLE No. VII.

Exports.

	1906-7	1913-14	1920-21
	crores	crores	crores
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Raw Materials	... 81.5	1,22	74
Manufactures	... 37.8	54.5	59.5
Total Exports	177	244	172

Imports.

	1904-5	1906-7	1913-14	1920-21
	crores	crores	crores	crores
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Raw Materials	... 4.2	4.4	10.5	10
Manufactures	... 55	59	145	1.16
Total Imports	104	117	183	142

Note.—Exports under the above classification are not available to me for the year 1904-5. Value of 1920-21 (both import and export) has been recalculated at the prices of 1913-14.

Firstly scanning the figures above we find that the value of raw exports increased by 50%

and that of exports of manufactures by 46% during the period 1906—13.

The value of our raw imports increased by 150% and that of our manufactured imports by 164% during the period 1904—1913.

This is again disappointing.

Secondly the value of our manufactured exports formed 21.5% of the total value of exports in 1906-7, and 22% in 1913-14.

The value of our raw exports formed 46% of the value of the total exports in 1906 and 50% in 1913-14.

This shows that the value of our manufactured exports form about the same percentage of the total exports in 1906-7 as in 1913-14 but the percentage of our raw exports to total exports has gone up by 4%. This is disappointing.

The value of our manufactured imports 4% of the value of our total imports in 1904-5 and about 6% in 1913-14.

The value of our manufactured imports formed 53% of the total value of imports in 1904-5 and 79% in 1913-14.

Thus we find that the value of both raw and manufactured imports formed higher percentages of the total imports in 1913-14 than in 1904-5, and their rate of increase was the same (50%) but the increase was *absolutely* much greater in the case of the manufactured imports. This again is not very hopeful.

Thirdly the value of our manufactured exports was 45% of the value of our raw exports in 1906-7 and less than 45% in 1913-14.

The value of our raw imports was 7.5% of the value of our manufactured imports in 1904-5 and less than 7.5% in 1913-14. This again is not hopeful.

Fourthly the value of our manufactured exports formed about 64% of the value of our manufactured imports in 1906-7 and 36% in 1913-14. (Very disappointing).

The value of our raw imports was 5% of the value of our raw exports in 1906-7 and 8.5% in 1913-14. (Somewhat promising.)

Fifthly the absolute amounts of manufactured articles and raw materials in the import and export trade are still more disappointing.

Thus from the Government classification also we come to the same conclusions that we arrived at from the different classification that was adopted before. They all tell us the same tale that our progress in the manufacturing

industry has not been promising at any rate upto 1913-14.

In the Government publication I find another classification of the exports into Agricultural Products, Manufactures and others. Now here the objection is that though at first sight we might be inclined to assume that agricultural products mean raw materials yet this is not quite sound; for such raw materials as ores, hides and skins, silk cocoons are certainly not agricultural products and must have therefore been excluded from this class. But taking this classification for what it is worth let us find out what they have to say of the industrial development (or rather more properly the development of manufactures) of the country.

We get the following table.

TABLE No. VIII.

Exports.

	1895-6	1905-6	1915-16
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Agricultural			
Products ...	71,90,16,503	1,04,91,55,470	1,15,29,99,645
Manufactures	20,36,99,662	35,85,96,787	60,93,04,383

From the above table we see that the exports of agricultural products from India increased from Rs. 104 crores to Rs. 115 crores, *i.e.*, by 10% in ten years, *viz.*, 1905-6 to 1915-16 and from 71 to 115 crores of rupees or by 61% in 20 years, *viz.*, 1895-6 to 1915-16. But the exports of manufactured goods increased by 71% *i.e.*, from 35 to 60 crores of rupees in the decade 1905-6 to 1915-16 and by 200% *i.e.*, from 20 to 60 crores of rupees in the 20 years from 1895-6 to 1915-16. Thus the export of manufactured goods increased by 200% in 20 years while the export of agricultural products increased by only 61% in the same period. This is really encouraging.

Again the value of export of manufactures formed 28% of the value of agricultural products in 1895-6 while it formed 53% in 1915-16. This is again a good sign for the development of the manufacturing industry of the country. Thus while the absolute disproportion still continues to be very marked, there is a very healthy change in their relative proportions. Unfortunately I do not find such a classification of the imports into the country, so the other half of the tale remains untold. But as details of this classification are not available I

am not quite sure how far this represents true progress.

If we now turn our attention from the study of imports and exports in general to the items entering into them one thing becomes apparent as we turn to tables No. II and III. They tell us that in Table II the exports of certain manufactured commodities have gone on continuously increasing, *e.g.*, jute goods, cotton goods, tea, coir, coffee; while that of some others have positively diminished such as opium, indigo, silk goods, and again there is the case of others the exports of which have remained stationary at least since 1903, *e.g.*, woollen goods, oil, though the export undoubtedly increased during the period 1885-1903. Sugar has shown constant fluctuations.

Similarly again the exports of some raw materials have gone on increasing continuously at a steady rate as in the case of coal, myrabolam, hides, manures, metals and ores, seeds, raw cotton, raw jute, raw wool and lac. Saltpetre shows signs of decay because of the discovery and cheapening of the supply of a substitute for it in making gunpowder. Export of raw silk increased from 1885 up till the end of the first decade of the 20th century. Since then it has shown signs of decline chiefly because Japan, our chief consumer, has herself taken to silk-rearing. The exports of teak wood with some fluctuations have not progressed much.

As regards the import trade from tables IV and V, of the imports of raw materials, (un-manufactured) ivory has declined greatly while the others, (*e.g.*, raw cotton, coal and raw silk) show great fluctuations and unsteadiness and coal shows some signs of decay also. Of the manufactured imports, too numerous to mention, sugar has shown signs of continuous progress as also wrought metals.

This is the story that the (import and export) trade of India have to tell us. But we must remember that they do not tell us the whole tale. For the other part of the story we must go to the industries within the country that are employed in supplying the own needs of India. For, it is quite possible that without giving any indications in the foreign trade of the country a large number of manufacturing industries may grow up within the country which concern themselves with supplying the local needs. Without any indications in the foreign trade because if the manufactured article be such a

thing as is peculiar to India and which can only find a market in India and not outside India, (*e.g.*, certain kinds of cloth) or if the condition of the manufacturing industry is such that it can only supply the local needs and nothing is left in the way of surplus to be shipped to other countries (*e.g.*, paper) then it will not enter into the foreign export trade of the country; and if it also be such that other countries cannot supply us with the thing (*e.g.*, jute manufactures) or do not care to supply us, then they will not enter into the foreign import trade of the country as well. We should therefore scrutinise the production within the country in order to arrive at a correct opinion as to the position of the manufacturing industry of the country.

Now to find out the progress made in this direction first of all let us trace the development of the Joint Stock Companies in India since 1881-2.

TABLE No. IX.

	No. of Companies.	Paid up Capital.
1881-2	505	Rs. 15.68 crores.
1891-2	950	„ 26.58 „
1901-2	1,405	„ 37.39 „
1911-2	2,465	„ 69.57 „
1918-19	2,789	„ 106.61 „

Note.—The above table shows the number of Joint Stock Companies at work in British India and Mysore State. The number of persons employed in these companies are not available.

All these companies are incorporated in India.

The kind of work in which these companies were engaged in 1918-19 has thus been classified by the Government of India.

TABLE No. X.

1. Banking, Loan and Insurance.	
Number.	Paid up Capital.
552	Rs. 8.8 crores.
2. Trading comprising navigation, railway and tramway, co-operative, shipping, printing, publishing, stationery, etc.	
Number.	Paid up Capital.
931	Rs. 34.5 crores.
3. Mills and Presses comprising cotton mills, jute mills, paper mills, rice mills, flour mills, etc.	
Number.	Paid up Capital.
472	Rs. 36.5 crores.

4. Tea and other planting companies.

Number.	Paid up Capital.
356	Rs. 7 crores.

5. Mining and Quarrying.

Number.	Paid up Capital.
264	Rs. 13.4 crores.

6. Land and Building, Breweries, Ice manufacture, Sugar manufacture and others.

Number.	Paid up Capital.
138	Rs. 5.5 crores.

The above table is for British India only. Besides these which are actually working, the total number registered is much greater than this. Thus in 1918-19 besides these actually working (2,713), the total of those being wound up or having otherwise discontinued business (in British India) was 2,364 and the total wound up or dissolved or which never commenced business (in British India) is 2,530. So the total number of Joint Stock Companies registered in India upto 1918-19 would be 7,607.

Besides these joint stock companies incorporated in India, there are others incorporated elsewhere but working (either partly or exclusively) in India. The statistics of such companies for years previous to 1904 are not available to me.

The number and capital of such companies working exclusively in India and Mysore in 1904 was as follows:

		Capital.
No. of Companies.	(a)	(b)
	Paid up + Debenture.	
1904	152	£65 millions + £25 millions.

The number and capital of such companies working (but not necessarily exclusively) in British India (thus excluding Mysore) was as follows:

		Capital
No. of Companies.	(a)	(b)
	Paid up + Debentures.	
1918-19	573	£473 millions + £141 millions.

Thus the total number of companies working in India at the end of 1918 was (2,713 + 573) or 3,286 employing a capital of 106 crores of rupees plus a certain part of £614 millions which for want of accurate information cannot be definitely stated.

But this is not all that the industrial development of the country has to place before us as

evidence of her progress. Besides these joint stock companies, there are a large number of industrial concerns owned and managed by the Government and local bodies and by individuals and unregistered companies.

Now let us take an industrial census of India and see what we find. The following table will help us to understand the progress achieved in the industrial development of the country.

TABLE No. XI.

	1901	1906	1910	1914	1918
Number of factories	2,822	2,719	3,184	3,563	4,225
Men employed	447,149	875,785	952,630	1,086,262	1,199,770

The number includes factories owned by Government or local bodies, individuals or companies, those worked by mechanical or electrical power, those not so worked. Factory is not taken in the sense defined by the Indian Factories Act of 1911.

Of the total number of labourers employed in these factories about 40% (439,961) were employed in factories in Bengal, about 27% (296,672) were employed in Bombay. These two provinces employing about two-thirds of the factory labour of British India.

The factories created by the cotton industry exist principally in Bombay and those relating to the jute industry in Bengal; while rice mills and saw mills are naturally mostly in Burma. Of the other factories there are none largely assigned to any particular province.

The accidents (fatal, serious and minor occurring in 1918 works out at one per every 240 employed daily in factories (in the technical sense).

The greatest number of convictions was for the employment of persons not allowed by the Indian Factories Act.

Adult labour formed about 94.3% and child labour 5.7% of the total average daily factory labour in 1918. Females formed 15% and 17% of total adult and child labour (factory) in 1918.

From the census report of 1911 we find that the skilled workmen formed only a little more than 27% of total workmen. The average for female workers worked out at 38% of the total on the average in all industries, their percentage being highest, 91%, in tea plantations.

A list of the important industrial establishments of British India employing 50 persons or more in 1918-19 is given below.

TABLE No. XII.

	Number of Mills, Factories, etc.	Persons employed (daily average)
Cotton Mills	235	267,669
Jute Mills	76	275,500
Woollen Mills	6	7,832
Paper Mills	7	5,405
Govt arms and ammunition factories, and arsenals	14	33,459
Breweries	16	1,895
Cotton ginning, cleaning, and pressing mills and factories	1,405	100,981
Dockyards	14	21,507
Iron and brass foundaries	55	8,599
Iron and steel producing works	2	20,326
Jute Presses	125	28,652
Lac factories	70	6,464
Petroleum refineries	8	12,096
Printing presses	141	30,087
Railway workshops and other factories	86	118,115
Rice Mills	575	47,724
Saw Mills	134	12,816
Silk Filiatures	39	2,779
Sugar factories	38	10,157
Tile and brick factories	202	22,498
Engineering workshops	115	26,567
Total	3,363	1,061,128

The progress in this direction as apparent from the table (XI) has not been rapid; it has rather been slow but steady. I think the pace will quicken as there is more and more pressure of population upon the land. Manufacturers and collieries have been complaining that they are suffering from scarcity of labour. More general and technical education is essential for the development of these industries. General education will slowly undermine the conservative and home-sick nature of the Indian labourer and technical education is essential for the working of machinery.

Leaving aside these generalities let us now go into details and examine the development of

some of the most important of our industries, *e.g.*, (mill industries jute, cotton and woollen home-sick nature of the Indian labourer and technical education is essential for the working industry, etc.

MILL INDUSTRIES.

1. Cotton Mills.

The Indian cotton industry dates as far back as 1851, when the first mill was started but complete statistics were not reported until 1879-80. The following statement shows quinquennial averages from that year to 1918-19.

TABLE No. XIII.

	No. of Mills.	Capital authorised. Rs.	Persons employed in thousands.
Average 1879-80			
to 1883-84	63	657.6 lakhs	51.0
„ 1884-85			
to 1888-89	93	887.9 „	75.7
„ 1889-90			
to 1893-94	127	1,161.7 „	116.1
„ 1895-96			
to 1898-99	156	1,419.5 „	150.0
„ 1899-1900			
to 1903-04	195	1,687.9 „	171.6
„ 1904-05			
to 1908-09	218	1,878.7 „	216.4
„ 1909-10			
to 1913-14	257	2,243.3 „	243.8
„ 1914-15			
to 1918-19	265	2,417.2 „	277.6

This shows continuous and very good progress. At the end of 1918-19 there were in British India 235 mills with a capital (paid up and debentures) of 25 crores of rupees (in All India) giving employment to about 267 thousands of people. Of these mills 176 or 75% are in Bombay, 18 in United Provinces, 14 in Bengal and 12 in Madras.

As regards yarn, the production of yarn of counts No. 25 and lower form a big percentage of the total production but the production of yarn of counts higher than No. 25 has increased almost steadily and in 1918-19 formed 12% of the total production. Even yarn of count No. 40 and upwards are now being produced in appreciable quantity with the help of Egyptian and other imported cotton. But the production of yarn of higher counts is chiefly confined to Bombay.

Our total production of yarn has gone on

increasing constantly relative to the total import of yarn from foreign countries. In the quinquennium 1896-7 to 1900-1, the total imported yarn formed about 10.3% of our total production but in quinquennium 1911-12 to 1915-16 it formed even less than 7% of total production. We find even much better results if we compare the total production of yarns of higher counts with those imported (or counts of the same No.) in different years, because the imports are chiefly of higher counts.

As regards woven goods also we find there has been considerable progress. In the quinquennium 1896-7 to 1900-1, the total production was about 92 million pounds but in the period 1911-12 to 1915-16 it had increased to 273 million pounds or there has been an increase of about 200%. Weaving is concentrated in the Bombay Mills (85% of the total).

As regards the production of piece-goods also progress has been rapid. The percentages of production to importation of grey and bleached piece-goods, and coloured piece-goods have been 19.3 and 29.4 respectively in the quinquennium 1896-7 to 1900-1 and 1906-7 to 1910-11, but those had increased to 42.8 and 46.9 in the period 1911-12 to 1915-16.

2. JUTE MILLS.

India has got the virtual monopoly of jute supply of the world. Her record of jute industry, as disclosed by the following table may well be said to be one of uninterrupted progress.

TABLE No. XIV.

	No. of Mills.	Capital. Authorised Rs.	Persons employed in thousands.
Average 1879-80			
to 1883-84	21	270 lakhs	38.8
„ 1884-85			
to 1888-89	24	341 „	52.7
„ 1889-90			
to 1893-94	26	402 „	64.3
„ 1894-95			
to 1898-99	31	532 „	86.7
„ 1899-1900			
to 1903-04	36	680 „	114.2
„ 1904-05			
to 1908-09	46	960 „	165
„ 1909-10			
to 1913-14	60	1,200 „	208.4
„ 1914-15			
to 1918-19	73	1,403 „	259.3

The development of the jute industry has been especially rapid since 1905-6. Of these mills (76) in 1918-19, 72 are in Bengal, 3 in Madras, 1 in U. P. Rapid as has been the progress in the number of mills, the production of these mills has increased to a still greater extent, from an export of 55 millions of gunny bags and 4.4 million of yds. of gunny cloth in the quinquennium 1879-80 to 1883-84 to 667.6 millions of gunny bags and 1,156 million yds. of gunny cloth in the period 1914-15 to 1918-19. The export of gunny cloth has increased much more than the export of gunny bags. The exports of raw jute were marked by increases from year to year though the improvement was not so rapid as in the case of manufactures. The export of raw jute in the quinquennium 1879-80 to 1883-84 was 7.5 millions of cwt. but in 1909-10 to 1913-14 was 15.28 millions of cwt.

3. PAPER MILLS.

The following table will show the progress of the manufacture of paper in India.

TABLE No. XV.

	No of Mills.	Capital (nominal). Rs.	No. of men employed.	Production. lbs.
1881	5	23 lakhs	784	8.1 millions
1896	8	63 „	3,613	40.7 „
1914	9	47 „	4,562	64.2 „
1918	7	49 „	5,495	67.2 „

Thus there has been slow but steady progress. Of the number of mills working in 1918, 3 are situated in Bengal, 3 in Bombay and 1 in U. P.

From 1881 to 1914 the production of paper within the country has increased about 8 times but the value of the imported paper has increased only about 4 times. But there is yet a good deal of room for further improvement in this industry. In 1918 we paid about 2.7 crores of rupees as the value of imported paper. It is apparent from the above that our paper industry has not reached the stage of exporting any of her production to foreign countries.

4. WOOLLEN MILLS.

The following table indicates the progress of woollen manufactures in India.

TABLE No. XVI.

	No. of Mills.	Capital (nominal). Rs.	Men employed.	Quantity produced. lbs
1882	3	15 lakhs	680	..
1896	6	32.5 „	3,017	2.3 millions
1914	6	134 „	4,263	5.1 „
1918	6	261 „	7,832	8.8 „

Of the 6 mills working in 1918, 1 is in Bengal, 1 in U. P., 1 in the Punjab and 3 in Bombay. Of the 6 mills, the Cawnpur Woollen Mills and the New Egerton Woollen Mills at Dhariwal are the most important whose joint capital is about Rs. 250 lakhs out of a total of 261 lakhs for the whole of India.

The following table is of interest in this connection.

TABLE No. XVII.

	1885-86.	1896-97.	1913-14.	1918-19.
Imports of	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.
	Million.	Million.	Million.	Million.
Woollen goods	1.3	1.8	5.1	1.1
Exports of				
Raw wool	31	41	59	63

There had been continuous increase in the export of woollen goods, which consist almost entirely of carpets and rugs, in the period 1896-7 to 1913-14. But since the outbreak of war there has been almost continuous decline in amount. The export of raw wool has doubled since 1885 but the import of woollen goods has increased more than 3 times during the period 1885-1913 while production of woollen goods has increased 5 times. Upto 1914 we were importing much greater amounts of woollen goods than we were producing but since then there has been a change and in 1918 we were importing as much as we were producing. There however yet remains vast field for improvement in this direction. We ought to be able to manufacture the vast amounts of raw wool that we are now exporting and ultimately be in a position to export the manufactured woollen goods.

5. BREWERIES.

There were 16 breweries in operation in British India in 1918. Nine of the breweries are located at stations in the Himalayas, from Murree to Darjeeling. The largest brewery is the one at Solon. A substantial portion of beer

brewed in India was consumed by British troops up till the end of 1907 in which year they purchased about 38% of the total production. But since January 1908, the contract with Indian breweries for the supply of malt liquor to British troops in India has been discontinued.

The following table illustrates the progress of brewery in India.

TABLE No. XVIII.

	No. of Breweries.	Production in gallons.	Persons employed.	Quantity purchased by Commissariat Dept.
1877	15	2.1 millions	..	954,933
1897	25	5.4 „	..	2,589,142
1914	21	3.4 „	1,313	..
1918	16	8.2 „	1,895	..

In 1902 the production was 6.4 millions gallons but since then there has been almost continuous decline uptil 1916. Since 1916 production has gone on increasing till it reached the high figure of 8.2 millions in 1918. From 1914 the imports decreased owing to difficulty in obtaining freight, the absence of large portion of British Regular Army from India and the shortage of light German beer.

6. MINING INDUSTRY.

(a) COAL.

The following table relating to the production of coal is of interest.

TABLE No. XIX.

	Output.	Men employed
1878	1.0 tons	—
1888	16 „	—
1898	4.0 „	54,255
1908	12.1 „	120,107
1918	19.8 „ (value 9 crores of rupees.)	175,198

The production and consumption of coal has shown a steady increase, which has been especially noticeable since 1906, but the development of the coal resources of the country is as yet incomplete. "Of the numerous coal fields of proved value in India only 18 (1913) are actually being worked, but only 7 are of any considerable importance, while 89% of the total output is produced in the Raniganj and Jherria fields. The reason for this state of things is not far to seek. Most of the coal fields are too remote from the ports and centres of manu-

facturing industry to render it possible for their produce to be carried to places where it would have to compete with fuel from the premier coal fields of Bengal".

Coal mining employs more labour than any other mining industry and will probably continue to do so for many years to come. Of the total coal consumption about 28% is taken up by the Indian Railways. The capital employed in 1918 in the coal mining industry is Rs. 8.4 crores.

In 40 years her output of coal has increased 19 folds, imports have become almost half and exports have continuously increased but still India has very little surplus to export over her own consumption. Her chief customers in coal are Ceylon and Straits Settlements.

Bihar and Orissa produces the greatest amount, about 68% of the total, then comes Bengal with about 25%. The Indian labour is inefficient, the output per head is small compared with those of other countries, it has even been said that it is the smallest in the whole world.

(b) GOLD.

The following are the statistics of the production of gold in All India.

TABLE No. XX.

	Production ounces.
1890	107,720
1900	513,385
1910	572,920
1918	536,118 (value 3 crores of rupees.)

The production of gold though 5 times (in 1918) that of 1890 has remained almost stationary since 1900 though the value of gold produced has increased slightly.

The mines in Mysore (Kolar Gold Fields) are the most important producing about 95% of the total.

(c) PETROLEUM.

TABLE No. XXI.

	Production Gallons.
1890	4,132,287
1900	37,729,211
1910	214,829,647
1918	286,585,011 (value more than 1½ crores of rupees.)

The production shows almost continuous increase. Burma is the most important source of supply producing (in 1918) more than 95% of the total. Drilling was begun in Burma in 1887 though wells had been at work there for over a century. India now consumes almost wholly her own production of petroleum, the import from foreign countries being almost negligible. The percentage of Indian oil consumed has increased from 10.7% in 1900-1 to 90.3% in 1918-19. Before the out-break of war 61% of her consumption was of Indian production.

(d) MANGANESE ORE.

This industry commenced in 1892 by quarrying the deposits of the Vizagapattam district but since then richer deposits have been found in the Central Provinces and are yielding large quantities than the Vizagapattam district. C. P. supplies now 438 out of 479 tons of total output of manganese ore. The ore raised in C. P. is of a very high grade ranging from 50 to 54 p.c. of the metal and in consequence of its high quality is able to pay the heavy tax of freight over 500 miles of railway besides the shipment charges to Europe and America; for the whole of the ore is exported to be used primarily in steel manufactures in the United Kingdom, Germany and U. S. A. The following statistics is of importance in this connection.

TABLE No. XXII.

	Production.
	Tons.
1892	.. 674
1900	. 139,265
1918	.. 513,953

The output has decreased since the outbreak of war though the value has slightly increased and it now stands at more than 2 crores of rupees.

(e) SALT.

The statistics of production and import is given below :

TABLE No. XXIII.

	Production.		Import.
	(Millions.)		(Thousands.)
1890	1.0 tons	1885	. 363 tons
1900	.. 1.0 ..	1896	. 328 ..
1910	.. 1.5 ..	1913	... 607 ..
1918	.. 1.8 .. (value 2½ crores of rupees.	1918	... 420 ..

Though the value has increased the output of salt in India remains almost the same while the imports of salt have gone on increasing steadily till before the war and this is disquieting. We ought to be able to supply our own salt.

(f) SALTPETRE.

TABLE No. XXIV.

	Production.
	(thousands.)
1890	210 cwt.
1900	. 230 ..
1910	. 324 ..
1918	. 510 .. (value about 1 crore of rupees.)

Of the total production U. P. supplies about 50%, then comes Punjab and Bihar. Exports have diminished steadily since the end of the last century. This article which was largely produced for export was in former times of much greater importance than now, the diminished demand for gunpowder and for the preservation of food with the competition of the nitrites having operated to prevent an expansion of the exports. But war gave a stimulus to its production and export.

7. PLANTATIONS.

Plantations include tea, coffee, indigo and cinchona as the most important. The capital employed in these industries is chiefly European and the management is also chiefly in European hands. But latterly many tea concerns have been started, managed and financed by Indians. The total area under tea cultivation in 1919-20 is 643,000 acres as compared with 334,825 in 1892-3. The number of persons employed in this industry is about 10 lakhs. The total production is close upon 400 million pounds as against 269 million pounds in 1911. The amount exported was 325 million lbs. in 1918-19 and was valued at about 18 crores of rupees. The number of companies producing tea was 314 incorporated in India and 167 incorporated elsewhere but working in India and the capital (paid up) employed was 6.26 crores by the companies incorporated in India and £17,976,291, paid up capital and £1,838,970 debentures, by companies incorporated elsewhere. But the whole of the capital and debentures of the foreign companies is not probably invested in India. Assam supplies the greatest amount of tea and then comes Bengal. Our chief customers of tea are

United Kingdom who purchased 88% of our total export in 1919-20, then comes Canada, Australasia and U. S. A. Our export of tea has been increasing continuously at a rapid rate. Then come coffee and cinchona plantation, the number of companies engaged in this in 1918-19 was 2 and the paid up capital 4.3 lakhs of rupees. Coffee is chiefly grown in Mysore and the area under coffee cultivation diminished continuously since 1896. Besides these companies there were companies incorporated elsewhere whose number was 5 and their capital was £302,540 paid up and debentures of the value of £740. The export of coffee has not increased much and is liable to fluctuations, sometimes increasing, sometimes decreasing. The amount exported in 1918-19 being 222,360 cwts. of the value of 1.2 crores of rupees. The advent of large supplies of cheap Brazilian coffee in the markets of Europe, by bringing down prices has injured the coffee trade. Indigo trade is declining since 1877 owing to causes already mentioned, although during the last war it received some artificial stimulus which will vanish on the restoration of normal conditions. The crop is most important in Bihar and Madras. The total number of companies besides tea and coffee and cinchona concerns were 40 in 1918-19 employing a capital of 75 lakhs of rupees. Besides these there are 21 concerns not incorporated in India with a paid up capital of £1,045,385 and debentures of the value of £41,775.

* * * * *

I have now passed in review most of the principal manufacturing, planting and mineral industries which have taken root in India and which show signs of healthy development. But the total progress they have made upto this time is not very great. Agriculture yet forms and will always form the most important industry of India. But there is no reason why a greater portion of her population ought not to be diverted from the pursuit of agriculture and take to manufacture or some other industry, thus relieving the pressure on land which certainly, in the present state of agricultural art in India, is great. We find from the census report of 1911 that out of a total population of 313 million in India about 225 millions are employed in agriculture (including forestry and raising of live-stock). This gives a percentage of little less than 72 and in the present absence of importation of food products from outside every Indian gets his subsistence from the produce of $\frac{2}{3}$ acre

of land. Of the total population 244 millions of people residing in British India cultivate among themselves about 200 million acres of land or every cultivator cultivates on the average even less than $\frac{5}{6}$ of an acre and owing to the small holdings of land and crude and inefficient methods of cultivation followed by our peasants the yield per acre in India is much smaller than in European and American countries. So we cannot escape from the fact that there is pressure of population upon the land. Another fact also lends support to this conclusion. We find by experience (as also from reason) that the greater the number of towns and cities in a country and the greater the percentage of population residing in towns and cities, the more are the industries (other than agriculture) of the country developed. But what do we find in the case of India? The number of towns with a population of over 5,000 is 1,546 for the whole of India. In these towns live 27,740,340 people out of a total population of 313 millions. This indicates that only 9% of the people live in towns. Pressure of population upon the land is the most undesirable especially in the case of India which often suffers from famine and scarcity owing to the failure of rains (as yet only 20% of cultivated lands are irrigated in any way). And the greater the number of people engaged in agriculture, the greater will be the number of those who will find their occupation gone in times of famine and scarcity and it is for this reason that it has been said that famine in India means famine more of work and money than of food. Anything therefore which will draw away some portion of the people now wholly depending upon the land will confer a real benefit upon the country and this is done by the development of the manufactures. By exchanging our manufactures for the food products of other countries we can ward off the pressure of population on land. That it has not as yet attained that amount of development which one could have expected is due to various causes among which are the following :

- (a) the inefficiency of Indian labour which is due to his want of education, both general and technical.
- (b) his homesick nature and conservative habits. It has been said of Indian miner that he is to some extent a miner by caprice and in years of

agricultural prosperity the scarcity of labour in much felt.

- (c) Indian capital is naturally shy after all the insecurity and disorders through which the country passed before the advent of British rule and the restoration of peace and order under the British rule has not yet been fully able to overcome this shyness.
- (d) the free-trade and laissez faire policy followed by our foreign government, often too timid to tread new paths.

But it is expected that these causes will disappear in course of time and they are in fact even now disappearing slowly and when once they have disappeared the progress of the country will be quick and rapid. Let us all look forward to the dawning of that bright day in the history of Indian economic development and let every one of us in the meanwhile exert himself to his utmost to bring that day nearer and by doing this we shall be doing real service to the country we all love so well.

RELIGIOUS TOLERATION IN ISLAM.

By SAIYED QASIM HUSAIN, M.A.

It is generally believed that there is no place for religious toleration in Islam, and that it offers only three alternatives—Conversion, Jazia or death. But nothing is so far from truth as this unfounded assertion. If one turns towards the injunctions of the Quran and the actions of the Prophet, which are the basis of the Islamic Law, this misconception will soon be removed. Islam does not sanction unwanton aggressions for the sake of propagating it. It is not responsible for the unrestricted aggrandizement carried on by worldly potentates under the cover of religion. Only wars in self-defence are permitted, which is the birth-right of every individual and nation. The verses of the Quran, dealing with the subject, are not found in one place. They are scattered throughout it. The present writer has collected together all these verses and gives here only those, which throw light on principles. They are put down, just as they are, in order to avoid mis-interpretation and to give a clear idea to the reader.

The Prophet and his followers are ordered by God only to preach their religion, and not to enforce it on the point of sword:—

“Let there be no violence in religion. Now is right direction manifestly distinguished from deceit.”(1)

“If they dispute with thee, say, I have resigned myself unto God, and he who followeth me doth the same: and say unto them who have received the scriptures, and to the ignorant, Do ye profess the religion of Islam? Now if they embrace Islam, they are surely directed; but if they turn their backs, verily unto thee belongeth preaching only; for God regardeth his servants.”(2)

“Obey God, and obey the apostle, and take heed to yourselves: but if ye turn back, know that the duty of our apostle is only to preach public.”(3)

“But if thy Lord had pleased, verily all who are in the earth would have believed in general. Wilt thou therefore forcibly compel men to be true believers?”(4)

“Wherefore invite them to receive the sure faith, and be urgent with them, as thou hast been commanded; and follow not their vain desires: and say, I believe in all the scriptures, which God hath sent down; and I am commanded to establish justice among you: God is our Lord and your Lord: unto us will our works be imputed, and unto you will your works be imputed: let there be no wrangling between

2. Chapter Al Imran, Verse 19, Sale's Tr. page 33.

3. Chapter Mayeda, Verse 91, Sale's Tr. page 84.

4. Chapter Yoonos, Verse 98, Sale's Tr. page 157.

1. Chapter Baqar, Verse 255, Sale's Tr. page 28.

us and you; for God will assemble us all at the last day, and unto Him shall we return.”(5)

“We well know what the unbelievers say, and thou art not sent to compel them forcibly to the faith. Wherefore warn, by the Quran, him who feareth my threatening.”(6)

Now having seen that there is no compulsion in the preaching of Islam, one may note the fact that the Muslims are not disallowed to have good relations with non-Muslims. They are forbidden to fight against those non-Muslim who are peaceful, or who enter into an agreement with them, or who desist from quarrel in regard to religion or who forbear from turning them out of their homeland:—

“And take no friend from among them, nor any helper, except those who go unto a people who are in alliance with you, or those who come unto you, their hearts forbidding them either to fight against their own people. And if God pleased he would have permitted them to have prevailed against you, and they would have fought against you. But if they depart from you, and fight not against you, and offer you peace, God doth not allow you to take or kill them.”(7)

“If they (i.e., those who have remained in Mecca and could not follow the Prophet in his flight to Medina) ask assistance of you on account of religion, it belongeth unto you to give them assistance; except against a people between whom and yourselves there shall be a league subsisting. and God seeth that which ye do.”(8)

“Except such of the idolators with whom ye shall have entered into a league, and who afterwards shall not fail you in any instance, nor assist any other against you. Wherefore perform the covenant which ye shall have made with them, until their time shall be elapsed; for God loveth those who fear him.”(9)

“As to those who have not borne arms against you on account of religion, nor turned you out of your dwellings, God forbiddeth you not, to deal kindly with them, and to behave justly towards them, for God loveth those who act justly.”(10)

The Muslims are allowed to wage war only against those non-Muslims who are warlike and

quarrelsome, or who are deceitful, or who break the agreement, or who prevent them to follow their religion peacefully, or who turn them out of their homeland. They are to take up arms only in self-defence. Even in case of war, they are to take vengeance proportionable to the wrong which they have suffered:—

“And fight for the religion of God against those who fight against you. . . . and kill them wherever ye find them, and turn them out of that whereof they have dispossessed you.”(11)

“As to those who enter into a league with thee, and afterwards violate their league at every convenient opportunity, and fear not God; if thou take them in war, disperse, by making them an example, those who shall come after them, that they may be warned; or if thou apprehend treachery from any people, throw back their league unto them, with like treatment; for God loveth not the treacherous.”(12)

“But if they violate their oaths, after their league, and revile your religion, oppose the leaders of infidelity (for there is no trust in them) that they may desist from treachery.”(13)

“Ye shall find others who are desirous to enter into a confidence with you, and at the same time to preserve a confidence with their own people: so often as they return to sedition, they shall be subverted therein; and if they depart not from you, and offer you peace, and restrain their hands from warring against you, take them and kill them wheresoever ye find them; over these have we granted you a manifest power.”(14)

“But as to those who have borne arms against you on account of religion and have dispossessed you of your habitations and have assisted in dispossessing you, God forbiddeth you to enter into friendship with them: and whosoever of you entereth into friendship with them, those are unjust doers.”(15)

“And fight for the religion of God against those who fight against you, but transgress not for God loveth not the transgressors.”(16)

It seems very incredible that the Prophet in contravention to such clear and unambiguous commands of God would have committed un-

5. Chapter Shoorā, Verse 14, Sale's Tr. page 360.

6. Chapter Qaf, Verse 44, Sale's Tr. page 385.

7. Chapter Nisa, Verse 89, Sale's Tr. page 64.

8. Chapter Anfāl, Verse 71, Sale's Tr. page 133.

9. Chapter Toba, Verse 3, Sale's Tr. page 135.

10. Chapter Mumtahina, Verse 7, Sale's Tr.

page 408.

11. Chapter Baqar, Verse 190, Sale's Tr. page 20.

12. Chapter Anfāl, Verse 55—7, Sale's Tr. pages 131-2.

13. Chapter Toba, Verse 11, Sale's Tr. page 135.

14. Chapter Nisa, Verse 90, Sale's Tr. page 64.

15. Chapter Mumtahina, Verse 8, Sale's Tr. page 408.

16. Chapter Baqar, Verse 189, Sale's Tr. page 20.

warranted violence for the sake of spreading Islam. As the meaning of the word 'Islam' shows, the Prophet had brought a message of peace to mankind and not of bloodshed. War was quite inconsistent with his peaceful mission. Instead of being a persecutor, he himself was persecuted for long by the Koreish. That he was compelled to draw sword in self-defence, which is the natural right of every individual and nation, is abundantly proved by history. As is the lot of every preacher and reformer, his well-meant injunctions were received with an outburst of opposition and persecution from the masses, who exulted in their ignorance and immorality. The earliest converts to Islam were those, who were intimately connected with him. This was a strong proof of the truth of the Prophet's mission, because they were better qualified to judge of his veracity and sincerity. Gradually during the course of three years his preachings drew about fifty enlightened persons from various tribes. The hostility and persecution of the Koreish becoming intolerable, some of the Muslims twice fled to the Christian land of Abyssinia to seek refuge rather than draw sword against their misguided countrymen. Among them were the representatives of the following tribes of the Koreish—the Hashimites, Ommayids, Bani Abd, Shams, Bani Asad, Bani Abd bin Kosayy, Bani Abd-ud-dar, Bani Zohra, Bani Zayim bin Morra, Mukwhumites, Jomahites and the Bani Sahim. When the Meccan envoys arrived in Abyssinia to demand the deliverance of the refugees, the king of the place summoned the exiles and asked them why they should not be sent back to Mecca. Thereupon they gave the following account of their religion and what it had done for the Arabs, "O King, we were plunged in ignorance and barbarism; we worshipped idols; we ate dead bodies; we committed lewdness; disregarded family ties and duties of neighbourhood and hospitality; we knew no law but that of the strong, when God sent us a messenger of whose truthfulness, integrity and innocence we were aware and he called us to the unity of God and taught us not to associate any God with him; he forbade us the worship of idols, and enjoined upon us to speak the truth, to be merciful, and to regard the rights of others; to love our relatives and to protect the weak; to flee vice and avoid all evil. He taught us to offer prayers, to give alms and to keep fasts. And because we believed in him and obeyed him, therefore are

we persecuted and driven from our country to seek thy protection." This speech much impressed the king and his court. Some of the Abyssinians embraced Islam, being enamoured of its excellence and elevated ideals. While his disciples were seeking shelter in distant lands, the Prophet remained steadfast at his post in Mecca. The Koreish now adopted severer measures in order to check his activities. They cut off all social relations and communications with him. The ban lasted for full three years. Still he did not flinch from his duty. He went on preaching to his immediate relatives and, getting greater freedom at the time of fairs and pilgrimages, to the following tribes—Bani Aamar bin Sasaa, Bani Moharib, Bani Hafasa, Bani Zazara, Bani Ghassan, Bani Kalb, Bani Haris, Bani Kab, Bani Ozra, Bani Morra, Bani Hanifa, Bani Soleim, Bani Abs, Bani Nazr, Bani Bakka, Bani Kinda and Bani Khozaimah. The ban having failed in its purpose, the Koreish tried to bribe him so that he may desist from attacking their ancient deities and old institutions. He firmly replied, "Though they array against me the sun on the right hand and the moon on the left, I cannot renounce my purpose." Finding the Koreish obstinate, he went to the city of Zayif. But he found its inhabitants more averse to his preaching than those of Mecca. They pelted him with stones and drove him out of their town. He returned to Mecca in order to carry on the same thankless task with the same firm confidence in its ultimate success. At this time he converted some soothsayers and a party of six or seven persons from Medina. A year after, twelve more persons came from there and accepted Islam. They returned to their city as missionaries of Islam and spread it rapidly from house to house and tribe to tribe. There were many Muslims in Mecca, Medina and Abyssinia at this time, but none of them can be said to have been converted to Islam by compulsion, on the contrary they were much persecuted for embracing it. Becoming hopeless of the Prophet, the Koreish now tried to murder him and to massacre his followers. He and his followers betook themselves for safety to the friendly Medina. For thirteen years the Prophet, with a little band of followers round him, had met insults, menaces and dangers with a high and patient trust in the future. And at last when the promise of safety came from a distant quarter he calmly waited until his followers had all departed and then disappeared from amongst his ungrateful and

rebellious people. The Prophet and his followers had every sanction under natural and international law to wage war against their persecutors with the object of obtaining their civil rights of freedom and religious liberty in their native city. But it was when the matters were driven to extremes and they were turned out of Mecca, that they took up arms against the Koreish. The Prophet had repeatedly warned the Koreish, Jews and the Christians that if they desisted they would be forgiven:—

“But if they desist, then let there be no hostility save against the ungodly.”(17)

“If ye desire a decision of the matter between us, now hath a decision come unto you : and if ye desist from opposing the apostle, it will be better for you.”(18)

“Say unto the unbelievers, that if they desist from opposing thee, what is already past shall be forgiven them; but if they return to attack thee, the exemplary punishment of the former oppressors of the Prophets is already past, and the like shall be inflicted on them.”(19)

“Many of those unto whom the scriptures have been given, desire to render you again unbelievers, after ye have believed; out of envy from their souls, even after the truth is become manifest unto them; but forgive them, and avoid them, till God shall send his command; for God is omnipotent.”(20)

“And thou wilt not cease to discover deceitful practices among them, except a few of them. But forgive them, and pardon them, for God loveth the beneficent.”(21)

But these warnings had no effect on the unbelievers and they did not desist from hostility and persecution. When at last the Muslims were turned out of their native city, God granted them permission to take up arms against their persecutors:—

“And bear good tidings unto the righteous, that God will repel the ill-designs of the infidels from the true believers, for God loveth not every perfidious unbeliever. Permission is granted unto those, who take arms against the unbelievers, for that they have been unjustly persecuted by them: (and God is certainly able to assist them) who have been turned out of their habitations injuriously, and for no other reason

than because they say, Our Lord is God. And if God did not repel the violence of some men by others, verily monasteries, and churches and synagogues and the temples of the Moslems, wherein the name of God is frequently commemorated, would utterly be demolished. And God will certainly assist him who shall be on his side: for God is strong and mighty.”(22)

Thus the above events definitely prove that the Prophet took up arms only in self-defence and not for the sake of aggrandizement. The war being decided upon, it was a question of strategy whether he should wait in Medina and allow the Meccans to collect forces and augment their resources, or whether he should check the progress of the mercantile caravan of the Meccans, which would have given great financial strength to the enemy. Mr. Bluntschili, a modern authority on International Law, holds, “A war undertaken for defensive motives is a defensive war, notwithstanding that it may be militarily offensive.”

Writers have given a long list of the wars of the Prophet. They have been misled by the words ‘Ghazawat’ and ‘Suriya’ and some small skirmishes with the hostile tribes on the way of peaceful expeditions. “Deputations to conclude friendly treaties, missions to preach Islam, embassies to foreign chiefs, mercantile expeditions, pilgrim processions, parties sent to bring information, and forces despatched or led to fight with or check an enemy are all called ‘Ghazawat’, ‘Suriya’ and ‘Ban’ ”.

It was with great reluctance that the Prophet had adopted the inevitable alternative of war. But he tried to mitigate its evils to a large extent. His followers were enjoined “in no case to use deceit or perfidy, or to kill a woman or a child”. They were told “in avenging injuries inflicted upon us, molest not the harmless inmates of domestic seclusion, spare the weakness of the female sex, injure not the infant at the breast or those who are ill in bed. Abstain from demolishing the dwellings of the unresisting inhabitants; destroy not the means of their subsistence, nor their fruit trees, and touch not the palm”.

The state of war with the Meccans was terminated by the treaty of Hodaibia in 6 A.H., some of its terms being as follows:—“that the Muhammadans should not make the pilgrimage

17. Chapter Baqar, Verse 191-2, Sale's Tr. page 20.

18. Chapter Anfal, Verse 18, Sale's Tr. page 127.

19. Chapter Anfal, Verse 37, Sale's Tr. page 129.

20. Chapter Baqar, Verse 103, Sale's Tr. page 13.

21. Chapter Mayeda, Verse 16, Sale's Tr. page 75.

22. Chapter Al Haj, Verse 37-9, Sale's Tr. page 254.

of the Kaba that year; that if any of the infidels (*i.e.*, belonging to Mecca) came to the Prophet to embrace Islam he must be rejected; that if any Muhammadan went to Mecca discarding Islam the non-Muslims of Mecca would not reject him". These terms clearly show that the Prophet was not waging war for the sake of propagating Islam and that he was not averse to live amicably with non-Muslims. His wars were only in self-defence. When life and property of the Muslims were not in danger and they were suffered to follow their faith peacefully, the Prophet gladly seized this opportunity to put a stop to the war, in spite of the fact that the terms of the treaty were unfavourable to Islam and many of his followers were unwilling to accept such humiliating terms.

The greater part of Arabia was closely watching the development of the war. Only when the hostilities were suspended in 6 A.H., attention was paid to the reasonable preachings of Islam. During the course of one year individuals of several tribes of the north and north-east Arabia embraced Islam. These tribes were Bani Khozaa, Bani Ashar Khusain, Dous, Bani Abs, Zobian, Morra, Zezara, Soleims, Ozar, Bali, Juzam, Salaba, Abdul Kays, Bani Tamim, and Bani Asad.

Within two years of the treaty of Hodaibia, peace was again broken by the Koreish, when they attacked the tribe of Bani Khozaa, that had recently embraced Islam. This resulted in the submission of Mecca without any bloodshed because many of its influential and leading inhabitants had already adopted Islam. "Although the city had cheerfully accepted his supremacy", writes Sir W. Muir, "all its inhabitants had not yet embraced his prophetic claim. Perhaps he intended to follow the course he had pursued at Medina, and leave the conversion of the people to be gradually accomplished without compulsion."

As soon as Mecca, the spiritual centre of the non-Muslims, submitted the remaining tribes on the side of the Koreish geographically and genealogically, hastened to adopt Islam during 9 and 10 A. H. Various deputations of tribes anxious to embrace Islam were received by the Prophet in Medina. The tribes were as follows:—Bani Abd-ul-Kays, Bani Ahmas, Bani Anaza, Bani Asad, Bani Asd of Yemen, Bani Azd of Cman, Bani Bahila, Bani Bahra, Bani Bajila, Bani Baka, Bani Bakar bin Wail, Bani Bali, Bani Bariq, Bani Daree, Zarwa, Bani Zezara,

Bani Ghafiq, Bani Ghanim, Bani Ghassan, Bani Hamadan, Bani Hanafa, Bani Haris of Najran, Bani Halib bin Aamir bin Sasaa, Bani Himyar, Bani Jaad, Bani Jaafar bin Kelab bin Rabia, Jeifer bin al Jalandi, Bani Joheina, Bani Jufi, Bani Kalb, Bani Khasam bin Anmar, Bani Khaulan, Bani Kilab, Bani Kinana, Bani Kinda, Bani Mahra, Bani Moharib, Bani Morad, Bani Mohtafiq, Bani Morra, Bani Nakhla, Bani Nohd, Bani Ozra, Bani Raho, Bani Rawasa, Bani Saad Hozeim, Bani Sadif, Bani Sadoads, Bani Sahim, Bani Ghafiq, Bani Ghanim, Bani Ghassan, Bani Sodaa, Bani Zaghlil, Bani Zajeeb, Bani Zay and and Bani Zobaid.

The charter granted to the Christians of Najran and the neighbouring territories is one of the noblest monuments of enlightened tolerance:—"To the Christians of Najran and the neighbouring territories the security of God and the pledge of His Prophet are extended for their lives, their religion and their property—to the present as well as the absent and others besides; there shall be no interference with (the practice of) their faith or their observances; nor any change in their rights or privileges; no bishop shall be removed from his bishopric; nor any monk from his monastery, nor any priest from his priesthood, and they shall continue to enjoy everything great and small as heretofore; no image or cross shall be destroyed; they shall not oppress or be oppressed; they shall not practice the rights of blood vengeance as in the Days of Ignorance; no tithes shall be levied from them nor shall be required to furnish provision for the troops".

It may be asked that if no individual or tribe was converted to Islam by compulsion, then what was the cause of the rapid spread of Islam in the whole of Arabia. The answer is very simple. The Arabs were steeped in idolatry and superstition. Morality had reached its lowest water-mark. Internecine struggles were sapping the very life-blood of Arabia. Serious-minded persons were much distracted at this deplorable state of the country. At this juncture came the Prophet as a deliverer from God. His elevated notions of divine nature and morality, and his injunctions of brotherly love among themselves were welcomed as a boon by the enlightened people at large. As the simple and natural religion of Islam supplied the need of the time, so it was bound to succeed in the long run. Moreover his preachings at fairs and annual pilgrimages,

the good accounts of Islam by travellers and merchants, the propaganda work of missionaries and individual converts in tribes, and, above all, reason fully convinced the Arabs of the excellence and purity of Islam. It was largely during the time of peace, as it has been shown above, that the Arabs were converted to Islam. The wars were not a great incentive to conversion. The Arabs were fond of plunder and internecine struggles. Some of them, of course, joined the Prophet for these reasons. But they were not held in great esteem among the true followers. They were regarded as hypocrites. The sixty-third chapter of the Quran specially deals with them. They seldom

took part in fighting and were always on lookout for plunder. Their patience and sincerity were sorely tried in the battles of Ohad and Honain. It was not for the sake of plunder and aggrandizement that the Prophet took up arms. It was to save Islam from total extinction. It has been clearly shown that all tribal conversions were accomplished without any resort to arms, compulsion or "the scymitar in one hand and the Koran in the other". The pagan Arabs, the Christians and the Jews all embraced Islam cheerfully and voluntarily. The Quran enjoins complete toleration. History nowhere records, the forcible conversion of any individual or tribe by the Prophet.

THE BUDGET, 1923—1924.

By PROF. C. N. VAKIL, M.A., M.Sc. (Econ.) London, F.S.S.

*We have imported an able and experienced financial expert from England in the person of Sir Basil Blackett apparently to help us out of our hopeless financial situation. To smooth the work that he may be expected to do we imported some time earlier Lord Inchcape to preside over the Retrenchment Committee, which finished its labours on the day when the New Finance Member presented his first budget. In spite of this the tale of deficits with which we have been made so familiar is not yet over. Since 1918 there has been a total deficit of 107 crores shown below :—

Year.	Deficit in crores of rupees.
1918-19	6
1919-20	24
1920-21	26
1921-22	27.6
1922-23	Revised estimates 17.5
1923-24	Budget estimates 5.85 (anticipated deficit on the existing basis of taxation).

Commercial Departments and (4) additions to civil expenditure partly on account of high prices and partly on account of the maintenance of unnecessarily large establishments. The following table in which the figures for the first two items are quoted will be enough to show the "rake's progress" which we have been making, in the words of the Finance Member.

Year.	Military services.	Debt services.
	Crores.	Crores.
1913	31.8	1.4
1914	32.7	1.1
1915	35.2	1.1
1916	39.7	1.1
1917	46.0	7.3
1918	70.2	8.1
1919	87.2	13.5
1920	88.2	15.1
1921	77.8	16.0
1922	Revised estimates 72.3	15.1
1923	Budget estimates 62.8	17.2

Chief among the causes of these unparalleled deficits may be mentioned the (1) extraordinary increase in Military expenditure and (2) in interest on unproductive debt; (3) waste in

*Note—This is written on the 12th of March and will appear in the beginning of April, by which time the Budget will have been passed in its final form. The reader is requested to take note of this fact in going through this article.

Both these columns show the legacies of the war to India. The increase in military expenditure may be said to have been directly caused by the war, and by the fact that our army is kept on a war footing and its organisation and equipment as well as its use are determined by Imperial considerations. The increase in the charges on Unproductive Debt is due to the War Gift of 100 million £ which was given in the name of India to the Imperial Exchequer and to the interest charge of $5\frac{1}{2}$ crores in the budget for 1923-24.

(On account of this increasing expenditure and consequent deficits we have had since 1916 various increases in taxation estimated to yield in the aggregate 49 crores of rupees a year. Import duties which could not be increased for the last 60 years on account of the fear of violating Free Trade principles were considerably increased in 1916, 1921, and 1922. The cotton import duty against the imposition of which the bitterest controversies have been raised by Manchester were increased in 1917. Export duties were levied on tea and jute in 1916 and that on the latter was doubled in 1917. Progressive rates have been introduced in the Income Tax in 1916, 1921, and 1922. This has been supplemented by a Super Tax first imposed in 1917, revised in 1920 and increased in 1921 and 1922. This was further supplemented for a year by the Excess Profits Duty in 1919. Taxes were also imposed on the means of communication; we had a surcharge on railway goods traffic in 1917 and again in 1921 and additions to postal rates in 1921 and 1922. Even the poorest of the poor did not escape; the salt duty was increased from Re. 1 per maund to Rs. 1-4 in 1916; it was proposed to double this rate in the last budget; it has again been proposed to double it in the New Budget.

The burden of taxation on the people of India has thus enormously increased. The following table taken from an article on the Incidence of Taxation in India contributed by the present writer to the *Modern Review* for November 1922 will speak for itself.

Incidence of taxation in British India.

Year.	Taxation per head.	Average annual income per head.	Percentage of taxation on average income.
	Rs. A. P.	Rs.	
1871	... 1 13 9	20	9

Year.	Taxation per head.	Average annual income per head.	Percentage of taxation on average income.
	Rs. A. P.	Rs.	
1881	.. 2 2 3	27	8
1891	... 2 3 11	...	...
1901	.. 2 10 2	30	8.8
1911	... 2 13 11	50	5.7
1913	... 3 1 6	..	...
1920	.. 5 0 11	...	...
1922	... 6 4 3	...	...

(Including profits from Commercial Undertakings.)

	Rs. A. P.	Rs.	
1911	.. 3 1 5	50	6
1913	. 3 6 2	...	..
1920	.. 5 4 3	..	...
1922	... 6 7 7	...	...

This table shows that during the years 1913 to 1920, that is during the war period, (including the years of demobilisation etc.) we have an additional taxation of about Rs. 2 per head of population. In the two years following, that is in the first two years of the Reforms, we have a still further addition of more than a rupee of taxation per head of population. The present Incidence of Taxation is more than twice that of the pre-war year. If the real burden of taxation to-day is to be the same as it was in 1913, our average income per head to-day must be about Rs. 110.

The limits of further taxation having been thus approached, or perhaps encroached, the only alternative for the Government was to cut down the alarming increase in their expenditure. The Retrenchment Committee was appointed for this purpose. Though it is not impossible to suggest greater sources of retrenchment than those recommended by the Committee it must be said that the members of the Committee deserve the best thanks of the country for the valuable work done by them in a short time. Without going into the details of their very interesting and useful Report, we shall briefly summarise their main recommendations. The following table compiled from the figures given in the Report of the Committee shows the expenditure under certain heads in 1922 (budget estimates) compared with the corresponding expenditure in 1913 and the reductions proposed by the Committee under each of them.

	Expenditure in 1913-14 lakhs of Rs.	Expenditure in 1922-23 lakhs of Rs.	Proposed Reduction lakhs of Rs.
1. Debt Services (including interest debitable to commercial Depts.) ...	21,24	43,77	---
2. Pensions (including military non-effective charges) ...	8,45	13,14	7
3. Commercial Depts. ...	35,00	79,19	6,05
4. Charges for collection of revenue ...	3,17	5,74	72
5. Civil Administration ...	8,75	14,49	2,19
6. Military Services (effective) ...	27,02	64,47	10,47
7. Payments to Provincial Govts ...	59	63	---
Total ...	104,26	221,45	19,52

This table shows, as the Committee points out, that the expenditure on Debt Services, pensions and payments of Local Governments, amounting in all to Rs. 57½ crores are of an obligatory nature and cannot be reduced immediately. The expenditure on the collection of revenue also cannot be materially reduced for fear of endangering receipts. In connection with the Commercial Departments the Committee has shown the great necessity of reducing working expenses so that the state may receive a return of at least 5½ per cent. on the capital invested in railways. The Committee has also pointed out substantial economies in the Posts and Telegraphs Department. Apart from these items, we see that the only source of retrenchment is to be found in military expenditure and in the cost of civil administration.

Out of this total proposed reduction of 19½ crores allowance has been made for a reduction of 12.3 crores only in the New Budget (5.7 in military expenditure and 6.6 in civil expenditure). The reason assigned for this is that it is not possible to accept all the recommendations of the Committee at once, and that more time must elapse before the necessary adjustments can be made to give effect to them. In spite of the fact that there is an element of truth in this, the Government cannot excuse themselves in this manner. The attitude of the Legislative Assembly in connection with the last budget which left the Government with an uncovered deficit of more than 9 crores was a sufficient notice to the Government to proceed with retrenchment in all directions at once. Instead of this, the Government waited till the last hour for the report of the Committee and did very little themselves to effect reductions

beforehand. This dilatory method on the part of the Government is responsible for a larger deficit (17½ crores instead of 9 crores) in 1922-23 and a further deficit of 5½ crores in 1923-24 on the existing basis of taxation after allowing for a retrenchment of 12.3 crores which is less by 7.2 crores than the retrenchment proposed by the Inchcape Committee. It is evident that had the Government not gone on in the usual extravagant manner, which has characterised their financial administration since the war as every page of the Report of the Retrenchment Committee reveals, since the notice given by the Assembly in March 1922, the position to-day would have been much better than what has been presented to us.

It must be pointed out here that the Reforms must be declared to have been a failure on financial grounds. The Legislative Assembly can do nothing in connection with more than half of the Central Expenditure—namely, that on military services which is not subject to their vote. As shown above in the light of the findings of the Inchcape Committee, the only important source of retrenchment is in military expenditure, which the Committee would like to reduce to 50 crores, which will still be in their opinion more than the Indian taxpayer should be called upon to pay and should therefore be further reduced when conditions are more favourable. The Commander-in-Chief has however accepted the limit of 57 crores and the new budget has not been brought down even to this limit, but provides for a military expenditure of 62.8 crores. So long as this huge expenditure is not brought under the effective control of the people's representatives all talk of a permanent solution of our financial difficulties must be considered to be illusory.

In connection with the proposed increase in Salt Duty, the Finance Member, instead of justifying the proposal on its merits, has tried to appeal to those who are crying for a reduction in provincial contributions. The day when the contributions may be reduced and then abolished will be hastened if the increase in the Salt Duty is agreed to. This looks more like a "rake's argument" and not that of renowned financier. The Salt Duty has for a long time been considered to be the ultimate reserve against all extraordinary emergencies, e.g., a war. The only emergency, rather a chronic one, from which the country is suffering is that of the spending activities of the various depart-

ments of the Government of India, and not one that calls for a sacrifice on the part of the already overburdened taxpayer of this poor country in the form of a sudden increase in the price of an article of daily necessity. It is gratifying to know that up to the time of writing (12th March) the attitude of the members of the Legislature is against this increase in Salt Duty, and it is hoped that the Assembly will rise above its usual timidity on the occasion in the interests of the poor.

As regards the growth of our public debt, the position cannot be described better than in the words of the Finance Member:—"As the results of the deficits of the last few years and of the war, India's debt has grown from a total of 4,11 crores on the 31st March 1914 to an estimated total of 7,81 crores on the 31st March 1923. This figure includes the floating debt and the early maturing debt of which I have already spoken, but it excludes no less than 63 crores of obligations which it is, I find, the practice to treat separately from the debt of India, though as far as I can see these obligations are just as much a part of India's debt as the rest. Taking, however, the figure of 7,81 crores which I have given of the total debt of India on the 31st March 1923, we find that 5,57 crores is classed as productive and 2,24 crores as ordinary or unproductive debt. The proportion of productive to unproductive debt is one which naturally looks strikingly good to any one who thinks of Great Britain's figure of £7,500 millions of debt, all of which has gone in powder and shot. But this comparison must not blind us to the fact that since the 31st March 1914 the total debt has increased by 3,70 crores and the unproductive debt by 2,27 crores, and we must not forget that the yield on that part of our productive debt which is invested in railways has not been sufficient in the last two years to meet the interest charges."

In this connection, the Finance Member refers to the necessity of stimulating the habit of investment in our country. It is certainly true as he points out that if proper efforts are made in this direction our economic situation will be greatly improved. Without elaborating this point it is sufficient to remember that our public debt consists of two parts—the rupee debt and the sterling debt. The former amounts to 4,21 crores of rupees; the latter to £240 millions. This sterling debt represents "a claim on India's production of goods and

services in the future up to the value of the principal together with a further claim on those goods and services for interest during the interval until the principal is paid off." The growth of the habit of investment in our country will be a very desirable corrective to this increasing drain on our goods and services.

In two other important respects, the Budget speech has been a source of disappointment to many. (1) There was a general expectation that the New Finance Member would make some definite announcement regarding the exchange policy of the Government, and that efforts would be made to revert to the old ratio of 1s. 4d. In the opinion of the Finance Member, the time has not yet come for a new attempt to fix the rupee at 1s. 4d. or 1s. 6d. or any other figure. The occupation of German territory by the French, the chaos in Continental Europe; instability of world prices; the fluctuating relation between the sterling and the dollar are among the reasons assigned for this waiting policy. This unconvincing statement has a redeeming feature in this that the Finance Member confesses the great blunder committed in trying to fix the rupee at 2s. in recent years. He observes:—"I need say no more of the attempt that was made to stabilise the rupee at a new or rather at the old, fixed rate of 2 shillings gold in 1920 except that it failed. Looking back, we are able to say that the attempt was an almost impossible one with all the exchanges of the world out of gear, with world prices moving up and then down with unexampled rapidity, and with relative prices as between one commodity and another fluctuating in an unheard of manner."

(2) The other cause of disappointment is the absence of any pronouncement on fiscal policy. This question which has been before the country for some time past and was debated in the Assembly in the middle of February, is not even referred to in the Budget speech. Technically, fiscal policy may be a matter under the charge of the Commerce Member, but the fiscal (tariff) arrangements form a part of the larger financial questions for which the Finance Member is responsible. Both the timid resolution passed by the Assembly on this question in February and the absence of any reference to it in the Budget speech show that the Government want to do little in the direction of helping the industrial development of the country by protective methods.

INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO ENGLISH LITERATURE.

By PROF. AMARNATH JHA, M.A.

In explaining why he undertook to write a history of English literature, Taine emphasised that he was attracted by its "wonderful continuity." Other literatures had their rise and fall, their ebb and tide, their periods of greatness and decadence—but English literature, alone, from the time of Chaucer onwards, has flowed on, like a mighty stream, unimpeded, resistless. Of the place of that literature in European thought and culture much has been said. Writers have, however, failed to see the great significance of the fact that a race, alien in colour, alien in culture, alien in language, alien in inherited traditions, should yet have contributed to the literature of a country separated by a long distance. That, it appears to me, is a spectacle unique in the history of any literature. Joseph Conrad is the only instance of a foreigner who writes English as a native; what are we to say about the numerous inhabitants of this country who are admittedly masters of the English language? This phenomenon, because of its familiarity, does not strike us particularly. But Conrad, after all, is a European; he has racial and cultural affinities with England, and if he has become such a subtle wielder of the English language, there is not much to wonder. Tagore, Arabindo Ghosh, Sarojini Naidu, Toru Dutt, in the front rank, Monomohan Ghosh, Harendranath, Khabardar, Thadani, Shobhec Chandra Dutt, Roby Dutt,—these are names some of which will have to be included in any full and comprehensive account of English literature. Then, again, apart from the uniqueness of the phenomenon, Indian writers have contributed a peculiar quality, a distinctive touch, an indefinable something which those, who have not breathed the air of this land and lived in the midst of its people, can hardly aspire to obtain. Among Indian writers of English naturally the first name that occurs to me is that of Rabindra Nath Tagore. I remember vividly one evening nine years ago, when he came to Allahabad. He had just been awarded the Nobel prize for literature and there was a wide craze about him and his works. I went to listen to his address,

and I who went to scoff remained to admire and respect. For about an hour we heard him spell-bound; his beautiful voice enthralled us; his words went straight to the heart. I like to recall that evening in 1914, as my enthusiasm for his works dated from then. I may say at once that a great deal of the present reaction against him is due to the blunder of his publishers in sending out to the world a great many works of indifferent merit. But those delightful volumes, *Gitanjali*, *Gardner* and *Crescent Moon* will remain unperishable as expressing the deep yearnings of a heart that has felt and has kept watch over man's mortality. In introducing the *Gitanjali*, Mr. W. B. Yeates said that these prose translations have stirred his blood as nothing had for years. The qualities that make those prose poems so touching are an atmosphere of subtle emotions, a wistful longing for one knows not what, a never-ending dream about lands and times that defy definition, a vision of far-off days that leave a vague desire behind, a sense of beauty and colour rarely surpassed, a distinctiveness of language and image which is Indian and which, transcending mere geographical limits, makes a universal appeal. Tagore, consequently, can be sure of a lasting and far-spreading renown, appealing as he does to the primal sympathies of man and to innate feelings and emotions shared by all peoples throughout the world. Who can fail to enter into the spirit of a poem like this:

"On the day when death will knock at thy door, what wilt thou offer to him?

Oh, I will set before my guest the full vessel of my life—I will never let him go with empty hands.

All the sweet vintage of all my autumn days and summer nights, all the yearnings and gleanings of my busy life will I place before him at the close of my days when death will knock at my door."

Or witness the sad optimism of:—

"At this time of my parting, wish me good luck, my friends! The sky is flushed

with the dawn, and my path lies beautiful,

Ask not what I have to take there. I start on my journey with empty hands and expectant heart.

I shall put on my wedding garland, mine is not the red-brown dress of the traveller, and though there are dangers on the way I have no fear in my mind.

The evening star will come out when my voyage is done and the plaintive notes of the twilight melodies struck up from the King's gateway."

In these and other poems on death, the poet speaks without fear and trembling. He loves life, the joy of mere living; he is pleased with the good things of the world; he likes the company of friends, he loves to hear the melody of the earth, to taste the chequered joys and sorrows of human existence; but he is not afraid of death. He looks forward to it, but there is no whining, he does not complain. The time has come for him to quit the scene of his earthly labours; life's fruition is death; life must end; that is all. The rest is silence.

Of all Tagore's poems, those on childhood and children are most natural and affecting. The innocent prattle of the child, beneath which there is philosophy too deep for those who dwell within the prison house, the questions that the parent cannot answer, the unthinking, uncalculating love for the mother, the genuine sympathy for all living creatures, sorrowing in their sorrow, delighting in their delight, quaint images and thoughts that are the privilege of the child alone,—these have found adequate and final expression in Tagore's *Crescent Moon*. The poetry of childhood in all English literature is exceedingly limited. Stevenson, Hood, George Eliot, Patmore—you mention these and you have mentioned almost all those whose poems on children can be taken into consideration. For this reason if for no other, Tagore deserves well of scholars of English. In his *Crescent Moon* he has succeeded remarkably in portraying the existence of the child. His infinite imagination, his ignorance of physical limitations, his pathetic cry for the moon and the stars, the glory of his innocence, the might of his importance, the the humour of his ambitious resolves, the affinity which he feels with clouds and flowers, the sense of oneness with sunlight, sky and earth, all these universal features of the child have for almost the first time found expression in English

literature. In that otherwise full literature you will look in vain for the infinite pathos of the following:—

"It is time for me to go, mother; I am going. When in the paling darkness of the lonely dawn you stretch out your arms for your baby in the bed, I shall say, "Baby is not there." Mother, I am going.

I shall become a delicate draught of air and caress you; and I shall be ripples in the water when you bathe, and kiss you and kiss you again.

In the gusty night when the rain patters on the leaves you will hear my whisper in your bed, and my laughter will flash with the lightning through the open window into your room.

If you lie awake thinking of your baby till late into the night, I shall sing to you from the stars, "Sleep, Mother, Sleep."

On the straying moon beams I shall steal over your bed, and lie upon your bosom while you sleep.

I shall become a dream, and through the little opening of your eyelids I shall slip into the depths of your sleep; and when you wake up and look round startled, like a twinkling firefly I shall flit out into the darkness.

When on the great festival of *pūja*, the neighbours' children come and play about the house, I shall melt into the music of the flute and throb in your heart all day.

Dear auntie will come with *pūja* presents and will ask, "where is our baby, sister?" Mother, you will tell her softly, "He is in the pupils of my eyes, he is in my eyes, he is in my body and and in my soul."

(Or listen next to the exquisite simplicity and beauty of thought and sense of oneness with all nature of this:—

"Supposing I became a *Champa* flower, just for fun, and grew on a branch high up that tree, and shook in the wind, with laughter and danced upon the newly budded leaves, would you know me, Mother? "

You would call, "Baby, where are you!" and I should laugh to myself and keep quite quiet. I should slyly open my petals and watch you at your work.

When after your bath, with wet hair spread
on your shoulder you walked through
the shadow of the *Champa* tree, you
would notice the scent of the flower,
but not know that it came from me.

When after the midday meal you sat at the
window reading *Ramayana* and the
tree's shadow fell over your hair and
your lap, I should fling my wee little
shadow on to the page of your book,
just where you were reading.

But would you guess that it was the tiny
shadows of your little child?

When in the evening you went to the cow-
shed with the lighted lamp in your hand,
I should suddenly drop on to the earth
again and be again your own baby once
more, and beg you to tell me a story.

"Where have you been, you naughty
child?"

"I won't tell you, mother;" that's what
you and I would say then.

While reviewing Mr. Earnest Rhys' biography of Tagore, Mr. J. C. Squire remarked that the only slightly moist bones of the translations reveal a gentle and sensitive spirit, but very little more, and he went on to say that the Indian writer's reputation is founded on nothing more than a mystical bag of tricks and what has been described as a blue beard. Another critic wrote that latterly Tagore had become the unconscious parodist of his own style. It is unfortunately true that there has been a lamentable falling off from the fragrant charm of the *Gardener* and *Gitanjali*. But his latest volume of poems, *The Fugitive*, is a welcome proof of the fact that the master's hand has not lost its cunning, that the notes still sound loud and true, that the inspiration continues. The usual merits of his poetry and the usual defects are still present; haunting melody, subtle suggestiveness, and withal elemental simplicity on the one hand and on the other a mysticism which heretics declare is a synonym for obscurity. His admirers that insist too much on his mysticism do him an injustice. Mysticism after all is only a phase and a poet can no more remain mystical throughout than a philosopher in a constant state of trance, and while it is true Tagore has affinities with Crashaw, Blake and Herbert, the other important aspects of his art need not therefore be ignored. One brief passage will show that mysticism does not exhaust his work:

"The world throbs with youthful pain at
the glance of your eyes, the ascetic lays
the fruit of his austerities at your feet,
the song of poets hum and swarm round
the perfume of your presence.

Your feet, as in careless joy they flit on,
wound even the heart of the hollow
wind with the tinkle of golden bells."

The blindness of love and the lover's despairing hopes and his efforts to stifle memory are well brought out in these lines:

"The roses are still in bud, they do not yet
know how we neglect to gather flowers
this summer. The morning star has the
same palpitating hush; the early light is
enmeshed in the branches that overbrow
your window as in those other days. That
times are changed, I forgot for a little and
have come. I forget if you ever shamed
me by looking away when I bared my
heart. I only remember the words that
stranded on the tremor of your lips; I
remember in your dark eyes sweeping
shadows of passion like the wings of a
home-seeking bird in the dusk. I forget
that you do not remember and I come."

That is true poetry, and after gems like these who can say that the fount of inspiration in Tagore has run dry?

* * * *

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu is the next singer of note. She is the author of three books, the *Golden Threshold*, *Bird of Time*, and *Broken Wing*. In all her poems she seems to have been brought into contact with grief; she has known the pangs of sorrow and also the joys of patience and consolation. Her golden dreams have been shattered, but those that still remain are of such stuff as realities are made of. In the song on Spring she says that alternate pain and happiness is the order of the world; at one moment we find the young lamb bound as to the tabor's sound, at another it falls headlong into the yawning pit. Who can know man's inmost thoughts? Who can fathom his heart's depths? When knowledge is not, how can sympathy be? The wild bees that, amorous, cling to the mango-blossom; the wild birds that, in the intoxication of spring, dance merrily on branches, the fireflies that joyously circle round and round; what can *these* know of a widow's sadness, what do these, in their selfishness, care for the wound in her heart? The wise winds, not only omnipresent, but also omniscient, know the

state of her heart; they slacken their speed for a moment to ponder awhile on the everlasting mystery. They know the endless secret of love and the sorrow of human souls; with death they are acquainted; they see the sunlight; their lips have tested the purple sea. The winds that blow alike over hill and dale and prince and peasant know the human heart. In her *Ecstasy*, she says, wake up, O my heart, the springtime is abroad, the *koils* have begun singing their pæans. The bright rivers and rills run on merrily; the graceful peacocks dance. Let me not mar the effect by a discordant note; let me forget my grief at the universal festival. Let me for a moment borrow the happiness of the trees and flowers, the birds and rivers; let me sing now, for to-day it is spring.

"Springtime, O Springtime, what is your essence,

The lilt of a bulbul, the laugh of a rose,
The dance of the dew on the wings of a moonbeam,

The voice of a zephyr that sings as he goes,
The hope of a bride, or the dream of a maiden

Watching the petals of gladness uncloset
Springtime, O Springtime, what is your secret,

The bliss at the core of your magical mirth,
That quickens the pulse of the morning to wonder,

And hastens the seeds of all beauty to birth,
That captures the heavens and conquers to blossom

The roots of delight in the heart of the earth?"

The magic of Spring is so potent that, although the heart is buried within its grave, yet the sight of the *Kuishuks* bursting into dazzling flower, of the palm groves shining with the oriole's wing, of the *koil's* singing—these make the dead heart leap up and ask "Is it the Spring, the Spring?" There are many other poems by Mrs. Naidu on the spring, but these are sufficient to bring out the various Indian points of view—the deep-seated dejection of the lonely widow, the exuberant lightness of spirit of the young maid, the gladness of the vernal woods. Mrs. Naidu excels also in love-poetry. She says in her Indian Love Song, that love is blind; he reck not of caste or creed or family feud or clannish discord. "O love," the young man cries, "lift up the veils that darken the delicate moon of thy glory and grace. The smell of thy tresses

makes me mad and the song of thy anklets' caprice makes my soul athirsty. Let the magical nectar dwelling in the flower of thy kiss revive me." But the young maid remembers that the co-religionists of the youth had profaned the law of her father's creed, breaking their sacred altars and slaughtering their sacred kine. How shall she yield to the voice of her lover? What, however, does faithful love care for the memory of ancient wrongs? What do we care for our people, the man replies? The sins of my kinsmen and the hatred of thy fore-fathers need not sever us. The bells of the temple, the cry of the muezzin from the minaret, these sound alike him that loves.

In the song of the *Papeeha*, Mrs. Naidu has touched a tender note which she misses in many others of her poems. Only persons steeped in the atmosphere of this country can fully appreciate its spirit. The widow says, my loveless lot is to be pitied, O *Papeeha*. Why do you sing to me of your love? Why do you dance and laugh in my presence? Why must you bring back to my memory scenes long past, other days when I was merry even as you. But now, all is altered. The beauty of blossom and shower, O *Papeeha*, the beauty of the tender boughs that flower on the plain, the beauty of the quivering mango-leaves, these avail me no more; these bring not my lover back to me. Why must you go on telling me of your love? I hear the *koil's* enchanting notes. I note the bright peacock dancing with expectation; I can hear the calling of the bulbul and the dove. But what are these to me, forsaken of my lord? It is in moments such as these described by the poet, when we see nature—smiling with verdant purity—when the merry songs of the birds jar on our ears, when the joyous stream and dancing twigs tell a different tale, it is in such moments that fell doubt enters our soul, a depression and despair seize us, and we begin to ask whether after all God and Nature are not at strife, for it is only He who is stricken that feels the grief?

Mrs. Naidu's Rajput Love Song in its exquisite word-painting is unique and deserves better fate than bald prose analysis:—

Parvati (at her lattice):

"O Love! were you a basil-wreath to twine
among my tresses

A jewelled clasp of shining gold to bind
around my sleeve,

O Love! were the *Kecora's* soul that haunts
my silken raiment,

A bright vermilion tassel in the girdles that
I weave;

O Love! were you the scented fan that lies
upon my pillow,

A sandal lute, or silver lamp that burns
before my shrine

Why should I fear the jealous dawn that
spreads with cruel laughter,

Sad veils of separation between your face
and mine?"

Amar Singh (at the saddle):

"O Love were you the hooded hawk upon
my hand that flutters

Its collar band of gleaming bells atinkle as
I ride,

O Love were you a turban-spray or floating
heron feather,

The radiant, swift, unconquered sword that
swingeth at my side

O Love were you a shield against the arrows
of my foemen,

An amulet of jade against the perils of the
way,

How should the drum beats of the dawn
divide me from your bosom,

Or the union of the midnight be ended with
the day?"

This must suffice to indicate the perfection of Mrs. Naidu's technical skill. It is probably true that of poetical feeling of the highest order there is not much; but as a word-artist, as a master of melodious verse, her place is undoubtedly high. It was Edmund Gosse who said that she is the most brilliant, the most original, as well as the most correct of all the natives of Hindustan who have written in English. Sarojini Naidu realises intellectually the existence of gladness and joy in the world and rejoices in the joys of others; for herself she feels that the early fragrance is no more; the night of sorrow has fallen for her, but already, in the distance she catches gleams of a morning that shall be brighter and happier.

* * * * *

It is a natural transition from Mrs. Naidu to another poetess who is an instance of the promise of unfulfilled renown. Her singing course was run in one and twenty years and yet in that brief span she touched dark spots that she made luminous. Toru Dutt belonged to a talented family and possessed the true poetic gift. Her *Sheaf gleaned from the French Fields and Legends and Ballads of Hindustan* will ever remind us of a genius that might have scaled great heights had the Fates been less cruel. The

fragments that we possess are like the toso of a Greek God—incapable of indicating the true beauty of the whole. But her *Jogadhya Uma* and *Our Casuarinea Tree* will find an honourable place in all accounts of Indian poetry.

The Bengalees, highly sensitive and emotional as they are, have produced a considerable quantity of English verse. Much has been written about the talented Dutt family—Rajnarain, Hurchunder, Govinchunder, Omeshchunder and Sosheechunder. Their work is profuse and demands separate treatment. Of the others Maharaja Sir Jotindra Mohan Tagore, who lived within living memory, wrote some good English poems. Here is his Rajput Soldier's Farewell:

"Adieu! 'tis time for me to part,

While yet from bondage free,

While yet I may persuade my heart

To bid farewell to thee, dear love! to
bid farewell to thee!

Now sounds the *nagara* loud and deep,

To war it turns my mind,

I go where duty calls, nor weep

To leave thee here behind, dear love! to
leave thee here behind

Once more, farewell! If gracious Rama

But spare this life of mine,

For every pain I'll find a balm

On those sweet lips of thine, dear love!
on those sweet lips of thine.

But if remorseless death should dart

The cruel shaft at me,

Though hence my spirit should depart,

It still should pray for thee, dear love!
it still should pray for thee."

Monmohan Ghosh, a brilliant Oxford classicist, who was associated with Lawrence Benyon and Newbolt and Stephen Phillips has not had his poems collected together, except in one little volume of forty pages, published in 1898 by Elkin Mathews. He is however a singer of great merit and as Mr. T. O. D. Dunn puts it 'an exquisite artist.' "There is in his poetry a subtler melody and a more convincing exhibition of technical skill" than have yet appeared in Indian poetry. There is not, if I may say so, much distinctly Indian. Whenever he sings he is original, in his verse, in his style, in his imagery, he borrows not. He has been, for instance, the only one to sing of the attractions of London:—

"Stunned with the fresh thunder, the harsh
delightful noises,

I move entranced on the thronging
 pavement. How sweet
 To eyes sated with green, the dusky brick-
 walled street !
 And the love spirit, of self so weary, how
 it rejoices
 To be lost in others bathed in the tones of
 human voices
 And feel hurried along the happy tread of
 feet.
 And a sense of vast sympathy my heart
 almost crazes,
 The warmth of kindred hearts in thousands
 beating with mine.
 Each fresh face, each figure, my spirit
 drinks like wine,
 Thousands endlessly passing, violets,
 daisies, daisies,
 What is your charm to the passionate charm
 of faces,
 This ravishing reality, this earthliness
 divine ?
 O murmur of men more sweet than all the
 wood's caresses,
 How sweet only to be an unknown leaf that
 sings
 In the forst of life ! Cease, nature, thy
 whisperings,
 Can I talk with leaves or fall in love with
 breezes ?
 Beautiful boughs, your shade not a human
 pang appeases,
 This is London, I lie, and twine in the
 root of things."

From the pseudo-nature-worship of Words-
 worth's followers, and the ruling idealism of
 the aesthetic schools, this healthy interest in
 man and human concerns is a welcome note.
 In other poems of his, too, Monmohan Ghosh
 strikes a note of his own.

His more brilliant brother, Aurobindo Ghosh,
 is a poet, too. He, I think, is the only Indian
 that has attained proficiency in blank verse.
 Some of his lines have a Miltonic ring :

"And all the lonely uselessness of pain",
 Or
 "With overwhelming sweetness miserable",
 Or
 "Tears and dumb bitterness and pain
 unpitied".

His descriptive power is great. Here is his
 description of *Patala*, Hell :

"Hopeless Patala, the immutable
 Country, where neither sun nor rain arrives,

Nor happy labour of the human plough
 Fruitfully turns the soil, but in vague sands
 And indeterminable strange rocks and
 caverns
 That into silent blackness huge recede,
 Dwell the great serpent and his hosts,
 writhed forms,
 Sinuous, abhorred, through many
 horrible leagues
 Coiling in a half darkness. Shapes he saw,
 And heard the hiss, and knew the lambent
 light
 Loathsome, but passed compelling his
 strong soul.
 At last through those six tired, hopeless
 worlds,
 Too hopeless far for grief, pale he arrived
 Into a nether air by anguish moved ;
 And heard before him cries that pierced
 the heart,
 Human, not to be borne, and issued shaken
 By the great river accursed. Maddened
 it ran
 Anguished, importunate, and in its waves
 The drifting ghosts their agony endured."

* * * * *

Of other Bengali writers, whether of this or a
 past generation I cannot speak here ; Romesh
 Chandra Dutt would perhaps have attained to
 poetical eminence if he had not been attracted
 by so many other interests, Roby Dutt died
 an early and violent death which cut short a
 career of unusual brilliance and promise. But
 there is one young Bengali writer whom I shall
 just mention. Writing in the *Arya* a few years
 ago, the sage of Pondicherry who has early
 retired into his tent and who occasionally
 emerges with thought-laden messages, said,
 referring to Harindranath Chattopodhyaya,
 "Here perhaps are the beginnings of a supreme
 utterance of the Indian soul in the rhythms of
 the English tongue. The genius, power,
 newness of the poetry is evident. We may well
 hope to find in him a supreme singer of the
 vision of God in nature and life and the
 meeting of the divine and the human which
 must be at first the most vivifying and liberating
 past of India's message to a humanity that is
 now touched everywhere by a growing will for
 the spiritualising of the earth existence." I
 feel that in him we have a great singer, thought
 and melody are closely linked in his verse. He
 has not been spoilt by the tributes which so
 early were paid to him ; he has not rested on

"To thee we owe those gorgeous rites,
Those bright illumined nights,
Those long processions, grave yet gay,
With solemn splendour, sad array
And mournful music, sober show,
And shouts of joy and screams of woe,
And drooping banners slowly borne,
And chargers with their trappings torn,
And tinsel structures richly dight
And murmur'd dirge and mimic fight,
Which still adorn thy annual feast,
Thou gayest city of the East!"

The other gentleman to whom I refer is Mr. Seshadri. He also derives inspiration from history and particularly Rajput and Moghal history. He has specialised in the Sonnet and within the scanty limits of that form has acquired great facility. This is how he verifies a well-known historic incident.

"The Rathore Jaswant Singh retreating came
From field of battle, through the live long day
His men had fought against the mailed array
Of Delhi's teeming Moslem hordes, aflame
With wrath; they fought as men of Rajput

name
And birth alone could fight and hundreds lay
Along the banks of Nerbudda, away
From where their offspring played the
childish game

And women kept their daily vigil sad,
For warrior sons and husbands doomed to
death

But all in vain—and when with weary breath
Defeated Jaswant came, his consort bade
The gates be closed against him, for she said,
A Rajput comes victorious or dead!"

That concludes the long and not inglorious roll of Indians who have poured forth their heart's utterance in an alien tongue.

It is not possible in this paper to deal even cursorily with the works of some Anglo-Indians whose productions cannot by any means be lightly set aside. We may imagine that the Englishmen in India asked themselves the question which of old the Jews put, "How shall we sing in a strange land?" and the answer that they made determined the main note of their song. I shall merely quote a few specimens. The question that arises naturally is, How is it that the majority of these poems are light and frivolous in tone? It would, I think, be a great blunder to imagine that because there is rollicking good humour, there is therefore no touch of sadness and pathos which after all, in all literature, form

the chief charm of poetry. The works of Bishop Heber, Sir William Jones, and Kipling are too well-known to need here more than a passing mention. One of the most obscure was a Eurasian Henry Derozio who looked upon himself as an Indian, and India's subordinate position is thus sorrowfully referred to by him.

"My country, in thy day of glory past
A beauteous halo circled round thy brow;
And worshipped as a deity thou wast;—
Where is that glory, where that reverence
now?"

The eagle pinion is chained down at last,
And grovelling in the lowly dust art thou;
The minstrel hath no wreath to wreath
for thee

Save the sad story of thy misery.
Well let me dive into the depths of time,
And bring from out the ages that have rolled
A few small fragments of those wrecks
sublime

Which human eye may never more behold;
And let the guerdon of my labour be,
My fallen country, one kind word for thee."

It was Sir Alfred Lyall who expressed the feeling of most Anglo-Indians in his splendid poem, *The Land of Regrets*:—

"Thou hast racked him with duns and
diseases,

And he lies as thy scorching winds blow,
Recollecting old England's sea breezes
On his back in a lone bungalow;
At the slow coming darkness repining,
How he girds at the sun till it sets,
As he marks the long shadows declining
In the Land of Regrets"

Let him cry, as thy blue devils seize him,
O step-mother, careless as Fate,
He may strive from thy bonds to relieve him,
Thou has passed him his sentence—Too Late;
He has found what a blunder his youth is,
His prime what a struggle, and yet
Has to learn of old age what the truth is
In the Land of Regrets."

Kipling even more bitterly and yet not complainingly says:

"By the brand upon my shoulder, by the
gall of clinging steel,
By the welt the whips have left me, by
the scars that never heal,
My eyes grown old with staring through
the sun-wash on the brine
I am paid in full for service—would that
service still were mine"

Speaking of Kipling, I may say that his well-known lines on East and West scarcely do him justice, for those lines are followed by the unexceptionable sentiment:

There is neither East nor West, Border
nor Breed, nor Birth,
When two strong men stand face to face, tho'
they come from the ends of the Earth.—

I concluded my list of Indian poets with U. P., I would similarly finish the Anglo-Indian list by referring to Mr. A. G. Shineff, a civilian of this province. He is the author of two or three volumes of verses. He has the gift of humour and of translation. Here is a verse which unfortunates like myself who have often to travel on the B. N. W. R. would readily appreciate:

"To-night no dainty songs there are
My dolorous way to cheer;
And on the B.N.W.R.
No ear could hope to hear
Aught but its wild career
The grones of cars that lurch and fight,
That jump and bump from left to right,
The screech of the rusty brake,
Are not such sounds as waked delight
Upon the Surha lake."

Some of Mr. Shineff's sonnets are good. I especially commend the one, in the octave of which the question is asked if there can be any song of love, of life, of death, so long as it is not the love of the lover for the beloved or the husband for the wife and so long as hearts are not broken and faded flowers and discarded gloves are not preserved in sacred veneration.

And here the answer is made:

"Ay, for there is a better way than these,
We all have held in fee one woman's heart:
Have all been pillowed on one woman's
breast:
Have knelt and worshipped at one woman's
knees.—
A mother's. If this be the only part
We have learnt of women's love, it is the
best."

In this paper I have attempted merely to introduce you to a neglected realm of gold; criticism and interpretation must be left over for future treatment. The specimens that I have so mercilessly made should convince you that India has been materially adding to the stock of English poetry. What form this contribution will in future assume, who shall say? Who shall calculate the direction of genius? 'Round him are icy rocks' Perhaps India may yet produce a writer who will write the language of Shakespeare with such skill and power and glory that he may justly pray with the Bengali bard:

"Let all the strains of joy mingle in my last
song, the joy that makes the earth flow
over in the riotous excess of the grass,
the joy that sets the twin brothers, life
and death, dancing over the wide world,
the joy that sweeps in with the tempest,
shaking and waking all life with
laughter, the joy that sits still with its
tears on the open red lotus of pain, and
the joy that throws everything it has
upon the dust, and knows not a word."

HINDRANCES TO ACCURATE REASONING*.

By PROF. W. OWSTON SMITH.

"Listen to the ordinary conversation of the proverbial 'man in the street.' Confusion of ideas, catch-words and cant phrases in place of reasoned conclusions, generalizations from glaringly insufficient data, half thought-out propositions, non-sequences in argument, many sided ignorance—these are among its characteristics." (*Manuscripts of God* 114.)

These words taken from a book recently published by a friend of mine may serve as a text to introduce what I want to say. They closely resemble another passage in an article written by myself some years ago. "The chief defects in our reasoning seem to be (a) the use of unproved and unprovable statements as premises, (b) the use of a word in two or more different senses in the same argument, (c) the acceptance of that part of the conclusion which serves our purpose and the rejection of that part which does not, (d) confusion of thought leading us to draw from our premises conclusions which they do not support."

These two passages seem to impugn either the intelligence or the honesty of the ordinary educated man. Men are supposed to be rational beings. Animals, on the other hand, are guided by instinct. They act in the same way under the same circumstances whether in 1800 or in 1900. One wolf is exactly like another wolf in habits. Primitive man ruled by custom is nearly in the same condition. He does a thing because his ancestors have always done it and it is assumed that it is necessary and inevitable. Any other course of conduct is unthinkable. He is usually successful in his little round of activities, though perhaps inferior in efficiency to spiders and bees. As Goldsmith says "the wisdom of the ignorant somewhat resembles the instinct of animals: it is diffused in but a very narrow sphere, but within that circle it acts with vigour, uniformity and success." With the progress of civilization however man's life becomes infinitely more complex and his activities more varied. He must learn new subjects and adapt himself

to new conditions. Hence the need of education and of reasoning.

If my opening quotation contains a statement of fact let us inquire into the cause and cure. What are the reasons why we cannot reason? :—

1. Ignorance or prejudice leading to mis-statements of facts.
2. The vagueness of language owing to which many statements, true in one sense, are untrue or meaningless in others.
3. Want of logic or inability to draw the right conclusions from facts.
4. Want of desire to reach the right conclusion.

I once attended a course of lectures by Dr. McTaggart the well-known Hegelian. He complained in his opening address that most people feel competent to pronounce opinions on philosophical subjects without having studied philosophy, and probably without knowing that what they say has any connection with philosophy. However if this be true the philosopher is not the only sufferer. In the fields of religion, economics, politics and history, in all subjects which have to do with the study of man, opinions are confidently expressed by those who have never given time to study. The very ideas that a knowledge of facts is necessary and that it can only be gained by a series of observations, inquiries, comparisons and measurements carried out under difficulties, seem to be comparatively new. In the middle ages in Europe reasoning was almost always based on authority never on observation or experiment. If allegations of fact were brought in it was by way of illustration not of proof. Facts were the ornaments and not the foundation of the argument. The differences between a fact and a non-fact, or a fact and an opinion, or a fact and a metaphor, thus became obscured. For instance if it were desired to know what was the height of Mont Blanc or the distance from Rome to Paris or the shape of the earth these questions were solved not by examination or measurement

*A speech delivered by Professor Owston Smith of the Patna College in the meeting at the Bihar Young Men's Institute held on the 21st December and presided over by Justice Sir B. K. Mullick.

but by quotations from ancient books written on totally different subjects by people who had never seen Mont Blanc or Paris, and commentaries upon them by other people in like case. Those who have read the works of some of the ablest medieval controversialists on the subject of the authority of the Pope, will be familiar with the kind of argument used. The refutation of these arguments, as Pollock says, was only a little less grotesque than the arguments themselves.

As a writer in the *Cambridge History of India* tells us:—

“To be interested in a fact as such, to care so much about its precise individual character as to examine and verify and try to get its real contours, to value hypothesis only so far as it can be substantiated by reference to objective truth these are the motives behind modern Western Science; and a disinterested intellectual curiosity in the facts of the outside world has actually helped to give the West a power to modify and control that world for practical uses never before possessed by man. It was the beginning of this interest in the facts of the world, the desire to see things as they really were, which marked ancient Greek culture, as expressed in its writings and its art.” Mr. Bevan contrasts this “lively curiosity as to the facts of the Universe” with “that movement of the spirit, exemplified in the sages of India and in the piety of medieval Europe which seeks to flee from the many to the one.”

This intellectual and physical activity, the desire to know all that can be known, to do all that can be done, to visit every place that that can possibly be reached tends to the development of all the powers of body and mind to their highest degree and in their greatest variety. It leads to that apparently purposeless activity and that seeming absorption in what can be perceived by the senses and comprehended by the mind which is the mark of Englishmen and Americans. It is the foundation of what we call “Western Materialism.”

“The motive of intellectual curiosity just described, the critical scientific temper, has never been exhibited in complete purity. It is all a question of more or less. The Greeks had it more than any previous people; the modern man of Science has it more than the Greeks; but not even the modern man of Science has so far reduced all the other elements of human

nature to their proper place, as to make his curiosity absolutely disinterested or his criticism impeccably scientific. In the case of the ancient Greeks, scientific curiosity was constantly being interfered with and thwarted by another interest which was strong in them, the love of literary form, the delight in logical expression.” The more a branch of study leans towards literature the less scientific it is likely to be. Many writers sacrifice truth to an epigram. The most accurate histories are generally the dullest, though the converse is not always true. For an example of this compare the first volume of the *Cambridge History of India* or Vincent Smith's *Ancient India* with the hysterics and heroics of semi-historical biographies of Shivaji, or magazine articles on the imaginary glories of the past. Macaulay can be fairly accused of attaching more importance to well-balanced sentences than to meticulous impartiality. We even hear of a French writer who called the Roman Senate an assembly of *deux cents rois*, 200 kings. Really there were more than 300 but he did not like the assonance of *trois-cents rois*, and you can imagine the literary effect of pedantic accuracy, such as ‘304 kings.’

If we are willing to take the necessary trouble to ascertain the facts, and all the facts we must also have sufficient intellectual acuteness and honesty to follow them where they lead us and to understand them well enough to draw logical conclusions. There is an interesting note in the first volume of the Calcutta University Commission Report (chap. 13) p. 392. A young Indian graduate says: “If you had explained to me ever so much I should not have understood the spirit of the thing before I went to Oxford. I learnt from my tutor at Oxford—not altogether from him but largely from him, and by seeing what he was, rather than by hearing what he said, two or three things which are not in the syllabus but are worth far more than any amount of mere information. First a scrupulous regard for the truth as truth, the feeling that one should not be slipshod in seeking or expressing it. Secondly intellectual sincerity, the readiness to be blown by the wind of Reason into whatever port it pleases. Thirdly the supreme value of independent thought and judgment.” Before I came to India I once said to a Fellow of a Southern University “I am afraid that Indian students will be content with learning (perhaps

merely memorizing) the facts of history and will not make great efforts to understand them." His strange reply was "You will be very lucky if you can get them to understand what a fact is."

These words apply specially to the uneducated or half educated or to those who are in process of getting their education. But after all these are the great majority and in modern times the policy of a great State may be controlled by their opinions. Is it practicable to teach the mass of mankind to reason, to give such an education as will fit the ordinary man to take part in public affairs or to succeed in public affairs or to succeed in manufacture and commerce.

All learning should tend to train and develop the mind but some subjects are supposed to have special value in teaching us to reason. Of these Logic and Mathematics are often regarded as alternatives and appear as optional subjects for some examinations. Mathematics is called an exact science and a practical subject, and as such has found favour with eminent utilitarians such as Napoleon and Peter the Great. But in proportion as Mathematics is exact I think that it is not practical because nothing in this world is exact. We are not surrounded by plane surfaces and rigid bodies. The earth is not a perfect sphere and it is not easy to find a straight line. If the horizon on the sea is almost a perfect circle, if a crystal is a perfect hexagon or some other perfect figure, if a ray of light is perfectly straight, that does not help us much. The most important argument in the world are not about rays of light or perfect hexagons but about men, and men are neither perfect nor straight.

"A circle is a plane figure contained by a line traced out by a point which moves so that its distance from a certain fixed point is always the same." This is a definition which we must humbly accept without argument. Some axioms are assumed and we must admit them. A well-known 'Geometry' used in schools begins as follows:—"All mathematical reasoning is founded on certain simple principles, the truth of which is so self-evident that they are accepted without proof. These self-evident truths are called Axioms. For instance: 'Things which are equal to the same thing are equal to one another' or 'two straight lines cannot enclose a space.' " In real life there are no axioms and it is an almost insoluble problem

to make a definition. Demand for definition brings any argument to an end, and yet there can be no reasoning if we do not know what we are talking about. The demand is only defensive armour and it is not of much use in an attack.

The method of Socrates illustrates what I mean. "Definition" says Dunning, "is notoriously the most difficult task of the trained thinker; the demand for it from the ordinary or the immature mind, or even from the superior and cultivated mind, suddenly and with premeditated craft could only have the ludicrous results in which Socrates found such delight. But when Plato in the Republic puts words into the mouth of Socrates and endeavours to give his own definition of Justice, I cannot think him very successful, "Ought we not," he says, "like some huntsmen, to surround the thicket carefully, attending lest 'Justice' somehow escape, and, disappearing remain undiscovered. For it is plain that she is somewhere here." After all the efforts of the disputants a miserable little definition rewards their pains. Justice, it appears, is to do the work for which one is fitted and not to meddle with the work of others. This means that those who have not been specially trained to take part in government should not take part in government. No attempt is made to distinguish actual from potential fitness. It seems that fitness is something so self-evident that all will agree upon it and that it is as unjust to attempt to acquire fitness when it is too late, as it is to try to govern without fitness. If we compare this idea of justice with those of Hobbes, Thomas Aquinas and Montesquieu, and theirs again with our own when we fail to get what we want, we shall see how far we are from being able to define the commonest and most necessary terms.

In real life there are no Axioms, no truths so self-evident that they are accepted without proof. An attempt to apply to business or to government the statement given above would end in a parody. "All reasoning in real life is supposed to be founded on certain well-known but vague and confused phrases, catch-words and statements understood in different ways by different persons and not understood at all by the majority. The truth of these is so doubtful that it is asserted only by those whose purpose they serve and it is denied by those who have anything to gain by denial. These vague

and conflicting phrases may be called political principles, business maxims or by any other name one pleases. For instance 'competition is the soul of business,' 'self determination,' 'non-violence,' 'a living-wage,' 'soul-force,' 'the freedom of the seas,' 'the will of the people,' 'liberty,' 'religion,' 'justice,' 'patriotism,' 'hereditary right,' 'the right of the fittest to rule,' 'no taxation without representation,' 'no wealth can be produced except by capital,' 'the right to work.'

In real life no one will admit anything and the statements which are introduced by 'no doubt' or 'it cannot be denied that' are often those most doubted both by speakers and hearers. It has been well said that no one will admit that two and two makes four if he has any interest to serve by denying it.

But in arithmetical examples some data are given and we are entitled to ignore those not given. Take an example.

'A can do a piece of work in 10 hours. . . . B can do it in 6 hours. In what time will they do it if they work together?' Mathematically the answer may be four hours or less but it does not need much knowledge of psychology to show that in reality it is quite different. A and B may be two generals trying to lead the same army, two clerks in an office each trying to get the other dismissed, or two peasants driving the same cart. As Napoleon is reported to have said 'One bad general is better than two good ones.' 'Some men work better in company and others alone.'

Take another example 'Given that two horses eat as much as three mules, if the food of 8 horses and 20 mules for a month costs Rs. 200 what will be the cost of feeding 6 horses and 6 mules for a year?'

We are not told whether the syces steal at a uniform rate, or whether they take a higher percentage out of a smaller amount. We do not know how much the price of grass rises normally in the hot season and whether there was a drought in the previous year or not. But these are the very things which a practical man wants to know. No data are given in real life and very often the chief problem before us is to ascertain the facts. As Lord Balfour once said 'There are no facts in Ireland.' This was in reply to an enthusiastic young member of Parliament who said that he was going to Ireland to get at the facts. When we begin to

make inquiries we are inclined to think that there are no facts in any country.

In business the cloth merchant must find out for himself how much wool is being produced and in what countries, what are the prospects of the cotton crop here and elsewhere, how many railway wagons and ships are available for carrying the wool and cotton to the mills, at what price cloth of different kinds can probably be produced, what is likely to be the demand for different qualities among his usual customers. The amount of money which the purchaser will have to spend depends on a score of factors which the merchants must estimate. The hindrances caused by strikes and the possibility of Government interference with freight and prices cannot be overlooked. Even probable changes in the temperature are important. He cannot learn these things by heart out of a text book, or wait until they are printed in a trade journal next month, or a Government blue book next year. If he does he will be outstripped by his rivals. In fact he derives hardly any help from Mathematics at all. Education in the form in which, too often, it is given and received in India is not of much use as a preparation for a business career. Our devotion to text books and our reliance upon memory instead of quickness and intelligence have almost a negative value. In business the important things are those which are now happening or are going to happen and not those which have happened. A business decision must be something new, the result of the working of a man's own brain and not something he can learn by heart. Also the principle of the elimination of the unfit which is in constant operation in the real world is abhorred by many members of our Senates and academic bodies who wish fit and unfit alike to appear in the pass lists.

In Mathematics if any data are given all are given. We are entitled to neglect friction, wastage and everything not mentioned. But in practical affairs we never know whether we have all the factors before us. The engineer may calculate the lateral pressure of water on a dam and yet fail to perceive that there are fissures in the bottom of the lake. A tank 50 yards long 40 yards wide and 10 feet deep contains X gallons of water. If we increase the average depth to 14 feet it should contain $7X/5$ gallons. In reality it may contain $X/2$ or $X/7$ after the operation because the deepening process results

in the removal of the clay at the bottom and the exposure of a previous surface. The breaking strain of steel and aluminium bars is known but structures sometimes collapse owing to the pressure of the wind or some other cause which was not among the data.

In addition to its Greek letters and other symbols Mathematics speak of men and boys, horses, tons of iron, cubic feet and such practical things. But they are not so practical as they sound. They are not the horses and tons of the real world. In Mathematics two and two make four and every two X equals every other two X. But two horses do not equal two horses in real life, and two or even five are often less than one. Ten men do not equal ten men, either in politics, in manufacture, in war or in anything else.

If 16 men and 8 boys do a piece of work in 4 hours how long will it take one man and 18 boys to do the same work, if one man does as much work as 2 boys? Mathematically the answer might be 8 hours but if any one thinks that this would be the result in real life let him watch the one man trying to catch the 18 boys.

If mathematics gives us little help let us apply to Logic, the science which beyond all others teaches us to reason accurately. In England few boys read any Logic whereas in India most students take this subject if they are not on the Science side. Yet I fear that our study of Logic does not enable us to see clearly, think clearly, or reason accurately when we come to deal with realities. Life is too huge and too varied to be a proper subject for our little tests. The most accurate foot rule does not help us to know how far it is from Calcutta to Allahabad. 'Some M is P. No S is M.' We are expected to learn Latin names and mnemonics about Barbara and other ladies. The man who is equipped with these aids to reasoning is like one who knows the anatomical structure of a leopard, *e.g.*, that a leopard has 28 joints in his tail while a panther has 22, or whatever it may be. This knowledge is of no use when he meets the leopard in the jungle. The real difficulty is that the whole syllogistic system seems to be a *petitio principii*. The Logician can reason triumphantly if his premises are granted, just as we can all be successful merchants if we are allowed to choose our own buying and selling prices. The logician demands so much and produces so little.

We must grant him the hard and improbable thing and he will prove the easy and probable thing. He can only reason from the general to the particular, whereas the Scientist reasons from the particular to the general. Take the most famous of all examples, You can guess which one I mean. When I was in a college in another Province the Principal (who was a Science man) said to me one day "The Logic people get on very slowly: when I passed the door of their room last week Kulada Babu was saying 'Man is mortal' and to-day I heard him telling them again that 'Man is mortal,' "All men are mortal; Caesar is a man; Caesar is mortal." Quite simple if we admit that all men are mortal, and also quite useless. For obviously it is easier to prove that Caesar is mortal without the aid of Logic than to prove that all men are mortal even with its aid. Brutus and others were able to demonstrate by experiment that Caesar was mortal in some sense, but if they had tried to prove the major premise by experiment there would have been an end both of the demonstrators, of their subject matter, and of those whom they were trying to convince,—a truly remarkable result of a scientific experiment. In a syllogism, therefore, we are arguing from the really unknown (logically unknown) to the really known but logically unknown—a very useless performance.

Again in Logic every word has a fixed meaning. A man cannot be both good and bad. A cannot be both the cause and effect of B. The principle of contradiction is that it is impossible for the same thing to be and not be. A is not not-A. In a dilemma the disjunction in the minor premise ought to be obvious or at any rate acceptable to the audience. Demosthenes is either unpatriotic or inconsistent. But none of these principles hold in real life. It is rare for an important word to have a fixed meaning. It is quite common for one thing to be both cause and effect of another. Drunkenness may be both a cause and an effect of poverty. The poor qualifications of many schoolmasters may be both the cause and the effect of the small esteem in which their profession is held and either of these may be both the cause and the effect of their low pay. It is quite possible for a man to be, and not to be, wise rich, good, etc. Demosthenes may be neither unpatriotic nor inconsistent. Patriotism only means desiring the success of his own party or his own efforts, and it may be more

consistent to vary one's opinions and actions with varying circumstances than to keep them rigid.

Let us take the same example again. 'Men are mortal' Are they? What does 'mortal' mean anyhow? What is immortality? Most religious teachers deny that the real man is mortal and admit only that man's body is mortal. So vague is language that those who assert immortality and those who deny it often mean much the same thing, while those who agree in asserting it probably mean several quite different things. The immortality of the Christian religion may be considered the direct negation of the immortality of Hinduism, and differs entirely from the immortality of the Mussalman. If Caesar was mortal why is he still so well-known to us? If we admit that he was a mere man that is only because he doesn't live in our country. If he were here now he would be either a Mahatma or a Rakshas according to our political prejudice.

I am afraid, therefore, that we shall learn little from formal Logic, because it deals with words and not with things. I must do modern logicians the justice to admit that some of them are not blind to this. "Terms are assumed by logicians to be capable of definite meaning and being used unequivocally in the same context: If or in so far as this is not the case we cannot understand one another's reasons." The use of words is like the use of money which constantly changes in value in the pocket or even in the hand while we are making a purchase. For example, take the recent controversy about an experiment. 'When is an experiment not an experiment?' It has been said with much truth that Hampden fought to maintain the principle which Washington fought to resist, viz. :—that the British Parliament was the sole constitutional taxing authority.

If we change the principle to the formula 'No taxation without representation' we may say that in words they were agreed. But the agreement would be only in words. 'No taxation without representation' as understood in England, meant only that Parliament, though elected by a small minority, had complete control over taxation. "There can be no doubt," said Lord Mansfield, 'but that the inhabitants of the colonies are as much represented in Parliament as the greatest part of the people of England are.' However a colonist in using the phrase meant 'no taxation except by vote

of a legislative body in which a person known to me, and in whose election I have taken part, has a seat.' This is why the modern method of "exploring every avenue" to find an "acceptable formula" is often waste of labour.

I think that it is very interesting to take some statement or even some flight of rhetoric which hardly contains a definite statement but depends on implication, and to submit it to careful examination in order to discover how many fallacies are contained or suggested in it. Most of the best examples are political or are used in religious controversy, but there remain some economic, social or historical, which may be examined without offence. A college debating society should sometimes devote an evening to this work. Another useful exercise is to attempt definition, or if that prove impossible, at least description, of the different aspects of a difficult term. I commend this to students and to those who are in charge of debating societies and study circles. Few things are more misleading than comparison if we fail to observe the difference as well as the resemblance. The study of history and economics are also very valuable because here we realise that we are dealing with subject-matters as variable as human nature. Economists are more cautious than they were in the days of Ricardo. 'They have abandoned the economic man' and the idea that 'good land' is cultivated first. They speak only of tendencies which manifest themselves in the absence of any force operating in the opposite direction. The historian also is now too wise to say that Charles I was beheaded because he was a 'tyrant' or that the American Civil War was fought to free the slaves. Life is not quite so simple as that.

Science teaches us to make careful observations and measurements and affords a most valuable mental training. But we cannot make use of its methods in politics or business because our subject matter is less certain. Sodium sulphate is assumed to be free from extraneous matter; it has a fixed formula. There is no definition of democracy or formula for a constitution warranted to work in a given way. The study of history and economics and of scientific politics probably serve best to give us a knowledge of the infinite variety of arrangements which men at different times have thought to be natural and proper. If it is difficult to deduce any general principles from recorded instances it is better to face that fact.

If men are actuated by passion and prejudice at least as much as by intelligent self-interest it is useless to deny it. J. S. Mill often made mistakes because he overestimated the power of formulae to overcome prejudice. It is good to take statements of beliefs and opinions held in large groups and political battle-cries and to subject them to examination. We ought to find out (a) whether they are true in any sense, (b) if so, in what sense, (c) if not, why they obtained popularity. This paper may close with an example in addition to those given above.

'The working man has a right to a better place at the banquet of life.'

Here 'banquet of life' is a figure of speech. A comparison is only valuable if the two things compared resemble one another in the most important respects. A banquet is a feast provided without any effort, contribution or co-operation on the part of those who are going to enjoy it and only for a limited number. There may be valuable elements in life which can neither be bought nor sold. But it is dangerously misleading to use such a figure in a political speech addressed to the uninstructed classes. It almost inevitably creates the idea that there is a great store of goods and advant-

ages somewhere, boundless, unearned, which is unjustly monopolised by 'capitalists.' The audience will suppose that they need neither contribute anything to the store, nor buy a ticket for the feast, but have only to stretch out the hand and open the mouth.

One might also discuss the word 'right' and consider whether there are any 'natural rights' or rights belonging to men as human beings apart from those given by the laws of the State. The word 'right' suggests the correlative duty and the critic may well ask who will undertake the duty of providing so large a place at the 'banquet' and of satisfying so large an appetite. A mild protest against the limitation of the term 'work' to handwork only would not be out of place.

Discussion of this kind raises many interesting questions. If we can come to no undisputed conclusion, at least it helps us to inquire into the meaning of the truisms which we hold or think we hold. At the present time when we can no longer follow precedent, and when constitutions are in the making there is a great need of accurate thought and cautious expression.

ON KEATS'S ODE TO MELANCHOLY.

By PROF. J. A. EWING, M.A.

There has been a little controversy lately as to whether a work of art should have a meaning and be capable of interpretation, or whether all has been done that can be when the artist has presented his thing of beauty and we have received the impression fair and clear. It has even been held, on the one side, that the highest art is the least emotional,—on the other side, strange to say, of the belief that the impression made by art is to be felt and not analysed. You would think that the least emotional art were rather to be thought about than felt. But this word "emotional" carries confusion with it wherever

it goes. I suppose none in his heart believes that beauty can be perceived without feeling, and probably most of us would frankly call this feeling emotion. But what is meant may perhaps be that the highest forms of art have little to do with the emotions that arise from our relations with people, such as love, anger, or pity; and that we are not to expect a great piece of music, for instance, to be a mere symbol of some human situation. Emotional music in this way comes to mean music which can be translated in terms of human relations and the feelings that clothe them, and the emotional picture is the picture

stabbed us as with the voice of an old love, it is gone round the bend of the road, leaving our ears on the stretch for faint and melancholy echoes. It is not, surely, because we feel the rainbow will soon grow dull or the rose wither, that joy is figured as one "whose hand is ever at his lips, bidding adieu." Our fear of corruption is not the reason for the strangely piercing beauty of flowers. What we feel is that here is something which we cannot properly get at, something which claims us wholly and yet with which we cannot wholly unite, and something which we know will not suffer even this imperfect apprehension for more than a heaven-sent moment. It might seem that this were a sophisticated and disillusioned way of seeing beauty. But it is not so. You may see a child of four gaze into the bottomless cup of a blue convolvulus with a long drawn "Oh!" that is surely wrung from him rather than expressed as his wise opinion. And if you have not as a child felt this seizure, which seems to carry the mind so far beyond the single object, it is odds against your doing so as a spectacled critic. There is no child so young that his past does not seem to to him an abyss from which three will come up faint and distant voices to make him pensive. I do not mean to explain the emotions that go

with beauty as being due to tricks of vague memory. I do not wish to explain them at all, but merely to claim that it is of their essential nature that they do cry out for explanation. And the mind itself, whether rightly or wrongly, very often feels about them as it would feel on catching a glimpse of some clue to a vague lost past; and I think always has a feeling—I do not say a true or rational feeling—of a momentary connection with things which the definite memory cannot claim as having ever been present to perception, and that the experience has an importance out of all proportion to the sensations involved. To the kindling imagination the hard flat sky of the world melts into transparency and depth.

Now if emotional art is art which deals with matter of this sort, we may well say that any art which is not emotional is of a poorer kind,—we may admit, for instance, that a daintily gilded ceiling is a thing of beauty, but we should not call it beauty of the highest sort. And if this is what is meant by art which has a meaning, we may well say that art which does not stir the mind to an effort of interpretation is scarcely art at all. This might be taken as a condemnation of all that has been called peculiarly Greek or classical, but I believe that on reflection it will be found to be nothing of the kind.

INDIAN MUSIC.

By M. S. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, B.A., B.L., L.T.

Introduction.

1. Indian Music has had its ebb and fall during the long course of its history, from the time of Samaganam right up to the present day. In Ancient India, music was held in high esteem, even without the Arcadian pressure. Princes loved it; Princesses practised it; Nobles revelled in it; and the very people participated in the revelry and rivalry of music. Later on, while the Gupta Kings patronised Hindu Music the Muhammadan Kings patronised

Hindustani Music; Akbar patronised both; Aurangazeb snubbed them down and was even prone to "call the harmless art a crime." From this unsympathetic Emperor, the Goddess of Music disappeared and took shelter in the palace of many a prince* in India. Not long

*Such as Yōga Narendra Malla of Pālam (17th century A.D.) who used on his coins the title

संगीतार्थव पारग

'One who has gone to the other side of the ocean of music'.

after the advent of the European, she had to jump from the palace into the open street where†—

“scorn'd and poor,
She begged her bread from door to door
And tuned, to please a peasant's ear,
The harp a king had loved to hear.”

2. The musicians thereupon had perforce to pick up the trick of pandering to the tastes of streetwallas who cared a little for the science of music and would full fain put the ill-guiding ear-pleasure, over and above the well-guiding mind-pleasure, thereof. A few wornout ragas, some jaw-breaking pallavis, disproportionate swaras, a few stale krithis minus their sentiments, a few lascivious javalis plus their temptations, karnatised Hindustani songs giving the Gavayis enough materials for laughter, Mahrata songs which the Maharatas will be ashamed to hear,—these are the ways wherewith most of the South Indian musicians have till now been getting on.

3. As for the North Indian musicians, I shall let my friend Mr. V. N. Bhatkhande speak. Observes he*:—“The standard high class music of North India is no other than that which the Muhammeden professional artists have introduced into the Hindi system. Our own Sanskrit granthas are scarcely looked upon as binding authorities because the practical music in use now contravenes their directions on some of the most important points. Our granthas having thus become inapplicable to the current practice, we naturally have come to be thrown on the mercy of our illiterate, ignorant, and narrow-minded professionals.”

4. In the matter of singing songs, one should—properly speaking—first learn what phase, temper, circumstance or condition of life those songs illustrate; the subject of the songs must be felt and sympathised with; and the tone of the voice as well as the play of the countenance must be in keeping therewith. But what do you see all round India? Both the Northern and Southern musicians do not so much as even care to learn the purport of the songs they sing and the psychology of the notes they use. War songs, therefore, they sing

plaintively; devotional songs heroically; love songs indignantly; cradle songs boisterously; and boat songs saucily. To make the matter worse, to songs that are calculated to excite pathos and kindred emotions, the South Indian singer proceeds to add his accursed swaram-gymnastics. I am not, however, opposed to append swaras to songs. Indeed such an appendage enhances the attractiveness of the style and enriches the effect of music. The change from words to swaras is peculiarly relished in South India; and this taste has, for aught I know, gone even up to North India.† In many of his krithis, the celebrated Thiagaraja successfully employed swaras, for he knew when and how to introduce them. Indeed his employment of swaras looks like well-cut diamonds sparkling in the ears of a naturally charming lass; while the modern singer's employment of the same looks like old broken tins appended to the shabby tail of a lame ass.

5. What wonder is there if the Europeans shrug their shoulders on hearing our music? Abbe Dubois wrote* “What the Hindus like is plenty of noise and plenty of shrill piercing sounds. Their vocal music is not a whit more pleasing to European ears than their instrumental.” A European Inspector of Schools recently observed: “The usual singing of (Indian) children is one of the pains and penalties of an Inspector's life: it is raucous, lacking a common pitch and hence both unmelodious and unharmonious. Our schools are largely western in conception, organization and teaching. Only on the artistic side—perhaps I should say the musical side—have we left things where they were, given no guidance to teachers, allowed them to beat the air blindly and even to Inspectors have not shown any escape from the present intolerable ear-splitting noise.” Hence the same Inspector suggests: “the indigenous order and methods of training must be (mark!) thrown overboard” evidently in favour of European methods of training.

6. Into the secrets of European methods of training, let us now pry and try to find out how far they had been successful in creating a musical taste in Europe itself. There is yet another reason why we should have a peep into

†Compare the present state of Tanjore with the evidences of the Rule of Hindu Rajas. The great Library is neglected; no royal musicians; the famous collection of instruments are scattered.

*In his “Short Historical Survey of the Music of Upper India.”

†In the All India Music Conference of Baroda in 1916, I noted some North India singers added swaras to their songs; I made a similar observation at Aligarh too.

*In his “Hindu Customs and Manners.”

European music. On account of the dark picture I drew of Indian music, I fear you are likely to feel alarmed that Indian music alone has fallen down. No, no; survey from China to Peru; and you will see that music, all over the world, has gone down to the freezing point. The reason is not far to seek. Music, be it noted, is a seed that sprouts out of the fertile soil of religion and wants a deal of the rain of wealth for its luxuriant growth. In the case of rich nations, the plentiful rain of wealth falls unfortunately on the sterile rocks of irreligion and materialism and hence music does not flourish; while, in the case of poor nations, like India, there is no doubt of the fertile soil of religion: but the rain of wealth failing, the famine of music reigns supreme. Thus irreligion, materialism and poverty have, jointly and severally, contributed to the dearth of music from one end of the earth to the other.*

7. Take English music for example. The English themselves admit their real music began with Purcell who lived from 1658 to 1695. What was the state of English music sixteen years after the death of that "greatest English musical genius"? Addison answers† "At present, our notions of music are so very uncertain that we do not know what it is we like; only in general, we are transported with anything that is not English. Our English music is quite rooted out and nothing yet planted in its stead." In 1714 the Elector of Hanover sat on the throne of England as George I. His court-musician, Handel, naturally followed him to England. Hence Oliver Cromwell fondly attributed‡ the foundership of the English School of music to this German musician, Handel. What was the legacy that Handel left behind? A critic of 1865 wrote: "Music Party in England is an organised hypocrisy. A trembling damsel begins a water-ballad. To compensate for her wretched performance, two young sisters come to sing a duet and display a remarkable unanimity in singing out of tune and are, in consequence, complimented by a bold hypocrite on the family likeness in the equality of their voices. A bashful curate or an unbashful civilian walks up to the piano and

other instrumentalists follow him. All together make such a noise as to remind us that the earth has risen in revolt with other planets. Young ladies are ill-taught and young men are not taught at all. Yet both the sexes are audacious enough to meet an audience. The root of the evil is that these amateurs learn music, not as an art, but for show and display. Music concert is one of the best means for marriage-contract. Young men are warbled into matrimony before they know what they are about; and young ladies fancy that the well-dressed listeners would prove their constant lovers." Later on, Sir Hugh Allen, Principal of the Royal College of Music, London, complained.† "Music tends to go to the baser side. The deterioration is due to the performer's weakness for (premature) fame and profit (matrimony included). Commercialism has driven the musicians to adjust their arts to suit the taste of the largest numbers." Even so recently as 1914, Mr. Fox Strangways confessed:‡ "It is rare to hear the best music in India as it is in Europe." Coming to the year 1922, we learn§ that, in the month of June, the Leeds Choral Union went to London to sing Elgar's "The Apostles," in aid of Westminster Abbey Restoration Fund. One would have expected a crowded Queen's Hall. But the fact remains that the hall was almost empty. A remark was then made that London was an unmusical place. Mr. Bernard Shaw led the attack in a long letter S of which the following is a summary:—"It would be an exaggeration to say that I was the only person present. My wife was there. Other couples were visible at intervals. One of the couples consisted of the Princess Mary and Viscount Lascelles who just saved the situation as far as the credit of the Crown is concerned as it very deeply is. I distinctly saw six people in the stalls probably with complimentary tickets. In the cheaper seats a faithful band stood for England's culture. The occasion was infinitely more important than the Derby, than Goodwood, than the Cup finals, than the Carpenter Fights, than any of the occasions on which the official leaders of society are photographed and cinemato-

*"In this country (America)," wrote Emerson, "other interests than religion and patriotism are predominant, and the arts, the daughters of enthusiasm, do not flourish."

†In his "Spectator" dated 21st March, 1711.

‡In his "Essay on Schools of Music."

§In "Saturday Review."

†I noted this complaint in a Madras Daily—"The Hindu."

‡In his "Music of Hindoostan."

§I noted this point in a Bombay Journal—"The Times of India."

¶Published in an English Journal—"The Daily News."

graphed, laboriously shaking hands with persons on whom Moliere's patron, Louis XIV or Bach's patron, Frederick the Great, would not have condescended to wipe their boots. I apologise to posterity for living in a country where the capacity and tastes of schoolboys and sporting costermongers form the measure of metropolitan culture."

8. I dealt with the English Music at some length, not in a carping spirit, but with a view to enable you to retort to any unsympathetic English critic of Indian music—"Sir, living in a glass house, do not throw stones at others."

9. Let us now confine our attention to setting our own house in order. What is the cause of the downfall of Indian music? It is threefold, viz.,

1. the Jainic Puritanism, in ancient times,
2. the Islamic Puritanism, in mediæval times,
- and 3. the Bureaucratic Sterility*, in modern times.

10. The first two causes were shortlived; and when they were removed, music resumed its usual course, though not with its pristine glory. But when the modern times gave us, as though permanently, a most unnatural system of education, calculated to manufacture westernised and overfed aristocracy on the one hand and hybrid and underfed middle class on the other; chill penury was made to stare in the face of famished masses. In the case of most of the landed aristocracy, false ideals and tastes led—rather misled—they to have recourse to French palaces with American fittings, gorgeous gramophones or mechanical pianofortes, all under the presidency of Colonial ladies. The whole of their conversation now generally runs upon "high life with pictures, Shakespeare and the musical glasses." Never does it occur to them that the Roman music, as such, did not show its head up, because the luxury-loving Romans were easily satisfied with the music of the Greek slaves. Mommsen, for instance, observes: "Music passed over from Hellas to Rome, only to enhance the decoration of luxury." Gibben is more precise when he writes: "The libraries were secluded, like dreary sepulchres, from the light of day; but the harmony of vocal and instrumental music was incessantly

repeated in the palaces of Rome, where the sound was preferred to the sense and the care of the body to that of the mind."

11. The fatal taste for everything western has infected the hybrid, underfed middle class too. Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy graphically described* the position thus: "Speak to the ordinary graduate of an Indian University of the ideals of the Mahabharata—he will hasten to display his knowledge of Shakespeare; talk to him of religious philosophy—you find that he is an atheist of the crude type common in Europe a generation ago; talk to him of Indian music—he will produce a gramophone or a harmonium and inflict upon you one or both; talk to him of Indian dress or jewellery—he will tell you that they are uncivilised and barbaric; talk to him of Indian art—it is news to him that such a thing exists; ask him to translate for you a letter written in his own mother-tongue—he does not know it. He is indeed a stranger in his own land and (what is worse!) feels proud to be hidebound in that impervious skin of self-satisfaction which enabled that most pompous and self-important philistine, Lord Macaulay, to believe that a single shelf of a good European Library was worth all the literature of India, Arabia and Persia,"—an ill-conceived judgment happily reversed to-day by the appellate Court of Fact. The remarks of the Doctor on Music are—I emphatically assert—of universal application throughout India.

12. Our present mania for the European gramophones, pianos and harmoniums, even Europeans, not to speak of our own kith and kin, deeply lament. Mr. Clements of the Bombay Civil Service, who has made a special study of Indian music, entertains no clemency whatsoever for piano or harmonium but positively hates them and observes†: "Whoever advocates the use of tempered instruments‡ is quite unaware of their utter inadequacy to give any idea of *Indian* intonation." Another careful European student of Indian music, Mr. Fox Strangways, was struck with the strange ways wherein the Indians admired and adopted the western instruments and indignantly remarked§: "If the Rulers of Native States realised what a death-blow they were dealing at their own art by supporting or

*May I hope that under the present Diarchical Government, Music will flourish? But I don't see any provision for music in the new University Bill prepared by the Madras Minister for Education.

*In his "Essays in National Idealism."

†In his "Introduction to the study of Indian music."

‡Such as the piano or the harmonium doubtless is.

§In his "Music of Hindoostan."

even allowing a brassband ; if the clerk in a Government Office, understood the indignity he was putting on a song by buying the gramophone which grinds it out to him after his day's labour ; if the Muhammadan singer knew that the harmonium with which he accompanies was ruining his chief asset, his musical ear ; if the girl who learns the pianoforte could see that all the progress she made was a sure step towards her own denationalisation ;—they would pause before they laid such sacrilegious hands on Saraswathi."

13. It is interesting to note that our much-lamented mania for western instruments has a historic parallel in the English more-lamented mania for Continental music. From after the time of Charles I, the unfortunately beheaded king, a fashion arose in England that every educated gentleman must tour round the Continent to give a sort of 'finish' to his education. The result was that the English tourists, when they returned to England, were found as much contaminated with foreign things as the "England-returned" Indians are to-day. Confining our attention to the subject of our discourse, we find that from the time of Purcell down to our own day, the music of England has been essentially foreign—Italian, German, Russian, Hungarian but not English. There seems to be a good deal of truth in what the Rev. Haweis observed*: "We can imagine all other nations of the world passing before us, each representing a national form of music. Germany comes with a band of singers followed by a band of men playing on all kinds of musical instruments. France comes fresh from the woods with her cornemuse. Italy issues from the mountains with that tuneful and fascinating goat-skin and pipe. Spain comes with a mandoline? Scotland with its bagpipes: Ireland and Wales with harps of well-known national form and proportion. Even Russia sings a good bass tune and blows a horn well. But (alas!) England brings up the rear with a policeman requiring an organ-grinder to move on." Ye! my Indian Brethern! Whoever you are, to whatever community you may belong—if you, not content with our own musical system, imagine happiness in foreign music and dream that gramophones, pianoforte, and harmonium can feed the appetite of novelty

with perpetual gratification, then, survey England and confess your folly.

14. Digression apart, the aristocracy and the middle-class of India have, with honorable exceptions here and there, been drifting themselves into the present wretched predicament of finding themselves perfect strangers in their own native region of Indian music; while the appalling poverty of India has been all along repressing the noble rage of the masses and freezing the genial current of their soul—so much so that almost all their attention is nowadays mainly, if not solely, rivetted upon the stomach-problems within the arena of which the goddess of music lies prostrate and helpless.

15. Be the causes of the downfall of our music what they may—can we now resuscitate it? That is the question we are now vitally concerned with. Everywhere we see unmistakable signs of awakening in our country. We are on the threshold of a new era. The Indian Politician is abroad. He has found out that the Goddess of Music has not been clipped of her wings but only hurled into a deep pit which her three great oppressors, viz., grinding poverty, godless education, and appalling ignorance revengefully guard and prevent her escape. He has determined to drive those oppressors and see the goddess once again emerge out with her wide-spread wings and shine in all her radiant glory. But, be it noted, that nations are made more by artists and poets than by politicians and that, if the former contribute to the sustenance, strength and growth of a nation, the latter take upon themselves the duty of warding off the weeds that would otherwise tend to stunt its growth. "To many persons it may seem incredible that the consistence of Japan's statesmanship and strategy, the far reach of her military plans, the splendid qualities of her soldiers and sailors, the steadiness of nerve, the accuracy of aim, the coolness of advance, the deadliness of attack, the self-immolation of regiments at the word of command—are not unconnected with the fact that she alone among living nations has a truly national art, that her senses are refined and her taste fastidious and that even her poor men love beauty and seek their pleasure amongst flowers. This is a hard saying, but the truth is even so."*

16. Leaving then to the politicians the

|| And for that matter the Karanatic singer too.
*Cf. International Library of Famous Literature
Vol. XVIII.

*Cf. Hibbert Journal Oct. 1905.

hard task of warding off the weeds of godless education and grinding poverty, not unaccompanied by appalling ignorance, the Indian Artists must feel it a sacred duty that they should, at this juncture, come out with Books on Music, knit the theory and practice thereof together and see that the finest of the fine arts once again rises to the pinnacle of her glory. Do you entertain any doubt regarding the efficacy of timely-written books? You will do well to remember that Rousseau's *Social Contract* produced a political revolution in France; Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution*, an economical revolution in England; and Krishna's *Bhagavad Gita*, a spiritual revolution in India. Hence a timely-written Treatise on Indian Music will, I dare say, produce a Musical Revolution in our country. The time is now ripe. As I said, the Indian Politician is abroad, and he will, ere long, drive out all the obstacles to the free growth of our music. Meanwhile the Indian Artists, I repeat once again, should come out with Books on Music. Are such artists wanting in our country? Surely not. Only they, like Haridas Swami of Brindavan, require a little goading, in connection where-with there hangs a tale.

17. One day, Akbar asked his celebrated singer Tansen: "Can any one in the world sing like you?" Tansen replied: "Yes: my

guru, Haridas Swami of Brindavan, will even surpass me." The Emperor exclaimed in surprise: "What! can you not surpass him?" Tansen bowed his head and humbly observed: "No: I cannot surpass my guru; because, I sing whenever my Emperor demands, but he sings only when his inner voice commands: I sing to please you, but he sings to please God." Exceedingly anxious to see such a great singer, Akbar hastened along with Tansen to Brindavan and met there Haridas Swami living in a hermitage on the sacred banks of the Jumna. Neither of them, however dared to ask him to sing. Tansen began to play a trick by himself trying to sing a snatch purposely with a mistake. Haridas Swami could not brook to hear a mistake. Forthwith did he proceed to draw Tansen's attention to it and incidentally but quite unconsciously, burst into angelic singing wherewith he electrified and enchanted the two eager hearers.

18. Like Tansen, then, I venture to launch into the world my observations on Indian Music, only to provoke the really good artists, like Haridas Swami, to come out with better books on the theory and practice of Indian Music and to redeem the otherwise irredeemable art.

19. I shall begin with the Origin and Function of Music.

(to be continued)

AN INTERVIEW THAT NEVER TOOK PLACE.

By DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE, M.A., Ph.D.

By Dr. Sudhindra Bose, M.A., Ph.D.,

"Well, my good American."

"Who are you?"

"Haven't you ever heard of me?"

"I might; but I can't place you just now."

"Why, I am a member of the Indian Civil Service, a magistrate."

"Oh, you are one of those men who sent hundreds of Hindus to Jail apparently for no other reason than that they were patriots. Yes,

I remember you now. Well, magistrate, I haven't got time to talk with you this morning."

"But I want to know the worst about myself."

"Don't you know it yet? You have lived with yourself for the last thirty or forty years. You ought to know by this time."

"I am just out of luck, and——"

"I don't say that you aren't."

"I had good intentions."

"It may be so; but the hell is paved with good intentions."

"I am misunderstood in India."

"If you were anything but English you wouldn't wonder that you are misunderstood. But the English mind is—English."

"We in England, as you know, are very anxious to have the good will of America. Please tell me if the Americans know how enthusiastically loyal the Indians are to England."

"I know all about your English propaganda hounds in the United States; but here, man, the Indian enthusiasm that you speak of reminds me of what our American wit Mr. Dooley said of a bonfire on an ice-floe. 'It looks good and burns bright as long as ye feed it, but it don't take much hold, somehow, on the ice.'"

"We have given India an excellent government. And our only object in being in India is to secure for her the blessings of peace and prosperity."

"Is that so? Let's see. Isn't it the English government which committed the Amritsar massacre, dishonoured Punjab, and forced a drink traffic on India? Your ideas of excellent government, need complete overhauling and revision."

"I forget some of the things you mention. They happened, I believe, during the administration of the last magistrate of the district."

"Yes, you forget the facts and plead for greater confidence. You poor little magistrate! You are pained. You forget, but America and the rest of the world can't forget."

"We must preserve peace at all costs."

"You say in effect that you have to massacre women and children for the preservation of so-called peace. It's plain that your idea of peace does not mean what we in America mean by that word. To you, peace at the last analysis is the

reduction of all resistance by English domination. From the ethical standpoint, you English are different from us, and are dangerous to humanity."

"But, really, we Europeans can't let India alone. We are the best friends India ever had or will have."

"You worry about India altogether too much. Judging by the last great war and the whole course of events in Europe since then, it doesn't impress us on this side of the Atlantic that you have made a howling success of your own native heath. If you did, you wouldn't be begging for our American help on your knees every little while. My view is that it would be better all around if you interlopers chase back home and do a little worrying over your own domestic problems."

"Let me explain, I——"

"You bore me."

"I want to be vindicated."

"You can't be vindicated. It isn't perhaps all your fault. You are an unfortunate victim of circumstances. No body, for instance, could ever know who you were, if you hadn't been sent to India. But why on earth should you come to me and complain?"

"I want you to know in America that we English came to India to uplift the Indian civilization,——"

"There! There! That will do. There was a time, I admit, when America would swallow that sort of sloppy sentimental slush. America would, without examination, take it all in, hook, line, and sinker. America has now found out how you have deceived her."

"But——"

"You don't interest me at all. You go along now, and let me forget."

"Office boy! Ask the next man to come in. I mean the next joke."

THROUGH THE SUEZ IN SPRING TIME.

By * * *

We were peering through our glasses for a sight of land. The mud of the Egyptian waters was visibly affecting our wild mentality as much as it was disturbing the pale blue serenity of the hitherto placid Mediterranean lake. It was an augury full of portents as it proved later—perhaps a warning signal of dangers ahead, perhaps an unmeaning credulity attached itself to harmless events and saw a reflection there of its own disturbed mind. Port Said provided an excitement which its dumb minarets and mud-stained huts could never afford to do for its denizens. But I was profoundly mistaken. The minarets had spoken out and the huts had sheltered bleeding men and women—innocent victims of military method in prestige.

The arrival of the pilot boat was the occasion for a general scrimmage towards the gangway—to view the extraordinarily simple process of throwing the rope ladder down and the slow measured steps of the pilot officer coming up. We looked on just because we wanted to do so and I am sure the minds of us all were blank for the time being except the acute auditorial part alert to catch the faintest sound. I cannot pre-judge the psychology of the mood, but it was intensely human and intensely childlike. It was not much of a reception that was accorded to us. Three old, rusted, perhaps war-weary, French battleships, one silver-white British Cruiser and another Jap torpedo boat mingled their hooters of welcome with the shrill sirens of a Greek and a Norwegian board, as we steered our way through the deserted causeway of the great Egyptian tread-mill. Deserted, yes, Port Said, the cosmopolitan centre of blatant vulgarity appeared quite disjointed. One missed the cozening serenades, the diving boys and the eternally grinning mock majesty of fellahs. Very few ferries plodded their strenuous way to our side: hardly any orange man harkened his goods. What a strange appearance to the quayside of four years back. It couldn't be that the ravages of war had quietened and sobered down the temper of Port Said—just the opposite rather. The debacle of Turkey in the autumn of 1918

should have accelerated the noisy mirth at Port Said, the nearest place for joy-making refugees from Constantinople who would after defeat, find a very cold and chilling welcome in their former roosts. But the glory of Port Said had departed. We stumbled on the reason as we stepped ashore.

Our boat was stopping for two days at Port Said and we were glad of a respite on land after the long water cruise from Liverpool. It was already dusk. We hurried down to the ferries and felt a sensation as our feet touched the land. On a previous occasion the attention bestowed on us by a medley of hawkers, pedlars, beggars and the mock fiddlers, if not actually exasperating was certainly trying. And you would guess an absence of this usual feature would extort a sigh of relief from our lungs. But no, we looked about, waited, then walked on disappointed, with a wagging sad look.

Port Said cannot be said by any stretch of imagination to be a beautiful place. It is cosmopolitan but only lowly so—the grandeur and the majesty of its Athenian prototype stands by itself and vulgarity never can succeed in pose. You will find the barbarously simple Sudanese looking picturesque in their long flowing garments enfolding the breeze of Heaven in their embrace and yet a misery of expression or the poverty of a gleam in their look robs you of your delight in his barbaric majesty. Isolated savagery standing aloof from the turmoil of knowing humanity has charms which few rebellious spirits can stand against, but savagery in daily contact with the scum of civilisation—contact for them means contact with the slums only—exhibits revolting features which despise the very consciousness of humanity in you. Go to the Saracens, the Turks, the Zionists or to the Greek convivialities you will experience a sensation hardly less revolting. The knowledge of gross vulgarity as a promising proposition to trade on with the crossing birds of passage does not lift a literate man out of the sordid depths of a nagation of humanity—that we so often boost up as the particular creed of the dark

inhabitants of mid Africa. And the ever-rising Muezzin of Abou Hamid from the toy minarets of Port Said sounds like a voice in wilderness in this city of cheap godliness.

* Ben is a devout Muslim and perhaps an honest guide. He would take us round the delights of the town for a paltry three shillings—"that was nothing for big Sahibs". He showed a prominent squint in his left eye as we obligingly trusted ourselves to him. We were three and three was not a good bandobast from the guides' point of view. You could divide three shillings between the three of us at a chance but you will need more than an adequate knowledge of Arithmetic to square up 28 bob—the charge to the place of pilgrimage in Port Said and to which all tourists took their due share of offerings. Ben knew the English shop-keeper. We made him understand that expense or its due division between us was no concern of his or of either of us (Joe was the Chancellor) but we repeatedly begged him to tell us something about his shrine. Would he take us there? "By Faith, no. I am an honest man and have three wives at home." He dealt with our ignorance pitilessly—we were pulling his legs, he thought, but he agreed to speak out one word. "Kan-Ken". We understood the magic of the word, young bachelors us three and boisterously mingled our laughs with the pagan din in the crowded street, instead of hanging our heads in shame and ignorance or in spite as poor Ben perhaps would conclude. Yes, we would go to the Kan-Ken but mind no trick..... "The Turkish one would be better but are we gentlemen fond of.....". I would not take you through the questionnaire for it was sordid, vulgarly despicably sordid.

* * * * *

We had occasion to remark to Ben during our progress through the howling stream of "Turkish delights" about the great military display in the town. There had been riots and murder and machine-gunning in the streets. The trouble was due to Jaffa Christians who were exploiting the Muslim sentiments this side of the Canal. "Was Ben one of these Christians?" enquired Joe. The retort was a bit of a gallop as Yankees would say. Ben had picked up his vocabulary, it seems, from the military so frowningly parading the streets. And he burst out "No bl—y fear" with an energy as surprising as it was loud. The fanatic appeal of Muslim

independence shone out for a moment, and Ben was the same apologetic guide again. But scenting trouble he excused himself as the prayer time approached and we were left by ourselves as we wound our way back to the quayside. Political troubles caused a flutter of excitement and from a military patrol at the crossing we learned the gruesome details which were but preliminary to a reign of stern repression. The war has brought trouble to Egypt as it has to many a small nation. From a veiled sphere for protection of English interests Egypt has emerged into the full light of English protectorate. But religious sympathy with the humiliation of the Turks combined with national sentiment to stir the whole land to a state of frenzied indignation against the British and although the choice of Egypt as base for operations against Turks was hardly a choice but a necessity, the aftermath of military necessity produced a vendetta of hatred against alien domination. Egypt had never really reconciled herself to English control—she had preference for French laws and French language, a relic of the times when France pioneered the way in the exploitation of the dark continent. Now as the very pretence of sympathetic help and co-ordination was gone and British domination stood out in naked relief as British exploitation, the sentiment of nationality although curbed and devitalised, gathered sufficient strength to speak out and proclaim the right of each people to govern itself as it wished. We will say that War unloosed the idealism in man although it is different from asserting that it produced new conditions and shaped them in the light of self determination. The great War has proved the futility of individual existence—the best are always the first to be sacrificed in a quarrel of nations. The rock bottom of fear or what is the same thing, the desire to exist at all costs was shattered to pieces and men all over the world felt in themselves an insignificance and mediocrity which delusion had prevented them before from realising. The importance of collective strength has been glaringly over-emphasised and an individual sacrifice to contribute to the building up of the national polity became an ordinary item in the lives of the people. We will find in this unloosening of the inherent idealism in Man the real significance of the world wide unrest and disaffection against alien domination. And Egypt, never really subdued inspite of Khartoum massacres, was

quick to crystallise this feeling into a great national demand for independence. It would be unjust to attempt to analyse the position without an exhaustive knowledge of the data; but to a keen observer the things that matter most would appear obvious on his first contact with the problem. Egyptians are a proud race—their heritage of a glorious tradition sustains them through defeats and humiliation. Their consciousness has been guided to a sharp edge by a diligent pursuit of religious learning and although I do not admit fanaticism to be anything more than either calculated selfishness or ignorant but impulsive enthusiasm, I would not stake anything to refute the assertion that Egyptians are fanatically minded. A release of obligation to the Turkish Sultan, who was also their Khalif, accelerated the desire to attempt to frame a greater, stronger Egypt but the transference to the British Suzerain seemed impertinent and when the reality of foreign domination alien in spirit and in religious persuasion, stumbled against the realised Egyptian consciousness of idealism gained through the war a sage prophet would have predicted the beginning of a bitter struggle that would die away when militarily crushed but break out again and again until repression would loose its head and be hoist with its own petard.

I was busy with such thoughts when the call of Abou Hamid again rose above the evening toils of the city and we thought of turning back to our little nest. The boat was staying over the next day—we will have ample time to feel about the town and learn more of the thoughts and pulsations that beat through the heart and head of this proud nation.

A hefty looking Negro from Sudan ferried us to our boat. He was in a talkative mood and told of his wife and the two kiddies—would not allow his wife to work, home politics was sacred for her. But what excited us most was the news that our boat was leaving the same night. Arab labour had gone on strike and no coaling, no provisioning for English ships wending their way through to the Canal. It was a stunner. While Joe thought of his bath, his purchases, his "Kan-Ken" fixed up all for the morrow I regretted the departure on personal account. While sharing Joe's disappointment I felt sorry for missing the appointment we had made with the military patrol and an Egyptian merchant we met in the grill. Anyhow nothing doing now and we slowly ascended the gangway.

We joined a crowd loudly protesting against the proposed departure but the skipper would have none of it and we waited till the thud of the engines started before we thought of retiring to our stuffy cabins for a disturbed sleep.

* * * * *

Suez Canal is a very inglorious reminder. Amid a narrow rift of bluish water stained brick-red in reflection near the banks, a swarm of obstinate flies persistent in their desire to perch on your fastly sweating nose, a wilderness of heat and sand and erst-while dugouts, you are sadly robbed of your sensual expectations. You dimly remember as having read of the greatest feat in early engineering, the symbol and mainstay of European colonial policy in the East and in the dark continent. You fondly recall to your mind the hosts of Isrealites and the Pharaoh in hot pursuit: you trace down the failure of Napoleon at the check he received in the Levant. And then you gather up an illusion of the mighty solvent of nations' fate. Suez stands as the symbol of the prestige and greatness of British power in the East and sympathetic in design and colour it betrays a barrenness of outlook that would put to blush even the most rabid sand dwellers. Signs of toiling, wearisome humanity kept us interested however. The relics of the war—the great trench system built up on the nearside of the Canal—were being gradually obliterated and cruel irony, the works were being demolished by the very hands against whom such defences were constructed! Turkish prisoners laboured on in endless monotony to the weariness of the guards—the work when completed would be as fruitless for the creative humanity as was the labour spent on digging out the mantlements.

How belaboured the human quests are and how fruitless their consequences! An age of feverish peace never removed the dread of and desire for some excitement in the form of slaughter of Man by Man and as you never can have too much of a good thing, the end of this cruelly wasteful adventure is almost as much dreaded by the military *duds* as the advent of hostilities crumples the heart of cowardly doves.

A true soldier like a true pacifist never desires killing for the sake of killing—his art lies in the greatest economy of life in an adventure he never chooses of his own accord. The miserable cry of the *dud* however resounds through this

weary world. We hear almost as much the alarm of the moral funks in the shape of pacific resolutions of hardly any import as we do the jocosely blatant bang of the coward in a militant style. What pity surrounds the exclamation about bankruptcy of human ideals of the man who will not hesitate to gratify his desire for his neighbours' rich abundance by covert poaching and how damnable is the loud bang of the mailed fist! But why mock these shallow nincompoops—is not "mockery the fume of little hearts"? But as one surveys the ineffectual purring of the padded little claws of the doves one can but contemptuously turn one's mind away and look to the boisterous, though none the less hollow, pointers to the insecurity of the nation, the aggressive menace of your neighbours, the perilous abyss at your feet and so forth and, you can not but admire the courage of the Never Endians' Lament:—

"They are taking away My War!

Now, just as it was becoming beautiful to
me and precious

It cannot end now! It is not finished!"
(*Siegfried Sassoon*)

* * * * *
Ismalia presents a fresh contrast. Remnants of a big battle fought there still remained and we wondered how warring forces sought to gain possession of this meaningless lake. Suez canal cuts through a series of deep lakes and Ismalia is one of them. It presented now to us the center of a huge military camp—humanity run amok in barracks. Would not the denizens of the mid African desert wonder at this new formidable enemy? They had seen the man—the solitary adventurer but collective humanity in all solemnity of ceremonial and pomp they have never seen arrayed. Civilization is fast coming together and the man and the manly beast fly farther into the unknown interior.

Red blossoms greeted the archway of *Gare du Baller*—a station this side of Ismalia. Red and green—the symbol of blood and fire, of the spitting dragon, of the great unconscious struggle between evil-doing humanity and the cleansing analysis of equity in moral values—the neat little bungalow showed an artistic lay out of green ivy studded with scarlet notches. A covered walk from the gare led to a pagoda washed white with its little flat minarets and its inwardly curved sides. It was built up on a camouflaged rock—a pretty Oasis amidst a wilderness of men and field.

We arrived at Suez in the early afternoon after a day of sweltering, unbearable heat—made the more oppressive by our slow motion through the Canal. We were literally steaming and there was nothing around to divert our attention from the flowing sweat and our consequent blasphemy. Two troop ships with a full complement blew their sirens as we anchored midway between the two. But relief was in sight—a warm breeze set up and in the glories of the sunset Suez appeared dearer than anything on earth we had seen before.

Suez is set along an oval hoop of water—dark bluish clear water. Off the meagre tenelements of the town a semi-circular bay cuts the tyrannous encroachment of the African wilderness; although hills, defiant hills advance menacingly, perilously jutting into deep water and rocks hang abruptly out with a dreariness born of the very niggardly manner Nature has dealt out to Africa on the whole. That red shining globe of fire, Sun, nearing the horizon glimmered presently out of sight and presently would peep from behind the rocky barrier—half visible but spreading out a trail of crimson loveliness over the abrupt heads of the rocks. It touched the artist even in the little man and appeared a scene worthy the brush of a master. Sunsets in the east are short visitations of glory. Like the pagan gods of special loveliness they die young, but the vision of supreme splendour lasts longer in the heart of man hungering for contentment and joy. The sunset in the bay of Suez was a thing of joy and as the old god Sun hid himself from the curious eyes of humanity baffled during the twelve hours of its reign for a sight, it left behind a cherishing memory of gold and crimson. The forbidding heights to our right were beginning to project their grim shadows in the water. They were yet dim but were soon to change into an inky blackness relieved only by narrow white grooves of light hither and anon without any system or scheme but shifting and quivering as they seemed to us with every breath we inhaled. Beyond were the encircling widths of the spread-out water bounded in the distance by low red mounds lit up by the crimson of the departing glory. We began softly gliding through this alluring vista. Next to the shore towards us appeared a stretch of white shining field with slight pulsations in mock irony, perhaps, to the frowning crags sideways. Nearer to us was spread a vision in scarlet and gold—enchanted

waves created by the keel of our lugger widened into a broad basis, ever vanishing, ever forming. The crimson yellow reflected the top of these circlets, in the troughs the colour deepened and enriched itself with rainbow varieties. Perfect curves harmonious and schematic, yet in a disorder of picturesque beauty and tenderness as they travelled beyond. They started from the bow of our boat—I could see the creation of each as it swayed round into a beauteous curve and felt genuinely in touch with the glory of the day as involuntarily a cry rose from my heart echoing the wishes of perhaps all privileged to witness this enchantment: "I wish I were painter," and never till then did I feel the great debt that humanity owes to its great artists. The colour scheme in its profound variety was a treat. Look at that crimson azure layer soon to be metamorphosed

into yellow gold, then a black pitch-dark band clear cut and well defined, followed by a narrow white silvery cloud and finished off successively with black and gold. Wave did not roll over wave, seas did not tumble over the breakers—it was a soft, continuous commingling, a union in picturesque disorder. The first ripple softly glided into the second and soon the oval got enmeshed and broken into—the colours disharmonised but gave us a display you often witness between lapses of a succession of fork lightning thunders, as awe striking as they are the glorious reminders of the sanctity of human life. The ovaline figure is attempting to catch up and reform but no—it must give way to another: its struggles refer only to glorious moment just past never to come back again. We had left Suez far behind us.

THE BOOKS OF THE QUARTER.

Essays in the Law by the Right Hon. Sir Frederick Pollock, Bart., LL D., D.C.L., K.C. [Macmillan & Co., Limited, St. Martin's Street, London, 1922].

REVIEW BY JUSTICE SIR JOHN A. BUCKNILL,
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It is to that excellent Russian, Vinogradoff, "my friend and fellow worker"—now Sir Paul—"Paul the son of Gabriel whom Oxford captured from the far land of Muscovy," to whom these thirteen Essays are dedicated. They were, the author tells us, written at various times during the last thirty years and have been collected and published at the instance of some of "his learned friends"; it was certainly well worth while; for they are couched in language of chosen care and sparkle with arresting phrases almost as much as they impress one with their wealth of knowledge. Useful, clever, solid work for any student either of law or history to master: and good reading for every one who appreciates English well turned and the lucid expressions of a clear mind.

Just as well to know what they are: so here are their titles—

I. *The History of Comparative Jurisprudence* [A farewell lecture delivered in the University of Oxford on January 24th, 1903, with a few later corrections and additions.]

II. *The History of the Law of Nature.* [Journal of the Society of Comparative Legislation, 1900 p. 418; 1901. p. 204.]

III. *Locke's Theory of the State.* [Proceedings of the British Academy. Vol. I. 1904.]

IV. *Government by Committees in England.* [A paper read at the International Historical Congress at Berlin in August, 1908; published in Law Quarterly Review XXV, p. 53.]

V. *Gifts of Chattels without delivery.* [Law Quarterly Review VI. 446 (1890).]

VI. *Has the Common Law received the fiction-theory of Corporations.* [From the Festschrift offered to Prof. Gierke for his seventieth birthday (Weimar, 1911): reprinted in Law Quarterly Review XXVII. 219.]

VII. *The Transformation of Equity.* [From Essays in Legal History (International Congress of Historical Studies, London, 1913) Ed. Paul Vinogradoff, Oxford, 1913.]

VIII. *Archaism in Modern Law.* [An address to the Glasgow Juridical Society, Dec. 21, 1892, published in Law Quarterly Review IX, 271.]

IX. *Judicial Records.* [A lecture delivered before the Faculty of Law in the University of London, February 26th, 1913. Printed in Law Quarterly Review XXIX, 206.]

X. *English Law Reporting.* [A paper read before the American Bar Association at Hot Spring, Virginia, printed in Law Quarterly Review XIX, 451.]

XI. *Law Fallacies in the Law.* [From Legal Essays in honour of John H. Wigmore, Chicago, 1911.]

XII. *Reformation and Modern Doctrine of Divorce.* [Review reprinted from Law Quarterly Review XXIX, 85 (1913) with one correction.]

XIII. *Arabianiana.* [Cornhill Magazine, January 1911 with some corrections from later editions.]

From the first, *Comparative Jurisprudence* it will be certainly rather a surprise to realize that a century will cover the use of the term: indeed it was only in 1869 that the "Society of Comparative Legislation" was founded in Paris and in the same year Sir Henry Maine was appointed the first Professor of Historical and Comparative Jurisprudence at Oxford. Sir Frederick is at great pains to try and indicate what were and what are the aims and uses of this "handmaid to the theory of legislation." He points out how fallacious was the broad early idea that by ascertaining "the principles common to mature systems" of law or "the various analogies obtaining between them" any system of universal principles of positive law or a philosophy of law could be derived: how important it is to realize on the one hand that mere comparison of institutions is unprofitable unless account is taken of the stage of civilization and of special development to which the terms to be compared belong and on the other the peril of seeing historical affinities

between rules or customs which are really the similar but independent result of similar circumstances in distant times and places. Either as a means of understanding the reasons underlying some legal system or as a study in pure research—entrancing enough when elaborated by such a master as Maine—the chief function of this branch of jurisprudence should be to facilitate legislation and the practical improvement of law. But it is no easy task: there have been so many hammers of so many smiths which have moulded the iron heated by such fires as those of tradition, feudalism and religion and cooled in the tide of democracy or the clear waters of science. The effort to get to the bottom of Law by its comparative and historical investigation is, so the author thinks, part of the outcome, in different bianches, of one and the same intellectual movement—that which is associated with the word “Evolution,” “Thunder from a clear sky,” and “the historical temper of the nineteenth century was due to reaction against the didactic rationalism of the eighteenth, and that rationalism, again, was provoked by the futile conflict of dogmatic claims in the wars of religion which succeeded the Reformation and lasted till near the middle of the seventeenth century.” There were, of course, many early anticipations of comparative enquiry in jurisprudence and much of this essay is devoted to some account of the most important: they are instructive and curious and their “imperfect method was better than none.” St. German, Liebnitz, Vico and Montesquieu are singled out for special remark. A panegyric on the pursuit of knowledge closes a most charming address.

The second Essay on the *History of the Law of Nature* is a lengthy one and packed with information. The opening words define well the lines of the subject which Sir Frederick so carefully traces throughout its long and honorable story. “The term ‘Law of Nature,’ or natural law has been in use in various applications ever since the time of the later Roman Republic. Their variety and apparent diversity have tended to obscure the central idea which underlies them all, that of an ultimate principle of fitness with regard to the nature of man as a rational and social being, which is, or ought to be, the justification of every form of positive law.” This great conception has a continuous history from a date pre-Aristotelian to the present time. “Justice” is “Natural” and “Conventional”: “the rules of the former” are “those

universally recognized among civilized men”: those of the latter “deal with matters which are indifferent or indeterminate until a definite rule is laid down by some specific authority.” *Jus naturale est quod apud omnes homines eandem habet potentiam*” is the original dictum of Aristotle: and “*Jus Gentium*,” “*Nómos Gooikós*” and “*Lex naturalis*” are all more or less synonyms. Cicero’s exposition of the Law of Nature is, Sir Frederick quaintly remarks “identical with the morality of a high-minded Roman gentleman.” Not even philosophers, however, expected natural justice to be completely realized in this world and if they ever felt tempted to connect the Law of Nature with a lost Code of a fabulous Golden Age they were wise enough to resist. The “*Just naturale*” was the ideal to which actual law and custom could only approximate: the “*Jus gentium*” the measure of the practical application at a given time. It would be quite outside the limits of a review to follow the author throughout his historical summary of the manner in which this ancient concept was expanded: but its foundations were so obviously irrefragable that “when the chaos of the dark ages was past and lawyers and statesmen once more had the means of being humanists the Law of Nature could not be left out in any systematic discussion of human conduct”: and, as a sequela, every authority promptly endeavoured to prove that from this impregnable doctrine it drew its main power. The Churchmen boldly declared it the Law of God and that they were its authentic interpreters! The Imperialists maintained that the Emperor as the Official Head of the Church was its proper Exponent! It became an engine of dialectic and appeal to it the frank utilitarianism of expediency. Champions of the Papacy referred the foundation of the State to Natural Reason alone in order to deprive the Prince of any claim to spiritual jurisdiction but on the other hand there were intrepid folk—a large body—who held that commands of the Prince contrary to the Law of Nature were not binding on his subjects and might be lawfully resisted.

But on the whole in England at any rate, the Canon Law was the principal vehicle of the Law of Nature; an equipage at which Protestant writers were wont to look askance: and “in English politics canonists were associated with attempts to encroach on the King’s authority for the benefit of foreigners and in English common

law with the meddling and vexatious jurisdiction of the spiritual courts." So whilst on the Continent the theme developed into the modern Law of Nations under the great constructive genius of Grotius, in England for its primary recognition one must "look to such law and jurisdiction as had an avowed cosmopolitan character and principally to the Law Merchant." But there is another link between the mediæval doctrine of the Law of Nature and the principles of the English Common Law: "it is given by the use—correct in both systems, though constant, indeed exclusive, in the Common Law, and rather sparing in the Canon Law—of the words 'reason' and 'reasonable.'" And thus, in its journey, one recognizes such features as the definite adoption of the law merchant into English Common Law: "the liberal and elastic remedy on causes of action arising *quasi ex contractu*"; the reasonable caution, the reasonable price, the reasonable time and, indeed the whole doctrine of negligence: and much if not most of International Law; and many more too numerous to quote. One striking extension lies in some territories under British Administration in which English Law has never been introduced or received as a whole: for example in British India a Bengal Regulation of 1793 prescribed that the Judges were "to act according to justice, equity and good conscience (words which "down to the end of the eighteenth century, could only be read by any publicist or trained lawyer as synonymous with the Law of Nature") in cases where no rules definitive of the indigenous laws of the parties concerned could be found": the result of this and other similar regulations was that "English officials naturally interpreted these words as meaning such rules and principles of English law as they happened to know and considered applicable to the case."

The essay ends with a sketch of the remarkable instance afforded by the Straits Settlements where "a considerable part of the inhabitants live to this day, and apparently thrive, as to a considerable proportion of their affairs, under a judicial discretion founded on natural equity alone":

Locke's Theory of the State is the third essay. "Locke's Essay on Civil Government (1690) is well-known," writes Sir Frederick, "and is probably the most important contribution ever made to English constitutional law by an author who was not a lawyer by profession." It was "essentially an apologia for the Conven-

tion Parliament, no less than Hobbes' Leviathan and Behemoth were an indictment of the Long Parliament": "the doctrine which he had to confute was, as is well-known, that of absolute monarchy" and "the champion whom he attacked by name and elaborately demolished in the first of the two Treatises of Government was, however strange it may seem to us now-a-days, not Thomas Hobbes but Sir Robert Filmer, who is thus saved by Locke from oblivion!" Hobbes however was the really formidable adversary. The object of Locke's investigations is thus defined "Political Power I take to be Right of making Laws with Penalties of Death, and consequently all less Penalties, for the regulating and preserving of property, and of employing the force of the community, in the execution of such Laws, and in the Defence of the Commonwealth from Foreign Injury, and *all this only for the public good*." Princes and rulers hold their powers on conditions in the nature of a trust. Locke's political system purports to be founded on Natural Law: that is to say, "on rules of conduct which the light of reason, without aid of any special revelation, and without assuming the existence or authority of any form of society, can discover as generally applicable to man as a rational being." But he "thought it prudent to establish a natural right of property antecedent to political institutions"; appropriation being the reward of labour! Locke is an apostle of individualism: his body politic is formed only by consent and that renewed, tacitly if not expressly, in the person of every new member: he does admit that some surrender of natural right is necessary as when left to a state of nature mankind are "but in an ill condition"! but that surrender is for a definite and limited purpose and conditional upon that purpose being fulfilled and the power of the Commonwealth "can never be supposed to extend further than the Common Good." Whatever be the form of Government, it must be administered according to known and (and these are memorable words) "directed to no other end, but the Peace, Safety, and public Good of the People."

It is interesting to notice that in Locke's time there was "respectable authority for three different theories of the supreme power in England. The King was absolute, according to the ultra-royalists and Hobbes: Locke demolished this contention once for all, whatever we may think of his constructive work. Parliament, or

the King in Parliament, was absolute according to Sir Thomas Smith and the practice of Tudor reigns: this view was accepted by Blackstone and has been the only tenable one among English lawyers ever since. According to a third doctrine prevalent among students of the Common Law down to the early part of the eighteenth century there are bounds set by natural justice or "common right" even to what the King in Parliament can do; that is to say, the judges ought to disregard an Act of Parliament if it is manifestly contrary to natural justice, and perhaps if it attempts to subvert the foundations of the constitution; for example, if it purported to abolish the Monarchy of the House of Commons Locke's opinion is in substance a less technical version of this last; and it is worth while to observe that existing legal authorities were in his favour. Sir Thomas Smith, whose opinion ultimately prevailed, was not a common lawyer but a civilian."

Locke's Theory in one sentence is that all Governmental powers are held in trust for the public and abuse of them may justify the people in recourse to their ultimate rights which are extra-legal and superior to the positive forms of the constitution.

A Hobbist, writes Sir Frederick, would say that such a reservation of an ultimate right was anarchical; now-a-days presumably any one who would label himself as a constitutionalist would declare it Bolshevist! Yet all thoughtful people probably now recognize that Government is the instrument and not the creator of Society: though many seem to forget that fact!

In these fast modern days, no one of which seems long enough, few have leisure even to read Hobbes' monumental volumes and fewer still would not frankly find them tedious; but the influence of his writings was vast and went far in the forging of such tremendous instruments as the American Declaration of Independence, the outpourings of Rousseau and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man.

This brilliant essay is concluded by an appendix entitled "The Social Contract in Hobbes and Locke" which is a summary of an University Extension Lecture delivered by the learned author at Oxford in 1907 from which one phrase only can be quoted but which sums it up; "Hobbes recognises *pactum subiectionis* only; Locke (seemingly) both *pactum unionis* and *pactum subiectionis*; Rousseau *pactum unionis* only.

The fourth essay on *The Government by Committees in England* is extremely interesting. Nothing, except perhaps the congratulatory or valedictory "Dinner" is a more essential part of English life than the "Committee." When rich Mr. Blank of Calcutta is rewarded for his remarkable but obscure public services with a baronetcy or Sir Hyphen d' Apostrophe is about to retire on his well-earned but exiguous pension, dinners are given in their honour and perhaps a good thing too: postprandial eloquence and wine in! wit out! So too when a start is made with the Society of Cronks or the ancient Order of Antediluvian King Beavers the chief business at the inaugural meeting is the appointment of the inevitable "Committee." "No Englishman" says the author "who takes any part in affairs can fail to acquire some practical knowledge of committee work. It is found in every part of our social and political machinery. The executive of the Imperial Government is a Committee. The final court of appeal from all jurisdictions in the British Empire outside the United Kingdom is a Committee. Most if not all of the innumerable unofficial associations founded for the most various objects of public interest are directed by committees; in fact the appointment of a committee is generally the first step of any number of English people gathered together for any new common purpose." The etymological notion underlying the word Committee is that of mandate, "a specific business is committed to a certain person or persons to be dealt with according to instructions and authority which may be wider or narrower, expressed or implied."

The only assignable reason for giving those incoherent and inorganic bodies known as "General" committees that epithet is that they are never known to do anything in particular!

The learned author whitewashes the famous Star Chamber now-a-days regarded almost as the emblem of the sinister use of executive power—which was certainly a committee of the Privy Council and which he declares was "not unpopular nor did its jurisdiction, though exercised through a procedure quite different from that of the common-law courts, give rise to any serious complaint, until it was employed as an instrument of vindictive prosecutions on merely political grounds."

Sir Frederick passes from the Star Chamber to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council about which he has a good deal to say to his

German audience: thence to the administrative side and the transformation of certain Committees of the Privy Council into separate departments of executive government. The "Board of Trade" is "The Committee of the Privy Council appointed for the consideration of matters relating to Trade and Plantations" and the "Board of Education" was for sixty years the "Committee of Council on Education." But of course the Cabinet comes in for the most detailed treatment: but one can fancy the military element amongst Sir Frederick's assemblage at Berlin cracking huge guttural jokes at the Committee of Imperial Defence!

The allotropic form assumed by the House of Commons when it leaves debate on principle for consideration of detail and resolves itself into a committee of the whole House is "not the least singular part of our Parliamentary machinery." The "Inns of Court"; the "Incorporated Council of Law Reporting for England and Wales"; and many other bodies are mentioned and the learned author finds that Committees are good and facilitate the working out of schemes. "An engine without steam will not run at all but it is no less true that without oil it will run disastrously."

The Fifth Essay on *Gifts of Chattels without Delivery* is short and technical but it deals with questions which often crop up in ordinary life.

In *Cochrane v. Moore* [25 Q. B. D. 57] it was decided that a voluntary gift, without speciality and without delivery of a chattel capable of delivery, was not sufficient to pass the property. If A says to B "I give you my horse" and hands it over to B, the transaction is, of course, at an end: the horse is B's. But if A says to B "I give you my horse" but does not hand it over to B, what are the respective positions of A and B towards each other and, further, towards C into whose possession the horse comes. This is the pretty problem which has vexed the mind of many lawyers from time immemorial, is the subject of this Article and to parts of which even Sir Frederick does not pretend to give any confident reply!

As for B, the author thinks that the transaction gives B a license to take the horse peaceably wherever he can find it: at any rate from A's possession as "it would not be reasonable for A to treat B as a trespasser for acting upon A's expressed intention."

But, at any time before B obtains possession of the horse, A can revoke this license by com-

municating such revocation to B, whilst A's death has the same effect (*Irons v. Smallpicce*, 2 B & Ald. 551) and, perhaps, too if A becomes insane.

What the position of A or B, before the latter has acquired possession of the horse, is towards strangers, it seems more difficult satisfactorily to answer. Sir Frederick suggests that B has an immediate right to possession, revocable indeed at A's will, but sufficient to give him a right of action against C if C takes the horse without colour of right. But some maintain that the utmost effect of such a parol gift, considered as a license to take possession, would be to enable B to bring a possessory action against C in A's name without objection on the score of maintenance.

A, at any rate, not having parted with the legal possession, and having a right to possession which he can make exclusive at his own will, is clearly entitled to bring either trover or trespass against C.

Put in technical language, the result may be expressed thus: A retains the general property until the possession is changed by B's execution of his license to take the thing given, and meanwhile B acquires an immediate special property by the gift.

At any rate such questions were being agitated vigorously in the time of Edward IV and Henry VII: and the rule that a voluntary gift creates, even before delivery, a perfect *obligation* between the parties, though it does not pass the *property* was at least as old and doubtless a great deal older than Justinian.

Probably in modern life the principal instance in which this point is noticed is in the many cases in which an individual in normal circumstances promises verbally to give a relative some specific article—a watch or what not—and before that relative actually obtains possession the donor is gathered to his fathers. It is popularly supposed that in such cases a donee can claim the article, but he cannot: so it is well to be sure and obtain delivery as soon as possible: it is not here "*bis dat qui cito dat*" but almost "*bis habet qui cito habet*"!

The sixth essay is an attempt to explode the idea that "the Common Law has received the Fiction Theory of Corporations."

The "persona ficta" is not the "fictitious entity" but the "artificial" or "created"

person. The artificial identity of a corporation is, within its own sphere and for its own purposes, just as real as any other identity. The late Mr. Justice Cave (whose familiar phrase on the Bench was "That won't do, you know"!) once remarked in the course of a judgment "A corporation is a legal *persona*, just as much as an individual; and, if a man trusts a corporation, he trusts that legal persona, and must look to its assets for payment: he can only call upon individual members to contribute in case the Act or charter has so provided" (1889). Lord Selborne, on the other hand in 1872 stated that a railway company "is a mere abstraction of law" which makes him look a "Fictionist"; but in 1875 he wrote "A statutory corporation, created by Act of Parliament for a particular purpose, is limited, as to all its powers, by the purposes of its incorporation as defined in that Act" and that is more the language of a "Realist" of which school Sir Frederick is an out and out disciple.

And trading and other corporations are now held "responsible *ex delicto* for wrongs committed by their agents and servants in the course of their employment to an extent which ought to satisfy the demands of any reasonable Realist."

Going back earlier, Blackstone (1765) wrote "as all personal rights die with the person; and, as the necessary forms of investing a series of individuals one after another with the same identical rights would be very inconvenient, if not impracticable; it has been found necessary, when it is for the advantage of the public to have any particular rights kept on foot and continued, to constitute artificial persons, who may maintain a perpetual succession, and enjoy a kind of legal immortality."

But, as Sir Frederick points out, it is often for some associations much more convenient and practicable to do without any formal perpetual succession or legal immortality and mentions the examples, which manage very well without, of the Inns of the Court, the London Library, the London Stock Exchange and the Selden Society. Still further back Coke (1613) observes "Now it is to be seen, what things are of the essence of a corporation":—1. Lawful authority of incorporation. 2. Persons to be incorporated. 3. A name. 4. A certain place. 5. Sufficient (not necessarily technical) words. Name is of high moment. "Now there comes a writ, let us

suppose, in the name of the Governors of Sutton's Hospital (*i.e.*, The Charterhouse). Most naturally the defendant will ask; what kind of name is that? Thomas Sutton I know; few men have not heard of rich Sutton; but who are these nameless ministers of Sutton's intent? If they recover judgment against me, to whom shall I satisfy it? If they fail, from whom shall I get my costs?" Coke's answer "not the less apt for being quaint and for once concise" was "in this case Sutton as god-father gave the name, and by the same name the King baptized the incorporation"! It seems, indeed, that there are two quite distinct methods of "justifying what one may call corporate behaviour." The one is to say:—"The King by his Letters Patent which we produce, or the King in Parliament by a Statute which is of public knowledge, has made us a body politic and corporate." The other is to say:—"Our existence under this name and with all the usual incidents of a corporation is ancient and notorious."

The first would, of course, include the British North Borneo Company (Incorporated by Royal Charter under date November 1st, 1881) or a Joint Stock Company: the second, such as "The Master and Convent of St. Mary's Hospital at Bristol" who say they were "incorporated by that name before the time of legal "memory" or a College of Priests who aver "Paulinus the first Archbishop of York founded us as a body of prebendaries consecrated to our Lady, and that is admitted by divers records." It is an "offence against the King" to "assume to act as a corporation."

What the learned author wishes to stress in this essay is that it is a mistake to imagine that the corporate persons is in law so inanimate as the Fictionists would maintain: he thinks that there is as yet no knowing what vitality the legal view of support and a generous and liberal construction to a charter in "favour of a munificent and deserving foundation" might not bestow or, indeed, in what legal pranks any Corporation may not really safely indulge! But they have amenities nevertheless and, if the Corporation of London should be capable of being held guilty of treason and the dread judgment passed that "*suspendatur per collum corpus politicum*," it will have to be the "Common Seal" which will be solemnly escorted to the Callows!

(to be concluded)

THE MARQUESS OF RIPON'S VICEROYALTY.

Life of Lord Ripon. 2 Vol. By Lucien Wolf (John Murray, London, 1921).

Mr. Lucien Wolf's *Life of Lord Ripon* is remarkable for its critical appreciation of the character and career of the Marquess of Ripon, who was the most popular Viceroy India has had under British rule. Lord Ripon was the son of Lord Goderich and was born during the short premiership of his father in 1827. On his father's side he was in some distant degree connected with Oliver Cromwell and on his mother's, with John Hampden. "Lord Ripon himself", Mr. Wolf writes, "hugged the delusion to his last days that his Radicalism, which he prized in the past as a legacy from his Cromwellian ancestry, had always remained with him unmodified." The ex-Viceroy was educated privately and, adds his biographer, the education he received at home was not of the best kind. "It began late, and seems to have been carried on without much method to discipline." Lord Ripon once told his Private Secretary, Sir Bruce Seton, that they two had done very well in the world, although neither of them had had the advantages of a public school education. But he keenly realised the value of what he had missed. Writing to Lord Salisbury on the decision of Oxford University to confer a honorary degree on himself, Ripon observed: "It was not my good fortune to have a University education myself, but the best proof which I can give of my appreciation of its value is to be found in the fact that my son is going next week for his matriculation at Christ Church." Ripon was elected to the House of Commons in 1852 and sat for some six years in that body. But his first office was Under-Secretary of War in the Palmerston Government in 1859. In 1860 he was Under-Secretary of State for India with Sir Charles Wood for his chief for a period of six months, and then he went back again to the War Office. He became Secretary of State for War in 1863, and for India in 1865. He remained just five weeks in the latter office. His next post was Lord President of Council in the Gladstone Cabinet in 1868. In regard to offices, Lord Ripon rightly described his principle when many years later he was chaffed by Mr. Asquith

for having served under Palmerston in 1859-66. Lord Ripon's defence was that he did under that Government what he had done ever since—"I took what I could get and waited to get more." In 1873 he went as High Commissioner to the United States to negotiate the Alabama dispute, and for his services in that capacity he was rewarded with a Marquisate and the Garter. In 1874, he astonished his countrymen by going over to the Roman Church. The *Times* commenting on the event remarked that "to become a Roman Catholic and remain a thorough Englishman are—it cannot be disguised—almost incompatible conditions." Gladstone leaned to the same view and for six years Ripon remained without office.

In 1880, Ripon was offered and accepted the Viceroyalty of India, after it had been offered to and curtly refused by Mr. Goschen. There was some outcry in ultra-Protestant quarters but it came to nothing. Kristodas Pal in the *Hindoo Patriot* welcomed the appointment, citing Ripon's change of faith as a proof of his high conscientiousness. "A nobleman and public man in his position," wrote Kristodas, "would not have changed his ancestral religion if he had not been moved by high conscientious scruples." Lord Ripon began his Vice-regal career with false step. He selected Colonel Gordon as his Private Secretary, "apparently," says Mr. Wolf "for no other reason than that he admired his public spirit and pious unselfishness," against the remonstrance of several friends who thought that he would find Gordon too excitable to be possible as a Secretary. Within a day or two after their arrival in Bombay, Gordon resigned the Secretaryship on the ground "that the duties of the post were not in his line, and that he thought it would be better to resign at once." Lord Ripon did not come to India as a perfect stranger to its affairs. He had, as we have seen, acted both as Under-Secretary and Secretary of State for India. He had taken a prominent part in shaping the Indian Bill which transferred the Government from the East India Company to the Crown. Besides, he had relatives in the Indian Civil Service with whom he was in regular correspondence. The opinions expressed in his correspondence and speeches prior to his coming to India, were not very different from those of the liberal-minded Anglo-Indian. He wanted to leave the government very much to the man on the spot. It will surprise our readers, as it did us, to read that the Ilbert Bill

which more than any other measure roused popular enthusiasm for the Viceroy as the vindicator of the rights of Indians, was regretted by Ripon himself as a mistake. The opinions that had been collected from Local Governments did not lead him to expect the violent outburst that it roused from Anglo-India. The India Office had said nothing to warn him of the danger. When Ripon complained of the want of guidance from these sources, it transpired that Sir Henry Maine, then a member of the India Council, had handed to Lord Hartington, then Secretary of State, a very definite warning against the measure, for transmission privately to the Viceroy. Hartington explained that he put the Minute in his pocket at the Council meeting, changed his coat when he got home, and forgot all about it! If that Minute had been sent, there would probably have been no Ilbert Bill. Hartington's forgetfulness rather than Ripon's conviction of its need and urgency, accounted for its introduction in the Indian Legislative Council and all the consequences. Ripon repented deeply that he started the Bill. But once started it could not be lightly abandoned, and it is noteworthy that when Lord Kimberly, who had become Secretary of State for India, was "distinctly chary of accepting" the concession of a jury to try all European cases, it was Lord Ripon that insisted upon its acceptance.

Lord Ripon's policy was, indeed, to take his Council as far as possible with him. And he was generally able to do so.

"I find," he writes to Lord Hartington, "that Members of Council are frequently much more amenable after they have blown off their steam. The Council like to make a show of independence, they like to be treated with a certain amount of deference, but at last they can generally be got to do what is wanted. There is a very strong desire to support the Viceroy, but their very readiness to follow the Viceroy makes them afraid of being accused of being nothing but dummies."

In regard to the repeal of Lytton's Press Act, which he came out with definite instructions to carry out, he encountered so much opposition in the Council that Lord Hartington suggested that he should allow the majority to dissent from the proposal, and that the decision should be left to him as Secretary of State. But Lord Ripon would not adopt that course, and was even prepared to compromise on the repeal of "this detestable law" by stiffening the Penal Code on the subject of seditious publications. Eventually this was not found necessary and in announcing

the change that had come over the Council, Lord Ripon wrote: "The fact is that the Indian official regards the Press as an evil, necessary, perhaps, but to be kept within as narrow limits as possible; he has no real feelings of the benefits of free discussion." He maintained this attitude towards repression to the end. Lord Morley, in his "Recollections," has referred in a phrase to Lord Ripon's opposition to the Press legislation proposed in 1908. Mr. Wolf more explicitly says that Ripon took exception both in the Cabinet and in private letters to Lord Morley to the unnecessarily wide scope of the repressive measures which accompanied his reforms, and especially to their permanent character. The result was the Gokhale wrote to Wedderburn, "my countrymen's faith in him (Morley) has been more than shaken." Gokhale suggested that Lord Ripon, "as the one Englishman from whom the bulk of the educated classes in India will to-day stand advice," should speak in the House of Lords after Lord Morley had unfolded his scheme, commending it to the people of India, as the only means of ensuring its acceptance in this country. This suggestion was accepted and acted upon in what was Ripon's last speech and last appearance in Parliament. Lord Ripon himself regarded that Local Self-Government was the field where he did most for India. "Please keep steadily in your mind," he writes to a friend, "that our Local Self-Government Policy is of much more importance than Ilbert's Bill. The one is a policy looking onward to the future and intended to meet in time the great coming difficulty of our rule here; the other is only a single measure, sound in its purpose and inevitable sooner or later, but which, except as witnessing to a principle, will have little practical effect." Writing to Gladstone, Ripon put his finger on the inherent vice of the bureaucracy. "India," he said, "is governed by a Bureaucracy which, though I sincerely believe it to be the best that the world has ever seen, has still the faults and the dangers which belong to every institution of that kind; among these faults is conspicuously a jealousy of allowing non-officials to interfere in any way whatever with any portion, however restricted, of the administration." There has been some real improvement in this attitude in the last forty years, but on the least provocation, the old defect comes out, showing that it still remains there though held ordinarily in check.

K. NATRAJAN.

Seventy Years Among Savages by Henry S. Salt (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London, 1921). 10s. 6d.

This is not the story of strange adventures among the savages of some far off south sea island, but the record of a long and busy life among the people of the British Isles; written by a cultured and liberal-minded scholar and humanitarian who has now reached the haven of a serene old age, and who looking back upon many years of life spent in the prosecution of good and noble service to the humanitarian cause, thought it fitting to describe his life among his fellow countrymen as being spent among people with the habits and outlook of book is partly ironic, and partly a challenge. He quotes as the heading to his first chapter the pregnant words of the late Ernest Crosby "A strange lot this; to be dropped down in a world of barbarians—Men who see clearly enough the barbarity of all ages except their own."

Mr. Salt was born in 1850 and was educated at Eton and Oxford, afterwards becoming a master at Eton, a post which he held for over ten years. He has many extraordinary and very laughable things to tell us about his days at Eton. Especially funny is his description of The Lower Master at Eton who was the Rev. F. E. Durnford, nicknamed "Judy" "A strange, laughable yet almost pathetic figure, with whimsical puckered visage and generally weather-beaten aspect, like a sort of ancient Mariner in academic garb. He, too, used the birch freely in his domain of lower school, but his castigations were of the paternal kind, and between the strokes of the rod he would interject moral reproofs in his queer nasal voice, such as; "You nahty, nahty boy!" It was said that during the punishment he would even enter into conversation with the offender, especially when he knew his people personally, and that on one occasion he was overheard to enquire of a boy on the block; "Have you seen your uncle lately?" A question which, in the circumstances, would at first sight seem irrelevant, but was probably intended to awaken repentance in the criminal by directing his thoughts to some pious and respected relative."

He has many very interesting anecdotes too regarding William Johnson-Cory who was also a master at Eton, and a poet of rare distinction, who published a little book of verse "Ionica" which is recognised by critics as poetry of the highest order. Cory was extremely absent-minded and Mr. Salt relates of him that "he was seen pursuing a hen down Windsor Hill and making futile grabs at her, under the belief that she was his hat." Mr. Salt also relates the story of a certain Etonian who, being invited to write an account of St. James the Elder and St. James the Less was able to give a brief description of the Elder, but was reduced, in the case of the Lesser Saint, to the rather inadequate, though so far correct, statement that; "The other was another."

After he left Eton the great work of Mr. Salt's life was the founding of the Humanitarian League and for many years he not only edited the journal of the League but was the moving spirit in its manifold activities. The League took a strong line against the cruelties of sport, it protested very vigorously in the press, on the platform, and by means of leaflets, pamphlets and books, against all the grosser forms of cruelty, practised not only under the name of sport, but under the name of law and order, flogging in the navy, rabbit coursing, deer-hunting, breaking up hares, fox-hunting, all these things were protested against by the League in the name of Humanity. And Mr. Salt was the life and soul of the League throughout.

Mr. Salt has also been a very active man of letters, and has published among other books, a life of Thoreau, the great American naturalist and apostle of the simple life, a study of the life and work of the great pessimist poet, James Thomson (B. V.) and an anthology of poetry "Sons of Freedom," the poems of Francis Adams (Songs of the Army of the Night) with an introduction, a volume of interpretation and appreciation of the life and work of Shelley, and a fascinating volume of recollections of Eton College.

His friendships have included many of the greatest men of letters and thinkers of his time. At the age of seventy-one Mr. Salt can look back over a life well spent in the service of his fellow-men and women. The outbreak of the great war was of course a great blow to his ideals. For a moment it seemed as if everything

for which he had wrought and toiled had failed under the shadow of the great blood-letting, and in the midst of the organised lying and outbreak of stupid hatred which the war engendered. To Mr. Salt the outbreak of the war suggested the following reflections "It might bring a return to the ethics of, say, the Middle ages ; our countrymen's innate savagery would be rather more openly and avowedly practised—that would be all. They would be like the troupe of monkeys who, having been trained to go through their performance with grave and sedate demeanour, were loosed sud-

denly, by the flinging of a handful of nuts, into all their native lawlessness."

Seventy Years among Savages is one of the most fascinating books that has come our way for some time. It not only bubbles over with humour, it is full of a love for all great and noble causes which help mankind "to let the ape and tiger die". It is the record of a life pilgrimage of one of those rare souls who from time to time are given by the Gods to a cruel and erring world, that they may hold aloft the banner of brave endeavour, and point the way to the uplands of life and conduct.

S. J. LOOKER.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

Law.

The Hindu Code. By Dr. H. S. Gour. Second edition (Central Book Depot, Nagpur) 1923.

The first edition of Dr. Gour's *Hindu Code*, which appeared in 1919, was noticed at great length and in terms of very high appreciation by the *Hindustan Review*. We extend a cordial welcome to the thoroughly revised and enlarged (second) edition which is lying before us and which is in every respect a marked improvement on the first. It is not well known that the Codification of Hindu Law was attempted by one of the Moghul Emperors and the result was the production known as *Raghuwandan's Digest*. The Mahomedan Law was sought to be codified at the same time, and the work produced is still extant and known as *Fatawa-a-Alamgiri*. This Digest of Raghuwandan is in 27 volumes and its innumerable imitations by the learned Pundits of the time were criticised by James Mill in his now almost forgotten history of India, who thought that a scientific jurist alone could codify Hindu Law and that the mistakes of the Pandits, their vagueness of expression, their prejudices and their uncritical judgment could not be eliminated by employing the Pundits to do the work of codification. In 1832 the British Parliament made an inquiry into this subject, created a Law Membership for the Governor General's Council and appointed a Royal Commission to codify *inter alia* the Hindu and Mahomedan laws. Unfortunately, this Committee after ten years' waiting reported its inability to codify them. Four more Commissions were appointed, but they accepted the view of the Royal Commission as the last word on the subject. In 1878 the late Mr. John Mayne brought out the first edition of his Hindu Law and in his preface (reproduced in later editions) he wrote that he regarded the Codification of Hindu Law as a miracle. The impossibility of codifying Hindu Law was thus taken for granted on all hands during the last hundred years. Dr. Gour's *Code* is thus the first one of its kind, and the fact that the first large edition of it was sold out in six months, and the present edition was nearly exhausted soon after its publication shows the ability of the legal mind for a codified statement of Hindu Law. Dr. Gour has already introduced a Bill codifying portions of it, but the Legislative Assembly

is full of reactionaries, and it is impossible to make headway with Codification unless public opinion is more vocal in its favour. In the meantime, we commend the new edition which is a very great improvement upon its predecessor. Though it is only but two years since the first edition of the book saw the light, Dr. Gour has improved the occasion by rewriting a large part of his earlier work and making additions which amount to about two hundred pages. In its new form Dr. Gour's *Hindu Code* is not only the most accurate but the most systematic and the most comprehensive statement and exposition of the principles of Hindu Law administered in our courts, and reflects the highest credit on the industry, capacity for work and legal learning of its author. It would be equally valuable to the Judge, the lawyer and the social reformer.

The Law of Income Tax. By P. D. Aiyangar. (Associated Printers, Ltd., Madras) 1922.

Mr. P. D. Aiyangar's *Law of Income Tax* is a useful and meritorious work which will be valuable equally to the tax-assessor and the tax-payer. It is framed by way of a commentary on the Indian Income Tax Act, 1922, and appended to the text are several appendices containing matter of great utility. The Act (XI of 1922) consolidates the law relating to income tax and super tax in this country and a comprehensive commentary—such as is now furnished in the work under notice—was badly needed. The compiler has brought to bear upon his work considerable knowledge and experience of the subject, with the result that his work will be of the highest utility to accountants, assessors, businessmen, and legal practitioners. References to the English Act are given throughout and the provisions of the Income Tax Manual incorporated in their proper places under each section, as are the rules framed by the Board of Inland Revenue. In fact all available sources of information—text-books, reports, digests, proceedings of the legislature &c.—have been freely tapped and utilized and the material so collected carefully classified, focussed and systematized. Taken as a whole, Mr. Aiyangar's *Law of Income Tax* is a notable addition to the commentaries on various

branches of Anglo-Indian Law, and should find a large circulation amongst the various classes concerned with the incidence of this particular tax.

Lawyers' Vade Mecum for Criminal Courts. 2 vols.

By M. L. Agarwala and C. M. Agarwala, Barristers-at-Law. (Ram Narain Lal, Katra, Allahabad) 1922.

A Concise Digest of the Rulings of the Patna High Court (Criminal). By C. M. Agarwala, Barrister-at-Law. (Khadagvilas Press, Patna) 1923.

The Agarwalas—father and son—are well-known in the Indian legal world as compilers of many meritorious legal works—text-books, digests, manuals and *vade mecums*. Their various publications—all generally useful and serviceable—have been appreciatively noticed in the *Hindustan Review* for the last many years. For the last few years Mr. C. M. Agarwala has been materially assisting his father in bringing out new editions of his earlier books and has been also publishing some works on his own account. Recently he has completed with his father—Dr. Manmohan Lal Agarwala—a new handy edition in two volumes of the criminal law, substantive and adjective, which is well got-up and neatly printed. It is exceedingly well annotated and should be found highly useful by magistrates, police officers and criminal court practitioners. His venture on his own account is *A Concise Digest of the Criminal Rulings of the Patna High Court*. Considering that the decisions of the Patna Court are already scattered over half a dozen series of legal Journals—official and non-official—Mr. Agarwala's *Digest*, which is compact and well-arranged, would be found indispensable by those who may have anything to do with the criminal rulings of that Court.

Annual Part of the Yearly Digest of Indian and Select English Cases 1922. By R. Narayanaswamy Iyer, B.L. (Madras Law Journal Press, Mylapore, Madras).

The Annual Indian Digest and *The Yearly Digest* were for many years the two rival compilations in their class in this country, but the former has now been absorbed by the latter and is incorporated with it. Thus the *Yearly Digest* is now the one comprehensive guide to the current decisions of the highest judicial tribunals in the Indian Empire. It is a valuable work of reference in Anglo-Indian Legal literature for its great merits. It digests cases reported in almost all the periodicals, official and

non-official. The summaries of the points decided are invariably accurate and the *ratio decidendi* are clearly brought out. For these reasons the *Yearly Digest* should be indispensable to the Bench and the Bar alike.

RECENT BOOKS OF REFERENCE.

The Business Man's Geography. By E. G. R. Taylor. (George Philip & Son, Ltd., 32 Fleet Street, London) 1922.

The war has brought about such tremendous changes in the world's market that an up-to-date text-book of Commercial Geography was badly needed. An accurate and systematic compendium of general and post-war conditions in respect of produce and markets, will be found in Mr. Taylor's invaluable work of reference. Being—for facility of reference—alphabetically arranged it enables one instantly to find the details relating to area, population, position, general conditions, trade relations, etc., of any country in the world. There are, in addition, 32 coloured maps and 135 black and white maps, also an Index of commodities. It also enables one by an ingeniously arranged system of symbols to visualise the manufactures, the resources, and the commercial possibilities of the countries dealt with. It gives a succinct account of the position as regards industry and commerce in every part of the globe, together with such geographical facts as have a direct bearing upon the subject. That position is not, of course, a static one, and hence the author has throughout attempted to show how matters are tending, and to emphasize future potentialities as well as actual conditions. Every care has been taken to ensure that the information given and the conclusions drawn are thoroughly reliable, and numerous authorities and official reports have been consulted, in the collection of the materials brought together, especially in the range of statistics. For these reasons the *Business Man's Geography* is bound to be highly useful to traders, merchants, financiers, economists, public men and Journalists.

Whitaker's Peerage 1923. (J. Whitaker & Sons, Ltd., 12 Warwick Lane, London, E. C. 4) 1923.

There are several well-known annual directories dealing with the peers, baronets, knights and com-

panions in the British Commonwealth, but *Whitaker's Peerage* (which is the youngest of its class) is not only perhaps the cheapest but the most convenient for reference. The current edition contains complete list of the Peers, Baronets, Knights and Companions up to the end of 1922, and also includes the New Year honours conferred in last January. The careful and accurate compilation and arrangement which has always characterised the work is still fully maintained, while for ease of reference it can hardly be surpassed. The inclusion of Officers of the Order of the British Empire in the Alphabetical Companionage makes the section the most complete on the subject. The preface rightly calls attention to the very remarkable increase to the Peerage and Baronetage during the last few years. The obituary for the year is very full and complete, running to 5½ closely printed pages. *Whitaker's Peerage* is—as stated above—the cheapest now before the public, while its convenient shape and handy size add very materially to its value and usefulness as an indispensable work of ready reference for all who seek for information concerning the higher ranks of the aristocracy of the British Empire.

Whitker's Almanac 1923. (J. Whitaker & Sons, Ltd., 12, Warwick Lane, London, E. C. 4) 1923.

Inaugurated in 1868, *Whitaker's Almanac* for the current year is the fifty-fifth yearly edition of this most famous annual reference work of the English-knowing world. It is too well-known and too well-established in popular estimation to need the reviewer's commendation and the *Hindustan Review* has now for nearly a quarter of a century noticed in terms of high appreciation the recurring annual publications of this highly useful and very meritorious book of reference, which not only—as its title implies—contains an account of the astronomical and other phenomena, but also gives a vast amount of sound and accurate information respecting the government, finances, population, commerce and general statistics of the various nations and states, with special reference to the British Commonwealth and the United States of America. The edition under notice has been carefully and judiciously revised and brought up-to-date and it is fully abreast of the latest important events and incidents. All matters of general interest and questions of the day are fully dealt with and the statistical data are, on the whole, accurate. The current edition of *Whitaker's Almanac* is indispensable to public men and publicists.

Who's Who in the New Parliament. Edited by T. W. Walding. (Philip Gee, 40, King Street, Covent Garden, W. C. 2, London) 1923.

Mr. Walding's *Who's Who in the New Parliament* is a new and useful addition to the ranks of works of reference. It not only comprises a complete alphabetical list of the members of the House of Commons elected in November, 1922, but gives in the case of each of them their parliamentary history, industrial interests, policy and pledges to constituents—the last excerpted from their election addresses, manifestoes or speeches. In the list of the members' profession one finds, amongst others, auctioneers, bookbinders, bootmakers, engine drivers, hairdressers, showmen and underwriters—but fortunately no undertakers! Altogether the new publication would be useful to Journalists in quest of accurate information about the new members of the House of Commons. We trust that favourable reception will be accorded to the publisher's enterprise so that the work may appear yearly.

The Daily Mail Year-Book 1923. (Associated Newspapers, Ltd., London, E. C.)

Of the many political year-books that one is familiar with, that associated in name with the *Daily Mail* is unique in its being the cheapest and yet the most comprehensive. Unlike several other annuals of its class and kind—which are only revised and brought up-to-date—the *Daily Mail Year-Book* is completely rewritten for each succeeding edition. Its contents cover a very large ground and traverse almost the whole of current political and economic affairs of the British Commonwealth. In fact, the little red book is a most marvellous compendium of general knowledge on the public affairs of the day and is a most informative work of reference. The edition under notice is fully abreast of the latest incidents and events.

The Newspaper Press Directory 1923. Seventy-eighth Annual Issue. (Mitchell & Co., Ltd., Snow Hill, London, E. C. 1.) 5s.

The 1923 edition of the *Newspaper Press Directory* is just to hand. The *Directory* has been appearing year by year since 1846, and can claim to have made newspaper and advertising history. The new edition includes a complete record of the newspapers, magazines and trade publications of the Empire, together with those of the principal foreign countries with which British traders do business. A character-

istic feature of the *Directory* are the trade articles, especially those dealing with inter-imperial trade and the possibility of utilising to the full the generous tariff bonuses which the Dominions offer to the Mother Country. The trade articles include full summaries of the tariffs and well informed and brightly written summaries of prospects in Australia, Canada, India, New Zealand, the West Indies and South Africa. A more general article upon Britain's export trade contains some welcome information upon the British Empire Exhibition, to be held at Wembley Park in 1924. Other welcome features of the 1923 issue of the *Directory* are a résumé of the 1922 advertising business, under the title "Things that Matter in Advertising," and a similar article upon the modern newspaper world, "The Trend of the Modern Press." The *Newspaper Press Directory* contains 650 pages and is a wonderful five shillings' worth for the advertiser, the agent and the journalist.

GEOGRAPHY.

Geography: Physical, Economic, Regional. By J. F. Chamberlain. (J. B. Lippincott Company, London and Chicago) 1922.

Mr. Chamberlain's *Geography* is one of the volumes of Messrs. Lippincott's "School Text Series", and we can unhesitatingly declare it to be an almost ideal text-book for students' purposes even outside the United States of America. It possesses in a remarkable degree the merits of accuracy, comprehensiveness and soundness which we have learnt to associate with American text-books for students. It is a solid and compact manual of about five hundred pages of clear print, embellished with over two hundred excellent illustrations, which materially add to the usefulness of the letter-press. The get-up, format and mechanical execution are alike creditable and the book, as a whole, deserves wide publicity. As the title of Mr. Chamberlain's book indicates, it is divided into three parts, the first dealing with Physical Geography or Physiography, the second with Economic Geography or Econography and the third with Political Geography or Politography. The first part covers 167 pages, the second 190 and the third 128—because the last section is devoted only to the United States. But though students outside the States may not require to know the regional geography of that country in minute details, the first two sections which deal with Physiography and Econography should appeal to a large circle of readers, alike for their comprehensiveness, exactitude and informativeness.

A mere enumeration of the contents list of the first two sections of the book will satisfy the reader as to the comprehensive scope of Mr. Chamberlain's work. The physical environment of man, the earth and its neighbours, the atmosphere and its movements leading to storms, cyclones, hurricanes and tornadoes, the moisture of the atmosphere resolving itself into dew, fog, clouds, frost, snow, hail and rainfall, weather and its forecasts, climate and its relation to life, the origin and utility of mountains, plains, rivers, lakes, glaciers, soil and ocean—these are some of the many topics expounded in the first section. The second section deals with agriculture and agricultural products, plant life, cereals, fibre plants—cotton, flax, hemp and jute, beverage plants—coffee, tea and cocoa, fruits, sugar plants, potatoes and other garden crops, forestry and forest products, animals and minerals in their relation to man and last but not least with transport and communication in the economy of human life. The information conveyed is clear and full and the materials brought together are systematized with care and an insight into the needs of students. The result is a book which may be regarded as an indispensable adjunct to the students' bookshelf.

The Nations of the Modern World. By Sir Halford Mackinder, M.A. (George Philip & Son, Ltd., 32, Fleet Street, London) 1922.

Sir Halford Mackinder's book—*The Nations of the World*—first saw the light in 1911, when the condition of the nations of the modern world was very different from what it is now. Accordingly the author has completely revised and overhauled the book, which in its present form is more a new work than a new edition. The book is a mixture of geography and history, and though its conception is geographical, the treatment is more often than not historical. Within a short compass it presents its readers with a knowledge of the chief contrasts of the political and commercial world. The author is a master of the subject he deals with in the volume under notice, and he has been eminently successful in his efforts to interest students of political geography in acquiring a comprehensive outlook on a right perspective of world-problems. There are two chapters dealing with India and though there is not a little in them with which Indian readers may not always agree, credit should be given to Sir Halford Mackinder for his sense of fairness and impartiality in dealing with the present political conditions. The book deserves a careful perusal not only by students—for whom it

is primarily intended—but also by men interested in public affairs, for it is suggestive, thought-provoking and instructive.

The Broad Outlook: A Physical Geography. By J. H. Fuidge, M.A. (George Gill & Sons, Ltd., 13, Warwick Lane, London) 1922.

Since Huxley popularized Physical Geography under the new name of Physiography in his well-known handbook on the subject, there has issued from the press a long series of text-books. But none that we know of is cast in so popular and lucid a form as Mr. Fuidge's booklet—for such it is—called *The Broad Outlook*. While it covers the almost entire range of subjects dealt with in text-books on Physiography, its unique feature is that the many excellent illustrations, with which it is embellished, are composed of aerial photographs while the text is so written as to captivate the imagination of the pupil. Each chapter is followed by suggestive exercises. A student who will master this book should possess a very useful stock of general knowledge, which will certainly enable him to command a broad outlook on the natural phenomena. Altogether a capital little book.

A Concise Geography of the World. New Edition (W. & R. Chambers, Ltd., 38, Soho Square, London, W.) 1922.

The educational publications of Messrs. Chambers are deservedly widely appreciated, and though their *Concise Geography* is primarily a school-book, we give it prominence because its new edition is, to our knowledge, the only work in English available which gives correct information about the latest changes in the political boundaries of the various European States, due to the treaties which have followed in the wake of the cataclysm of the great war. Apart from the value of the letter-press, the usefulness of the book is high because of its being illustrated by numerous diagrams and maps—both coloured and uncoloured. The letter-press describes in an introductory section general notions on geography and then in detail the countries of the world. The last section deals with physical geography of a rather advanced character. We commend this work for accuracy in detail and for its being up-to-date. The figures given are those of the last census of each country, and the extensive political changes in Europe, Asia and Africa, consequent upon the great war, have been carefully noted and recorded. On

the whole it is about the best introductory text-book of political geography easily accessible at present.

Maps: Their History, Characteristics and Uses. By Sir Herbert Fordham (University Press, Cambridge) 1922.

Sir Herbert Fordham's book—*Maps: Their History, Characteristics and Uses*—is based on five lectures delivered to the teachers of the County of Cambridge. Its object is to supply something in the nature of a guide, but it is also hoped that it may be adequate in itself as an outline and foundation for actual class-teaching. But the book is frankly meant for teachers. Its object is to create an interest, from the educational point of view, in the subject of Cartography and of furnishing systematic data for its detailed study. It embodies the history of map production from the earliest times and deals with all collateral and subsidiary topics. It is thus an excellent guide to Cartography and is undoubtedly the most compact digest of a large mass of materials generally inaccessible.

INDIAN ECONOMICS.

Indian Economic Problems. Two Vols. By Prof. Brij Narain, M.A. (Sanatan Dharma College, Lahore) 1922.

Professor Brij Narain made his mark as a close student and a careful expositor of Indian economics so far back as 1919, when he published a collection of essays on our economic problems, which were noticed in terms of appreciation in the *Hindustan Review*. The first volume of his book under consideration is a considerably enlarged edition of his previous collection of 1919, enriched with much additional matter, which has materially enhanced the value and usefulness of the learned Professor's work. The first volume now comprises twenty well-written and thoughtful essays traversing almost the whole field of Indian economics. Though the book is not intended to be a systematic treatise on the subject, nevertheless Professor Brij Narain's collection of essays comprised in the first volume of his *Indian Economic Problems* is a notable and invaluable acquisition to the literature of Indian economics. The essays deal with such diversified topics as the application of the principles of Economics to Indian conditions, Indian *versus* Western industrialism, rise in Indian prices and its effect on our economic life, the best index of

economic prosperity, economic causes of unrest, Indian currency and paper currency, Indian budgets and recent financial situation, banking and industries, foreign trade, export duty, labour and protection—truly a comprehensive survey. Throughout the discussion the author brings to bear upon the subject an intelligent appreciation of the realities of Indian economic life and a sound grasp of the many problems he tackles. Altogether this book will enhance the reputation of Indian Scholarship and the *Essays on Indian Economic Problems*—as the first volume of Professor Brij Narain's work is designated—redounds to the credit of the author's learning and scientific spirit.

The second volume of Professor Brij Narain's work is called *Source-Book for the Study of Indian Economic Problems* and is admittedly a compilation. Its object is, by means of presenting judiciously-selected extracts from official reports and other official literature, to introduce the student of Indian Economics to original sources. These extracts—which are introduced by short, elucidative essays from the editor's pen—have been carefully chosen to serve the object in view obviously from several thousand pages of printed matter. The subjects dealt with in these selections are Indian currency, paper currency, the Imperial Bank of India, finance, tariff, land revenue policy, famine, irrigation, industrial development, railways, co-operation, factory legislation. The extracts are from speeches, minutes, notifications, resolutions, despatches, proceedings of legislatures and other equally valuable media of information. The result of the Professor's industry is a highly useful manual for the students of Indian Economics, which will introduce them to most valuable sources of reliable and illuminating information on the subject.

An Introduction to Co-operation in India. "India of To-day" Series. Vol I. By C. F. Strickland, I.C.S. (Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press Bombay and Calcutta) 1922.

Dr. Rushbrook Williams—the indefatigable Director of the Central Bureau of Information of the Government of India—opens excellently his series of "India of Today", with Mr. C. F. Strickland's exceedingly well-written and illuminating sketch called *An Introduction to Co-operation in India*. It is—to our knowledge—the first publication dealing in popular language with the subject of co-operation and thus furnishes material which ought to be extremely helpful to Indian students in their preparation for citizenship. The author first discusses the economic

conditions of the world as now governed by capitalism and the proposals made by socialists and others for their improvement, he then defines co-operation and offers a succinct account of what has been accomplished in England and some other European countries. He then presents a sketch of the origin, growth, development of the co-operative movement in India and accurately states its present position. Thus within the narrow compass of 75 small pages, Mr. Strickland brings out into prominent relief the salient features of this highly beneficial movement, the expansion of which will mean the economic salvation of the Indian masses.

Indian Export Trade. By R. M. Joshi, M.A., LL.B. (Sydenham College, Fort, Bombay) 1922.

Mr. R. M. Joshi has in his *Indian Export Trade* made a notable contribution to the literature of Indian industrial development. Though the work is admittedly a compilation, there is enough originality in it to take it out of the rut of that class. Mr. Joshi has brought to bear upon an analysis of the export trade of India a critical acumen of high order, with the result that his book satisfies all enquiries in connection with the subject. The main articles of Indian export, the quantity of each produced and that available for export, their position in the international market, and competition with the exports of other countries, the principal customers of the Indian articles and the general outlook of this country's export trade are set forth with accuracy and lucidity. The many diagrams and tables render the book still more useful both for purposes of study and reference. The data utilized is derived from official sources and the statistics used are for the years 1900 to 1914—when conditions were normal. The book deserves careful study at the hands of all students of the subject.

Fiscal Policy in India. By Pramathanath Banerjee, M.A., D.Sc. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London and Calcutta) 1922. 6s.

Our Fiscal Policy. By C. N. Vakil, M.A., M.Sc. Second Edition (D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co, Bombay) 1922. Rs. 5/-.

It is a significant sign of the times that two books dealing with the question of India's fiscal policy should have seen the light in the course of one year—both written by thoroughly qualified Indians, dealing with the subject from the Indian point of view. Dr. Banerjee is a well-known Indian economist, being the

Minto Professor of Economics in the Calcutta University; while Mr. Vakil—though less known in Upper India—is no less qualified being connected with the Department of Economics in the University of Bombay. Dr. Banerjea's book is based upon a course of lectures, in which an attempt is made to present the different aspects of the question in a fair and impartial manner. He surveys in the first three chapters the fiscal policy pursued in relation to India during the time of the East India Company and under the Crown—more particularly during the war period and after. We have then a discussion of the theoretic bases of free trade and protection, after which are presented dissertations on the right fiscal policy for India and on Imperial preference. There are two useful appendices—on rates of duty levied in Great Britain on Indian goods and those levied in India on British goods. Mr. Vakil's book—which nominally a second edition of his brochure called *Our Fiscal Policy* (issued in January, 1922) is a new work of great utility and interest—is divided into three parts. The first sketches the history of Indian fiscal policy from the earliest days of British rule till 1922, the second summarises some aspects of Dominion and British fiscal policy and the third presents a critical review of the Report of the Indian Fiscal Commission. The two appendices reproduce the conclusions of the Majority and Minority Reports of the Commission.

It would thus be seen that the two books—each of them useful for study and reference—supplement each other and taken together present, from the Indian standpoint, a complete conspectus of the great and burning problem of the fiscal policy to be pursued by this country. The historical part of the subject is dealt with more adequately by Dr. Banerjea in the first four chapters of his book covering about 116 pages. Mr. Vakil's treatment of the history of the subject, though sufficient for ordinary purposes, is not so full. But he scores against the Calcutta economist in the second part of his work, which deals with the fiscal policy of Great Britain and British Colonies like Canada and Australia and the present fiscal policy of the British Commonwealth. This part of the book is highly suggestive and instructive and throws a flood of light on Dr. Banerjea's Discussions on the right fiscal policy of India and on this country's attitude towards Imperial preference. Both the writers are protectionists, though perhaps Mr. Vakil is more frankly so than Dr. Banerjea. But so is the almost the entire educated Indian community and to a large extent the Government of India as well—as is evidenced by the adoption of the resolution on the subject during the last session of the Indian Legislative

Assembly. But the matter will not rest there as India is determined to have fiscal independence even before she gets political freedom. Those who desire to know the reason why should turn to a study of the two excellent works of Dr. Banerjea and Mr. Vakil on Indian fiscal policy.

THEORY OF POLITICAL ECONOMY.

Wealth and Taxable Capacity by Sir Josiah Stamp (P. S. King & Son, Ltd., London, 1922). 10s. 6d.

A book from the pen of Sir Josiah Stamp bears the imprimatur of the greatest British authority on statistics. In *Wealth and Taxable Capacity* the author has collected together his Newmarch Lectures for 1920-1, and has with his usual skill and industry dealt with the problem of computation of national income and national wealth. It is refreshing to find the author laying emphasis on the need of a correct scientific attitude: "it is a feature of prime scientific importance that we should examine facts in the dry light of statistical precision before we proceed to cloud our judgment by application to specific problems, in which, try as we will, we must be influenced by prepossession and prejudice." After an illuminating and critical survey of the methods and practice of statistical computation of national capital and income, the author proceeds to discuss their distribution—a problem of increasing urgency and importance. The author's conclusions on this problem based on personal research and on similar studies by other economists will evoke both surprise and comment, for he does not hesitate to weigh the scales heavily against all socialistic fads, and even against capital levy which has received support from such a distinguished economist as Prof. Pigou of Cambridge University. Sir Josiah Stamp believes in the beneficence of Capitalistic production, for has not this system made it possible for average wealth to increase four-fold since the beginning of the 19th Century? But we are not told if such an increase could not have been garnered in case the social structure had been built on a different plan. The author does not discuss the ethics or the equities of the problem of distribution in relation to its effect upon individual well-being. He confines himself strictly to economic analysis. A very useful material is presented in *Wealth and Taxable Capacity*—very instructive, but in places rather too subtle. The book deserves wide perusal as a study based on scientific reasoning and industrious research.

Reparations, Trade and Foreign Exchange by L. L. P. Angus (P. S. King & Son, Ltd., London, 1922). 12s. 6d

In one sense *Reparations, Trade and Foreign Exchange* falls short of completeness in as much as the history of Reparations embodied therein carries us only up to May 1921. The recent occupation of Ruhr following upon the default of Germany is a significant episode which the economist of indemnities can not afford to ignore, for the military occupation has been made in teeth of opposition from all sound thinkers and in contravention of economic principles. But Mr. Angus' book takes on an added interest and enlightenment by fact of its prophecies having proved correct in the sequence of time. The argument that Indemnity, both in its economic and monetary aspects hits the receiver as ruinously as it does the giver is very lucidly and vigorously put. Mr. Angus does not base his reasoning upon a superficial examination of the gift horse's mouth; he depends upon the very sound economic reason that German and British goods are predominantly competitive and consequently exchange-dumping as a direct result of indemnity-payments will prove disastrous for British industry. The dislocation of the normal balance of production and labour will result in widespread unemployment and give a fillip to revolutionary tendencies. Besides acute distress at home, Britain is likely to lose her hold over colonial and foreign markets. *Reparations, Trade and Foreign Exchange* is a very vigorous and soundly argued book so far as the economic effects of indemnity are concerned. But when the author proceeds to offer his own solution—he doesn't say that indemnity is absolutely uneconomic, but thinks Germany ought to be made to pay and suggests his ways and means—almost similar reasoning as he has adduced against May 1921 schedule appears to stand up against his proposals. Taken as a whole Mr. Angus' argument is stimulating and the reasoning extremely instructive.

Money and Credit by C. J. Melrose (W. Collins Sons & Co., Ltd., London, 1922). 5s.

A collection of newspaper articles which have been recast and built into a connected series, this book suffers from the unguarded and loose language which should not characterise a book so full of serious suggestions. The economic *malaise* which at present threatens bankruptcy to various European nations is primarily due to the exchange debacle. Despite the

powerful advocacy of the Swedish Economist, Prof. Gustav Cassel, no serious effort seems to have been made up to now to stabilise the exchanges:—and this lack of effort is in the main attributable to the series of political events which have crippled the internal money mechanism and prevent a serious attempt at reconstruction. Mr. Melrose is quite severe in his denunciation of the "muddle-headed conception of credit," and of the fluctuating gold standard. He proposes to stabilise currency through the price level and advocates a consideration of the Fisher plan. How a gold standard is made ineffective in respect to stability of prices is well illustrated by the instance which Mr. Melrose quotes from the *Bankers' Magazine*: "A group of American gambling financiers drew from the Bank of England in the course of a few weeks £11 millions in gold and shipped it to New York. At the same time they sold British securities heavily to be delivered some time later on London Stock Exchange, and bought securities at current prices on New York Exchange. In the result the depletion of gold from London caused a fall in prices of principal securities of no less than £115 million while there was a corresponding rise in prices of American securities. Thus speculators won large sums at both ends." . . . Mr. Melrose is for securing stable price levels and suggests that to "escape fluctuations and positively ensure that the currency will function without hitch, it is only necessary that each currency unit shall be a True Credit—'a Certificate of Delivery'—a just demand to the return of an equivalent for what has been given up to be consumed by others." The proposal is not quite clear and no details are elaborated, but Mr. Melrose is emphatic in his ideas about the fundamental necessity of reshaping our currency policy. Prof. Irving Fisher writes a foreword and commends the book as being "popular science in its best sense."

Bankers' Credit by William F. Spalding (Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, Ltd., 1921). 10s. 6d.

Mr. Spalding has established a name for himself for his lucid expositions on monetary structural mechanism. In *Bankers' credits* he scores a distinct success. The confusing variety of Bankers' credits has frequently been a source of puzzling trouble and vexation to the merchant—the system has grown out of practice. It was time a systematic survey was made of such facilities as are obtainable from Banks. Mr. Spalding deals adequately and in detail with Cash Credits, Traveller's Letters, revocable and irrevocable Banker's credits and documentary credits.

In addition to explaining the exact scope of each, the author expounds the law on the subject, and illustrates his text by recent legal decisions. *Bankers' Credit* is a welcome addition to literature on Banking.

A Fluctuating Exchange and the Remedy by W. Goodliffe, M.A. (68, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1, 1921). 1s.

Mr. Goodliffe wrote his pamphlet in the days when European exchanges were comparatively less ruinous than they are to-day, and when Prof. Cassel's powerful advocacy of the urgent need of stabilised exchanges had provoked the minds of thoughtful students to find ways and means for achieving stability. One practical result of the discussion was the Ter Meulen Scheme. Mr. Goodliffe has a similar remedy to propose. He cogently analyses the ills of currency and attempts reconstruction on an international basis. He suggests that a Board of all Nations should be entrusted with the issue of an international unit—the Mundic—based on an independent gold reserve, to be initially raised by loan from participating countries and later repaid by receipts against credit (Mundic) issued. The debtor countries will hypothecate their custom duties as guarantees for the credit. The author foresees no serious impediment in the actual working of the scheme, and the cost, he reckons, will not be prohibitive. What Mr. Goodliffe seems to have ignored is the psychology of the national mob-mind which is extremely jealous, narrowly insular and rigidly sectarian. The recurrence of racial conflicts despite choice professions of goodwill and peace precludes the possibility of any serious advance being made on the lines advocated by Mr. Goodliffe. His essay however is extremely suggestive and very interesting.

Commonsense Economics by Mrs. L. Le Mesurier (John Murray, London, 1922). 6s. net.

The inevitability of innumerable studies and textbooks on Economics may or may not be justified by the Publishers' forecast of the demand for them, but there is no doubt of the increasing interest which the people—the common people—have begun to show in the 'economic' aspects of a policy and a programme: clearly one of the outstanding effects of post-war conditions on men's thoughts. The change is to be welcomed in as much as a projected policy receives determinate consideration in its most vital phase; and books that aim at developing the correct

critical attitude and prepare the ground work for a sound and constructive estimate deserve more than a passing comment. But Economics is very largely a subjective study, and authors and writers are as much prone to write up their subjects with one eye on the particular circle of readers they wish to reach, as does the auctioneer who critically sums up the individualities of his audience before discoursing on the quality of his wares. One must remember, that the subject needs ever fresh presentment from as many different angles as possible in order to meet the needs of differing attitudes of the readers. Such studies, however, are liable to cause confusion if the fundamental truths of the science are summarily brushed aside or ignored in order to subserve a particular economic fetish or fad. This charge can not be laid against the delightfully fresh book from the pen of Mrs. Le Mesurier. *Commonsense Economics* has been planned by its author as a practical elementary book for students and lay men. The extremely clear and lucid exposition of economic theory given in this volume is very instructive reading and may well serve as a model to text-book writers. Mrs. Le Mesurier aimed at making her book intelligible, readable and provocative. She has succeeded remarkably well, and it is no small achievement. The author has not hesitated to balance the nicely-calculated bourgeois tendency of the classical school against the furious onslaughts of the Marxian doctors. Mrs. Le Mesurier's method purposes to present the argument from both sides. The author has not been betrayed, except on one or two occasions, into a definite acceptance of a conclusion without ample argument. To say that we remain unconvinced of her doctrine of inevitability of Rent or disagree with her in her disquisition on Capital-Labour Conflict, is not to belittle the merits of her book. Such differences are provoking and stimulate thinking. We commend the text wholeheartedly for we consider that only a few books can rank with *Commonsense Economics* in skilfully guiding the students and general readers through problems which are and will ever remain of vital interest for social welfare.

Wealth and Work by George W. Gough, M.A. (George Philip & Son, Ltd., London, 1921). 2s. 6d.

In instructive contrast to Mrs. Le Mesurier's book is *Wealth and Work*. Mr. George W. Gough here treats of Economics with rare skill and lucidity of expression. He possesses a trenchant descriptive style and adorns his facts with a wealth of pictures-

que analogies and contrasts. His treatment of the subject however is strictly 'orthodox'—in the sense that man appears to him as a functional animal engaged in toil, owing labour and work, as member of human society. Economics is a science of wealth—of production and distribution of material goods. A nation's wealth is in direct proportion to the labour of her citizens, and woe betide the man who questions the ethics of the ordinance which conserves the riches of the fruits of labour in the hands of the fortunate few. The logic and beneficence of capitalistic distribution appeal irresistibly to the author and he seeks to justify its *raison d'être* by pointing to the plenitude of the accumulations of national wealth under its aegis. Mr. Gough does not show the slightest repentance even when as a necessary corollary the obvious evils of the industrial society of to-day stare him in the face. A scheme which leaves the poor poorer still after years of toil and labour does not bother him. He must place the nation before the individual and who are the nation?—Lazarus and fraternity. Rather we should be thankful for "those of us who have to earn our incomes do it all the more easily and securely *"because people who are fortunate enough to have investment incomes are guaranteed the full enjoyment of them."* Again "the idle rich are one result of a system which has rescued society from wholesale poverty." Notwithstanding a pronounced bias in favour of plutocratic capitalism Mr. Gough's book is extremely readable and deserves serious study. It will be found highly provocative.

Physical Economics by L. Southern, M.A., B.Sc., Wh. Sch. (The Labour Publishing Co., Ltd., London, 1921). 2s. 6d.

Physical Economics is by no means a text-book; it carries a sub-title "An Essay on Fundamental Principles" and its author devotes his entire space to a consideration of the most controversial of economic principles, viz., the just reward of capital. Mr. Southern starts off with regrouping the brickwork of economic theory and introduces a novel nomenclature in the shape of symbols and entities. Primaries and tertiaries, reminiscent of geological studies, are scattered wide over Nature's domain. Economic "goods" represent an entity or a symbol. With this premise—the significance of which is not clearly appreciable—the author plunges into a consideration of abstinence—"that grim jest of the capitalists." Mr. Southern arrives at the conclusion that abstinence being neither an *entity* nor

a *symbol* is economically negative and accordingly deserves no reward. We are not quite sure if this novel method of attack on Capital's reward will take in the wary reader for no constructive proposals are put forward to replace the present-day incentive to industrial development. Mr. Southern's discussion is however helpful in that it focusses attention on the thorniest problem of equity in economics.

A Text-book of Political Economy by E. C. Robinson, M.A., LL.B., revised by T. Herdman, M.Sc. (The Normal Press, Ltd., 1922). 5s.

This volume is one of the Normal Tutorial Series, intended primarily for students who are preparing for examinations. It is not exactly a systematic guide to the study of political economy; nor do the authors claim merit of original treatment. The book appears to us to be a series of concentrated notes on economic theory. Numerous quotations and excerpts from well-known writers embellish the text; the author critically sums up but never enters into details. Perhaps its best use is, as indeed claimed, for the examination. The Index, Cross references in the text, questions and notes which follow each chapter will be found helpful and instructive.

TRAVEL.

Among French Folk. A Book for Vagabonds. By W. Branch Johnson (Cecil Palmer, London) 1922.

Mr. Branch Johnson is a typical vagabond—in the best sense of that term—and his record of a tour in France—called *Among French Folk*—is an almost ideal book for vagabonds in that country, desirous of tramping it like the author of the work under notice. Mr. Johnson is a journalist who set out on a tramp with his wife from Nice, with no more than a knapsack and walked across country through Biarritz into Brittany, picking up odd travelling companions, and living throughout with the country folk. They traversed a very interesting part of the country. The course of their wanderings took them through Avignon, Nice, the Midi Valley, touching the better-known old picturesque towns such as Arles, Nîmes, or lesser-known places, and so north of the Pyrenees along the Biscay Coast to the Medoc and on into Brittany. The author, who wields a facile pen, has done well to write the story of this journey. The happenings by the way are unfolded in this book, which is brightly written, full of pleasant things,

and told with quiet humour. The literature in English of French travel is fairly extensive, but we are sure that by reason of its literary charm, a keen insight into the lights and shadows of French life and a spirit of *bonhomie*, Mr. Johnson's *Among French Folk* will deservedly occupy a prominent place.

A Little Tour in France. By Henry James (William Heinemann, London) 1922.

The late Mr. Henry James' *A Little Tour in France* (originally issued in 1900) is justly regarded as a classic in the literature of French travel. We, therefore, heartily welcome a new, exceedingly-well got-up edition of it in limp covers, beautifully printed and very neatly turned out, and profusely embellished with most excellent illustrations. Except Paris—which he severely left alone—Mr. James' tour covered an extensive area and included most of the places worth seeing; and his descriptions are marked by all that grace of style, keenness of observation and artistic outlook which one justly associates with that famous American man of letters. Though *not* a guide book or a tourist's manual or *vade macum*, the new edition by reason of its mechanical execution and format should be an indispensable companion to the English-knowing traveller in France.

Spanish Galicia. By Aubrey F. G. Bell (John Lane, The Bodley Head, London) 1922.

Literature in English dealing with Spanish Galicia is still limited—there being but nine works on the subject, which are enumerated in the course of a fairly extensive bibliography dealing with the country, appended to Mr. Aubrey Bell's work of that name. Mr. Bell's *Spanish Galicia* is thus only the tenth work in English dealing with that very interesting part of the Iberian peninsula. Galicia is generally designated the "Switzerland of Spain," and though this description may not be strictly accurate, it serves a useful purpose in conveying to the average mind the charm of the country which lies in the north-western corner of the peninsula. It is not on the traveller's beaten track; hence the paucity of English works about it. Mr. Bell's book, therefore, supplies a long-felt want. It graphically describes the country and the people, their occupation, habits, customs, manners, trade, commerce and language and literature. The book is comprehensive and well-written and it vividly brings before the

mind's eye alike the picturesqueness of the country and the characteristics of the people. It is a notable addition to the literature of Spanish travel.

Madrid—Past and Present. By Mrs. Steuart Erskine (John Lane, The Bodley Head, London) 1922.

Mrs. Steuart Erskine's *Madrid Past and Present* is emphatically not a guide book, though the traveller to the capital of Spain will find it exceedingly useful and interesting. It offers an account of the attractions of the Spanish Capital and of the places of interest that are generally not mentioned in guide books, along with full descriptions of the life, the art and the amusements of a city that is very little known in spite of its artistic treasures. The three magnets of Madrid that attract tourists—namely, the Armoury, the Royal Picture Gallery (called the Prado Museum) and the Royal Palace, Monastery and Mausoleum (widely known as The Escorial) are graphically portrayed but the book deals vividly with all other attractions besides these show places. Altogether Mrs. Erskine's *Madrid* is a useful contribution to the literature describing the Spanish Capital.

From Switzerland to the Mediterranean on Foot. By J. B. Winter (T. Werner Laurie, Ltd., London) 1922.

Mr. J. B. Winter's *From Switzerland to the Mediterranean on Foot* is an excellent little work dealing with a tramp which the author undertook through a most interesting part of Central Europe. Starting from Sierre he reached Cannes, traversing en route Martigny, Thonon, Annecy, St. Pierre de Chartreuse, Grenoble, La Grave, Vars and Extraunes. The journey lasted sixty-five days from the 23rd December, 1919, to the 5th February, 1920, of which thirty-six were walking days and the remaining twenty-nine rest days or devoted to subsidiary excursions. The distance covered was four hundred and eighty-eight miles, which works out to an average of thirteen and a half miles for each walking day. Appended to the well-written descriptive sketch of the tour constituting the first part of the book, are extracts from the author's mountaineering Journal in the second part. These are of special interest to the Alpine climbers. But the first part is of general interest and should find a large circle of readers. The value of the letter-press is substantially increased by its being embellished with numerous fine photographic reproductions.

Tramping with a Poet in the Rockies. By Stephen Graham. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London 1922). 8s. 6d.

Mr. Stephen Graham is *par excellence* a writer of travel literature. His earlier books dealing with the Caucasus, Jerusalem and various aspects of Russia are well-known. His latest contribution to the literature of travel is *Tramping with a Poet in the Rockies*. The book is a brightly-written record of a tramp indulged in by the author, in the company of an American poet named Vachel Lindsay, in the Rockies and Canada. Endowed with an incurable knight-errantry which has impelled him to traverse a great deal of Europe and Asia, Mr. Graham has come to possess a shrewdness of observation which stands him in good stead as a writer of books of travel. The book under notice is marked by all the well-known characteristics we have learnt to associate with Mr. Graham's writings. The descriptions of the various scenes and sights are vividly brought before the reader and his graphic sketches of the North American life and manners present a panorama which is equally picturesque and interesting. Altogether it is a capital contribution to the literature of American travel.

A Burmese Wonderland. By Major C. M. Enriquez (Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta) 1922.

On Major Enriquez—Divisional Recruiting Officer of Burma—there seems to have fallen the mantle of inspiration of the late Mr. Fielding Hall as an interpreter of Burman life and thought. His two earlier books—*A Burmese Enchantment* and *A Burmese Loneliness*—established his reputation as a qualified and sympathetic exponent of things Burmese. His latest work—*A Burmese Wonderland*—is even more fascinating and delightful than its predecessors. *A Burmese Wonderland* is warmly sympathetic. It deals with Burma Proper, Tenasserim and Arakan, and leads us to all the places most beloved for their beauty and sanctity by the Burmese themselves. There are charming chapters on Kyaik Hti Yo, Shewe-Zet Daw, Pagan, Taung Byon, Po Win Daung, and other favourites localities; and Major Enriquez has brought to life again with his sympathetic pen many of Burma's heroes. In his pages the Nats have their furtive residence; while legends are skilfully and ingenuously handled. There are no dull pages here. A feature of the work is the skill with which Major Enriquez, while moving from place to place, has given vivid historical pictures in their correct chronological order. This is a history book,

a geography, and a fairy tale, and ought to appeal to a large circle of readers interested in the fortunes of Burma.

On a Chinese Screen. By W. Somerset Maugham (William Heinemann, London 1922). 10s. 6d.

It is difficult to characterize Mr. Somerset Maugham's book—*On a Chinese Screen*. It may not be strictly a book of travel and yet it would be difficult to classify it except under that head. It comprises fifty-eight short sketches dealing with various aspects of China—its life, social customs and manners, art, science and letters. Of course the subjects are dealt with not in the style generally adopted in recondite essays and dissertations, but in the chatty, familiar way of putting things calculated to interest the average layman. Some of the sketches—as for instance, that on the famous great wall of China—are very short, but in these few lines Mr. Maugham manages to convey an intensely vivid impression to the reader's mind. The paragraph—for it is no more than that, being but seventeen lines—on the great wall opens and also concludes with these words:—"There in the mist, enormous, majestic, silent and terrible, stood the Great Wall of China." How intensely realistic these few words. The book deserves perusal at the hands of all lovers of descriptive literature.

Memories of Travel. By (the late) Viscount Bryce. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London) 1923.

The death of Viscount Bryce last year was a very great loss not only to the political world but also to that of Geographical exploration. His *Transcaucasia and Ararat* (1876), *South Africa* (1895) and *South America* (1910) are standard works of travel and are as important in the literature of the subject as is the monumental *American Commonwealth* in that of Constitutional Law and Politics. His *Memories of Travel*—now put together by his wife—consists of most delightful sketches of travels in Iceland, Poland, Hungary, the Alps, Southern Pacific, North America and the Altai Mountains. They are marked by an intense love of Nature, a keen appreciation of the picturesque, an enviable interest in mountain scenery, and above all a vivid grasp of the lights and shadows of the hills and plains traversed by that keen-sighted traveller. They cover very extensive ground and should appeal to that large circle of readers who appreciate graphic travel sketches equally interesting and entertaining.

A Burmese Arcady. By Major C. M. Enriquez (Seeley Service Co., London) 1923.

Yet another book on Burma by Major Enriquez is *A Burmese Arcady*, which contains many excellent illustrations. By reason of its subject-matter—to which we shall presently refer—it is not likely to interest general readers to the same extent as his three previous works—*A Burmese Enchantment*, *A Burmese Loneliness* and *A Burmese Wonderland*—the last being noticed in this issue. *A Burmese Arcady* deals with the mountain dwellers in the Burma hinterland called the Kachins, their customs and characteristics. This author, who made a long sojourn amongst them as an Officer of the Kachin Rifles, takes the reader with him for a distance of some 570 miles and his book is a valuable and informing record of the lights and shadows of their life. He suggests that some public money might be usefully spent on the country, as without considerable help the people can hardly survive. The potential riches of the country, he points out, are considerable, and well worth the careful investigation of the prospector, while as to the people themselves, he is strongly in favour of military service as the best means of effecting their development. The whole country, he indicates, offers an unusual field for careful and systematic research. It is at least encouraging that the author is able to tell us that where attempts have been made to benefit the people the results have been very satisfactory. Thus the book—dealing as it does with a people who do not possess the charm of the Burmese—is not calculated to excite as much interest as those dealing with the latter. Nevertheless it very usefully supplements his three interesting, and informing works on Burma enumerated above and the four together constitute a meritorious contribution to the study of the people inhabiting the Burmese plains and mountains.

Travels in Eastern Tibet by Eric Teichman (Cambridge University Press, 1922). 25s.

Unlike the usual type of book of 'adventurous travel'—diaries of journeys through an unknown country made by foreigners ignorant of the language and the customs of the people—Mr. Teichman's book is a record of first hand experience written with sympathy and understanding by one who has lived in the land for a considerable period. The latter and the larger portion of the book is devoted to journeys undertaken on a mission of peace in 1918 on behalf of the British Consulate in China who were requested for mediation between the two opposing

factions on the Sino-Tibetan frontier. Mr. Teichman started from Tachienlu in the Chinese province of Szechuan and succeeded in locating Seshu (hitherto unreached by foreigners) via Kan Ze and Deng Ko. At Chamdo, the famous monastery-town and the headquarters of the Tibetan generalissimo, Mr. Teichman opened negotiations for peace and after considerable delays and travels succeeded in bringing about a temporary truce. The author illustrates his travels with rich topographical data and gives copious information about the people, their habits and customs, and their country. Mr. Teichman possesses a shrewd, observant eye and has many interesting things to say about the social and political relations between Tibet and China. But the most valuable part of *Travels in Eastern Tibet* is the history of the political relations between China, Tibet and India which is summarised in the first 60 pages. Naturally Mr. Teichman takes the British point of view where British policy comes into contact with the Sino-Tibetan problem, but he adopts an impartial and detached outlook when he surveys it as an inter-provincial conflict between China and Tibet. We possess in the books of Sir Francis Younghusband a personal record of the details of the military expedition to Lhasa in 1904. Mr. Teichman admits that the refusal of Tibet to open up trade relations with India led to the 1904 military expedition, but he does not stay to question the morality of the venture. Tibet, practically an autonomous state possesses a perfect right of freedom of action in matters that concern herself alone. Britain would not have her gates closed to British commerce. The mailed fist of the Lhasa expedition was followed by diplomatic pressure on China. A convention was concluded with her in 1906 and another with Russia in 1907. England thus broke through the Tibetan barrier and in the act secured for her nationals a favourable treatment in trade and commerce. It is not known how far Tibetan opinion was biased, through British means, against China and the Chinese. It has been the practice of Imperialist nations to set two weak, though autonomous, neighbours at each other's throat and then design to step in with the ostensible view of securing peace but really to gain for themselves, as an arbitrage reward, trade concessions and monopolies. Mr. Teichman does not touch upon this thorny aspect of the problem—his connections with the consular service and his oath as a member of His Britannic Majesty's Diplomatic Corps preclude any judgement on the traditions of his own service. Mr. Teichman's book despite these shortcomings, is a very interesting volume, well written, instructive and a delightful reading.

On the Edge of the Primeval Forest by Prof. Albert Schweitzer, translated by Ch. Th. Campion (A. & C. Black, Ltd., London, 1922). 6s.

Prof. Albert Schweitzer, Doctor of Medicine and Theology is a well meaning man. He gave up the academic pursuit of science and art in order to serve the heathen in Africa. In 4½ years he toiled on the Orange River Colony, as Superintendent of a Medical Mission, and his enthusiasm for the service has not been dimmed. Although his faith led him, in his explanations to the patients, to attribute his surgical successes to the divine Mercy of Christ, he nevertheless affirms that the "humanitarian work to be done in the world should, for its accomplishment, call upon us as men, not as members of any particular nation or religion." *On the Edge of the Primeval Forest* records Prof. Schweitzer's experiences as a medicine-man to primitive tribes. He writes in an interesting style of what he saw and observed; and his book is an instructive contribution to anthropological study in the popular style. The author could not help from noticing the colonial problem, so pithily put by a timber-man in his conversations: "We bring the negroes strong drink and diseases which were previously unknown among them. Do the blessing we bring the natives really outweigh the evils that go with them?" Dr. Schweitzer does not supply the answer for he devoutly believes in the whiteman's burden. He is quite frank about it. "That it is so hard to keep oneself really humane, and so to be a standard-bearer of civilisation, that is the tragic element in the problem of the relations between white and coloured men in Equatorial Africa." By civilisation he means nothing very complicated, it seems, for Dr. Schweitzer justifies labour compulsion and promiscuous grouping and housing which become veritable colonies of demoralisation as being necessary for trade. Trade is the supreme God of white civilisation and even the theologian in Prof. Schweitzer does not protest against such unmoral exploitation. But the political aspect is not the important part of *On the edge of the Primeval Forest*. The great sacrifice for ideals which prompted the author to respond to the call for service, merits admiration and tribute. His book should be read in the light of such ideals and it becomes a record of a manful adventure and supreme service of man to man.

Around the Shores of Asia by Mary A. Poynter (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London, 1921) 16s. net.

This volume differs from the usual journey-books

in that the author lived for a considerable number of years in Constantinople and had exceptional opportunities to understand the phlegmatic temperament of the Border-East. But Mrs. Poynter is the wife of a British diplomat whose heaven-inspired end of life is the maintenance of prestige. Her outlook on Eastern men and conditions is accordingly circumscribed by the necessities of 'white' decorum. The people are categorically termed "natives" and her air of assumed innocence leads her to question once in a way why the term is so very much derided. She solaces herself with history:—Hindus and Muslims of India object to being included in the category of "natives" because they came into the country initially as conquerors! Mrs. Poynter apparently seemed satisfied. Her conception of the white man's burden receives added testimony from the insignificant number of Britishers who hold control over a country as vast and big and complex as India—he is there "just enough to direct the brown o. chocolate coloured man at his task and to keep the idle man from getting in the way." Her sensibilities receive a shock when she finds no trace of colour prejudice among the Dutch residents of Java. Mrs. Poynter deplores the incident and passes on to consider the beneficence of the American 'white' rule over the Philipines. It is curious however that free Japan, the land of the yellow people, receives nothing but praise from her pen—praise for the industry of her folk, praise for the grandeur of her spring-beauty, praise for the intellect and character of the little Nipponese. One can however ignore in *Around the Shores of Asia* the almost contemptuous sneer for the East which Mrs. Poynter makes no attempt to conceal. There is enough of charm and interest in her Journal to be interesting. She possesses a facile pen, an observant eye for nature and a ready comprehensive wit of delineation. Discarding the political bias in the book, one can not fail to admire the narratory skill of the author.

SOCIOLOGY.

Community Oragnisation by Joseph K. Hart (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1922). \$2.50.

Mr. Hart proposes in this volume to consider the social problem from the standpoint of the community as a whole. He is not so very much concerned with the structural mechanism of society as with the fundamental ideals and principles that govern its institutions. The author has entered a powerful plea in favour of a more liberal and sympathetic under-

standing of the mass-mind. He believes in change and adaptability and favours a drastic transformation of the present social psychology. "Security, sanity, and safety"—the ideal behind present day movement, he considers to be the symbol of reactionary leadership. "The solution of the democratic community is in the released wisdom and co-operative enterprise of all the members of the community" and the way is not through industrial plutocracy or political despotism. Mr. Hart has done valuable service in emphasising in this book the need of transforming all social institutions into instruments of service. A well argued and instructive volume.

The New Horizon in Love and Life by Mrs. Havelock Ellis (A. & C. Black, Ltd., London, 1921). 10s. 6d.

This volume is a collection of posthumous papers by Mrs. Havelock Ellis written between the years 1891 and 1915. The arrangement has been done with skill, and we see at a glance the entire life-philosophy of this remarkable lady presented to us in these living pages. Mrs. Ellis was one of the pioneer inspirers of the feminist movement—her writings, her pleadings, her advocacy were directed toward one end, the complete economic independence of women. She sketches in the book before us her arguments in vigorous and aggressive fashion. The author can not hope for a cleaner, happier, more prosperous life for the individual family unless the wife's true status is recognised. She does not hesitate to invoke the aid of the legislature. "A man is more dependent on woman as mother, sweetheart, nurse, housekeeper and general home organiser than woman is on man. Why should not a tax be levied on every man over 21 in recognition of this, and so provide a dowry for every woman-child when she attains her majority?" A vigorous life and a living up to the ideals set before her was Mrs. Ellis' practice. She transcribes in the beautiful pages of the chapters on 'Love as a Fine Art' and 'The Philosophy of Happiness' a reflection of her own daily life. Written with exquisite charm and a delicate poetic sensitiveness they reveal to us a mind full of the great things of this life. We can sum up her attitude in a chain-like series:—Cleaner, purer love based on true recognition, through education, of the physical and psychical facts of sexual life, leading to joyfulness of family union; a democracy in the kitchen with the fullest recognition of the proud place of women in society, and their complete economic freedom. "What the world needs most is beauty"

cries Mrs. Havelock Ellis, and she shows in the brilliant chapters of *The New Horizon in Love and Life* how to make the world more beautiful and life more joyous.

Little Essays of Love and Virtue by Havelock Ellis (A. & C. Black, Ltd., London, 1922). 6s.

Havelock Ellis has gained by his researches in the psychology of sex a world-wide reputation. His elaborate studies are an authority on the subject. In the multitude of ripe experience he planned a book "for the young people, youths and girls at the period of adolescence." *Essays of Love and Virtue* is the outcome and we could not have a more instructive reading. The author sums up in these pages, in simple language, the principles gleaned from the studies of sex conducted by him. He develops a thesis of parental responsibility in respect of the education of the children in sexual facts; and detailing the relations of married couples he lays emphasis on the love-rights of women. The value of the 'love-rights' in the economic sphere does not appear so apparent to the Eastern mind which places womanhood on a sacred pedestal and attributes divinity to the motherhood. But Havelock Ellis writes in the atmosphere of the Western structure of society. He brings to the consideration of the sexual problem in the West a mature wisdom and a wealth of scientific illustrations. His well-known views on eugenics are concisely and brilliantly summarised in the last chapter, 'The Individual and the Race.' A very stimulating book which should reach the hands of all young people.

Conception Control by Lady Barrett, M.D., M.Sc. (John Murray, London, 1922). 2s.

Lady Barrett's pamphlet on birth-control contains a closely reasoned argument against the widespread but ill-advised propaganda in favour of the use of contraceptives. With the authority of expert medical opinion and experience Lady Barrett considers in simple language the effect of the birth-control crusade on the various classes of the nation. She comes to the conclusion that as a general rule the more highly educated strata will be prone to accept the doctrine and practice it with the result that the more capable classes will show diminished fertility. Thus from the national point of view the propaganda becomes a source of 'real and increasing danger.' Lady Barrett does not consider the real blessing a

correct knowledge of scientific preventives of conception can be to the poorer couples who can ill afford a large family. The problem is really of understanding and enlightenment, and possibly in the present stage of educational progress, even in the West, there is some real danger that the classes that need contraceptives most will not be learned of the scientific methods. We commend Lady Barrett's pamphlet to Indian readers to whom the argument may be applied in a limited way. The Archbishop of Canterbury contributes a foreword.

Love, Courtship and Marriage by Thomas Herne
(Anglo-Eastern Publishing Co., Ltd., London, 1922).
6s. 6d.

This volume aims at providing "knowledge on complex sex problems" and the enlightenment is given in a sincere, frank and easy manner. Written in a simple homely style, appeal is made, throughout its pages, to the spiritual values of sexual union. The wrong turnings are clearly noted and this effect graphically described. Emphasis is laid on the correct appreciation of the awkward situations between married couples, which are frequently the source of misery. Misunderstandings and ignorance are chiefly responsible. We notice one defect—the text is embellished with high flown and poetic appeals which reiterated frequently sound of sentimentalism. We commend the book as an admirable effort to treat a very delicate problem in a frank and sincere manner.

FOLK LORE.

A Sheaf of Greek Folk Songs with an Introduction by Countess Evelyn Martinengo Cesaresco (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1922) 5s.

This selection of Modern Greek folk songs so admirably translated represent for the most part the quaint indigenous expression of the country's soul in her centuries old struggle with the Turks. Many of the ballads here presented end on a tragic note but the deathless spirit of service and patriotism enthuse the lines with a rare charm which carries a strong, passionate appeal when sung amid the green pastures and old, antiquated ruins of Hellas. Greek folk lore derives inspiration from the rich historic past. "Summons to the Klephts" and "Death of Georgakis" are full of the ancient Greek spirit and recall the mighty days when Hellas was great and far-famed as the seat of power, of beauty and of

culture. There are modern ballads too full of sympathy and kindness for Man, nature and beast. The Introduction forms the most valuable part of the book. The author writes with real love for the land and evinces a profound faith in the future of Hellas:

"A brighter Hellas rears its mountains
From waves serener far"

Countess Cesaresco connects the history of the modern folk lore with the ideals of Greek ancient tradition. The spirit of old Hellas still shines through the songs of her country-side and gives hope of the future, and *A Sheaf of Greek Folk Songs* enables us to appreciate and admire it.

The Ballads of Marko Kraljevic. Translated by D. H. Low (Cambridge University Press, 1922) 15s.

Of the industry and patience of Mr. D. H. Low it is difficult to speak too highly. Mr. Low was a Lecturer in the University of Belgrade and had an unique opportunity of obtaining at first hand the material for the admirable collection he has made of Serbian folk songs. Mr. Low was faced at the outset by the number and variety of Serbian folk poems. He has made a judicious selection and has chosen to give us, possibly as earnest of his researches, the most noted of these ballads which are coupled with the name of Marko Kraljevic. The historical Introduction deals with the story of English interest in Siberian poetry. There have been only two reputed men of letters in England who interested themselves in Serbian folk lore—Sir John Bowring and 'Owen Meredith' (first Lord Lytton, Viceroy of India 1876). Mr. Low estimates correctly the contribution of each of these writers. For his own translation of the Marko Kraljevic Cycle the author pleads the great popularity of these ballads. Of all traditional heroes Marko is the best beloved. He has chosen the free metrical style and has succeeded in imparting to the translations a part of the aspirations and ideals of the native intonations. Mr. Low claims that these ballads alone secure for Serbian folk poetry a very high place for they enable us to understand the spirit of the nation. Marko combines in his person the strength, the cruelty and the odd kindness of the Serbian. A study of these ballads will materially help in correctly appraising the culture of a race that is just emerging into nationhood. For "to understand this people, to grasp the circumstances that have shaped their mentality.....there is no surer guide than the national poetry: it leads straight to the people's heart." This volume is an abundant

proof of the author's claim that "there is no key to the soul of Serbia like a wise and sympathetic study of the ballads of Marko Kraljevic."

Negro Folk Rhymes by Thomas W. Talley (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1922) \$2.25.

America with her great population of men of the African race had not troubled so far to investigate the human values of the lives of these low-trodden people. Negroes were hawked as chattels from farm to farm before Abraham Lincoln raised the protest; and chattels never provided sufficient interest for book-writers. Slavery was abolished by law in the seventies of the last century but the taint remained and persists to this day. The individual successes of few of the members of the Negro community have however drawn the attention of the humanistic writers to the potential human values of the race and to the possibility of developing its 'Soul' to fruitful action. Attention created interest and led to an understanding through study of the Negro's outlook on life and manners. Fisk University has become the great culture center for Negroes. Professor Talley of this institution has made an attempt in his *Negro Folk Rhymes* to understand this people from their "musical and poetic life-records." The compilation of the folk lore on a comprehensive basis has resulted in an incongruous collection—pieces of great pathos and certain beauty are mixed with rhymes without sense almost bordering on the absurd. Prof. Talley was well informed of the disharmony but he aimed at a representative selection in order to gain a scientific basis for his study of the man. He has succeeded remarkably well in presenting to us in these pages the primitive American Negro's aspirations and hopes. "Restricted, cramped, bound in unwilling servitude he looked about him in his miserable little world to see whatever of the beautiful or happy he might find." Through centuries of serfdom the Negro has preserved a bit of his artist-soul as will be apparent from a study of this volume. Prof. Talley's book is the first collection of its kind. The selections are full of humorous situations related in a quaintly picturesque language. But for the great pathos and tragedy that lies behind many a song, the compilation would give absurd laughter and merriment. The author contributes a lengthy critical survey of the Negro's Folk poetry. He deals fully with the origin and evolution of the Negro Rhyme and his theories deserve careful consideration. *Negro Folk Rhymes* is a splendid contribution to the literature of folk poetry.

FICTION.

Skag—The Son of Power by Will Levington Comfort and Zamin Ki Dost (Thornton Butterworth, Ltd., London, 1922) 7s. 6d.

"If you can get on top of the menagerie in your own insides, Skagee,—the tigers and apes, the serpents and monkeys, in your own insides—you'll never get in bad with the Cloud Brothers' wild Animal Show". Skag is a living exposition of this principle of life. We can not recollect any other work so full of charm and fascination as *Skag*—every page is enthused with love, urgent, insistent love for the animal kind. It is not an ordinary tale of adventures in the Jungle though the book contains plenty of thrills. Here sympathy and intuition, power and will mark the development of Sanford Hantee—from the little Chicago boy who skipped school in order to enjoy the delights of the zoo, to the great Son of Power who obtained a remarkable power over wild elephants and fierce hooded cobras. The life history of Sanford—nicknamed Skag—is full of thrilling episodes. Go to the book for his marvellous encounters with the monkey-kings and their priests, for his lone venture into the lair of a wounded tigress with three cubs, for his strange ride on the back of Nil Deo, the King of Elephants. All this sounds very unreal and mysterious but when you add that India is the land and her vast deep Jungles the back ground of these happenings you feel as if unreality discards its elusive trait and merges into the unfathomable mystery of the East. You can not know a thing unless you give yourself to it—India knows how to do it. She has harboured a race that has from times immemorial believed profoundly in the animal cult. Skag drank deep of the mystery, and with the earnestness and zeal of a lover explored the vastnesses of the Jungle. Incidentally in his rambles he met his human love, Carlin—that proud offspring of an Anglo-Rajput alliance. They form an ideal pair, full of understanding and love for the animal kind. The beautiful romance is as delicately touched as the filigree work of an Indian marble screen, but it is full of life and kindness and beauty that embraces all creation.

The Tale of Triona by William J. Locke (John Lane, The Bodley Head, Ltd., London, 1922) 7s. 6d.

Alexis Triona *alias* John Briggs is a good specimen of that elusive genius which knows no class or distinction and shines equally well in the finished

product of Eton and Balliol and in the rough exterior of a motor mechanic. W. J. Locke possesses a rare faculty of delineation of wayward heroes and in the hero of *The Tale of Triona* he has weaved an unusually powerful romance. John Briggs, Chauffeur to the Armoured Section, goes to the front full of ideas. He has wild dreams and his brain surged with fanciful pictures. During a long sojourn in Russia he came across a tattered diary of a Russian prisoner who had faithfully recorded therein his harrowing experiences. Out of the diary John Briggs built up "Through Blood and Snow" and gave it out as a personal history of experiences. Instantaneous success awaited him but the lie remained heavy on his soul. Romance came his way but the turbulence of his mind weighing upon the taint of theft did not permit of a straight confession, until threat of exposure hastened the climax to his inward struggles. Mr. Locke has told the tale with consummate art and has built into it the love crises of Olivia with exquisite workmanship. Altogether a very charming tale.

The Bright Shawl by Joseph Hergesheimer (Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1922) \$2.00.

Mr. Hergesheimer is generally recognised as the foremost living novelist in the United States. His studies of American life and manners done with great skill and charm exhibit literary craftsmanship of the first rank. In *The Bright Shawl* the author depicts the enthusiastic plunge of an American Youth into the Cuban struggle for freedom from Spanish tyranny. Charles Abbot, full of passionate idealism, throws himself with characteristic energy into the tortuous politics of Cuba. The struggle gains for him the undying friendship of Andres Escobar—a thing in itself worth the cost. The multiple personality of La Clavel amazes him but leaves him with something of the dancer's bitter defiance and hatred of oppression. *The Bright Shawl* is woven out of memory and the charm is not lessened by the narrative form adopted by the author. It is a work full of action and of charm as also replete with sagacious judgments on men and events.

The Miracles of Clara Van Haag by Johannes Buchholtz (Glydendal, Scandinavian Publishers, London and Copenhagen, 1922) 8s. 6d.

In the *Miracles of Clara Van Haag* Buchholtz continues the narrative of Egholm. But it is a complete story in itself and is marked by the strong

love of characterisation and originality of incident which is the *metier* of the author. Johannes Buchholtz is a prominent Danish writer of fiction and his works reveal great imaginative powers combined with skilful delineation. All stories suffer from translation howsoever admirably done, but this present volume retains the charm of original diction. The personality of Clara and of Hedvig stand out prominently and the book is full of the quaint charm and interest which characterises Buchholtz's works. A very readable work of fiction.

The Curse of Kali by Arthur Greening (Jarrolds Publishers, Ltd., London, 1922) 2s.

The story appeared in a weekly paper about 35 years ago, and the author has considered it politic to reprint it after such a considerable lapse of time. We regret the decision for the story which possibly passed muster in days when little was known of India, when anything weird and fantastic could be attributed to this land of mystery, can hardly be accepted these days either in good taste or as record of something near actual things. There appears obstreperously the arrogant contempt of the white ruler for the subject race. 'Natives' and 'Niggers' sprawl through its scenes amid horror, cruelty and bestiality. Nothing is so dreadful as cannot be ascribed to things Indian; nothing so barbaric as can not be located somewhere in this miserable land of regrets. There are however a few redeeming features. The love of two men for one girl marks the apotheosis of a thrilling struggle to save the object of their affections. The action of the tale is swift, the atmosphere eerie and unreal.

Towards the Dawn by J. N. Mitra, M.A. (Sitapur, U. P., 1922) Rs. 2/-.

This volume is a contemporary political novel of New India by an Indian writer. The theme is the magic of soul force, and the author builds round the cult of non-violent non-co-operation the story of three youths who vow to serve their motherland to their very last breath. The narrative is halting and does not run smoothly for the didactic purpose is too much on the surface. There are numerous little blemishes of style and language which betray hurried workmanship; but possibly literary finish was a secondary aim with the author. He aimed at portraying the Non-co-operation struggle in the garb of a story. As a political pamphlet it possesses a certain appeal; as a story it can hardly be called a success.

The Dancing Fakir and other stories by John Eyton (Longmans, Green & Co., London and Bombay, 1922) 7s. 6d.

The Dancing Fakir is a collection of short stories from India. Mr. Eyton believes that he has "seen things" Indian, but we somehow guess that he has seen them awry. Of course if a presumption is made in favour of the theory of whiteman's prestige, these views of Indian life fall into perspective. Where, however, political or racial bias does not touch as in the tale of the 'Joy of Little Tota' or the 'Face of Bronze', the delineation is quite delightful. The worst instances of jaundiced vision are the 'Seed' and the 'moods of Sleem'—where the characterisation is as false as the background is artificial. Nature stories—such as the 'Philosopher Stag' and the 'Pale One' form very interesting reading.

Old For-Ever by Alfred Ollivant (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London, 1923).

Old For-Ever is a pœan of song in praise of the Old military shop in India. The hero embodies in himself the legendary love for his regiment of aliens. His daredevilry earns him the affection and admiration of the Sepoys. The plot is laid in the No Man's land across the North-West Frontier and the tale turns round the bravery and courage and love of the British Officer amid pestilence and danger. A delightful love romance is woven round this heroic exile and the bond sustains the thin texture of 'white' prestige. The Colonel and his wife render a glorious sacrifice to the cause—which is, ostensibly, the care of the regiment. As a matter of routine, all Asiatics are branded as babies—and vile babies too on occasions. If we forget this unpleasant feature, the tale will serve as a rousing propaganda for men of the British race to volunteer for exploits in search of renown—and incidentally of fresh colonies.

The Valley of Ghosts by Edgar Wallace (Odhams Press, Ltd., London, 1922) 7s. 6d.

Mr. Wallace's latest book is a first class detective story in reality, though the plot is skilfully laid to weave a romance. Abraham Selim is the elusive figure of evil, and Andy McLeod the sleuth. The tale is neatly finished and ends on a joyous note after thrilling adventures. A very readable novel for a train journey.

The House of Whispers by William Johnstone (Jarrolds Publishers, Ltd., London, 1922) 2s.

A modern mystery story full of the old, antiquated charm of ghostly atmosphere. The plot is ingenious and interest is sustained to the very end. There is the awe-inspiring mystery of ghosts and the freshness of love-romance pervading through its atmosphere.

A Prince of Intrigues by May Wynne (Jarrolds Publishers, Ltd., London, 1922) 2s.

A historic tale from old Russia, of days that are no more. Mazeppa, the powerful Cossack leader of legendary renown, has intrigued Miss May Wynne to tell us his absorbing history. Well written and full of incidents, the story is neatly executed.

POETRY.

The Golden Book of Modern English Poetry 1870—1920. Edited by Thomas Caldwell (J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., London, 1922) 7s. 6d.

It is common criticism to talk of the poverty of English poetry in this twentieth century—an era of blood and iron, of materialism and economic pressure. It is urged that deriving inspiration from the theory of the survival of the fittest, art and poetry are being squeezed out of their rightful place by the tyranny of circumstances which environ man's living these days. The result is a famine in beauty and in beautiful creations. There is too much haste, too much hurry to allow the conceptions of those wonderful creations of fancy which characterised the past ages. Poetry has its definite value in the expression of the soul of the people, and when people have lost their soul poetry and poetic temperament miss their true vocation. But such criticism of the 20th century poetic output is surely misplaced. For who would recall the magic lines of A. E. or the dreamland fancies of Yeats, dwell with delight on the elusive haunting songs of Walter de la Mare or read into the grandeur and majesty of Hardy's prophetic vision and yet call modern Britain unfertile in poetic imaginings? Let him spend an hour with Caldwell's *Golden Book of Modern English Poetry* and doubts and suspicions of the barrenness of poetry will vanish. Anthologies are a most difficult compilation and only a sincere and ardent lover of beauty can undertake the task. Thomas Caldwell has done his work splendidly and well. Here we have the most and the best representative poems written between the years 1870 and 1920.

Various voices have sung of the soul of the people during this half a century; varied notes have celebrated the delights of nature or mournfully written of the tragedy of life. All find a place in this volume. We can not think of any other book of equal merit. The plan is very carefully designed and the selections very appropriate. We thank Mr. Caldwell and congratulate him on his success. In one volume he has given us the best poetic thought of modern England.

Later Poems by W. B. Yeats (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London, 1922).

A poet develops as well as grows—even a poet of dreams and fancies. There may occur instances of arrested development—cases of ‘unfulfilled renown’; but a true-rooted poet gathers his folds as the years pass by and wild imaginings of wild youth give way to maturer and riper judgments on men and affairs. The change may not be easily perceptible in the race which lives in dreams and delusions but it is there. Doesn’t W. B. Yeats, that rare Irish poet, himself confess? :—

“I made my song a coat
Covered with emboideries
Out of old mythologies
From heel to throat;
But the fools caught it,
Wore it in the world’s eyes,
As though they’d wrought it
Song, let them take it
For there’s more enterprize
In walking naked.”

Later Poems is a perfect example of what change or development means for a true poet. The period covered by this volume is from 1899 to 1921, and as we run over the pages we find a newer, more perfect, maturer and possibly a wiser Yeats shining through his dreams and symbols, his perceptions of emotion and fancy, his illusions of magic and dreamland. Yet the later poems are more Yeats-like than ever, that is to say, there is a continuity of thought and ideas, an interlinking of earlier picturings with the reveries of later days. W. B. Yeats belongs to the race of poets which rebelled against the calm providentialism and tranquil content of the Victorian age. They revolted and sought to personify their independence by embodying their visions in concrete individualised incidents personal to themselves. Poetry became a plaything for subjective emotions and appeals. This realistic revolt expressed the feeling of the age which was just beginning to perceive storms on the horizon.

For expression a back ground was essential and W. B. Yeats deliberately chose dreams of Irish life and Irish nature. From dreams he wove symbols interpreting thus the ideals of a mind active, healthy and full of rich philosophy :—

“Had I the heaven’s embroidered cloths,
Enwrought with golden and silver light,
The blue and the dim and the dark cloths
Of night and light and the half light,
I would spread the cloths under your feet;
Tread softly because you tread on my dreams.”

W. B. Yeats, the artist, the philosopher and the painter of dreams, could not escape the influence of what is euphemistically termed mysticism. But it would be an error to call him a Mystic. If he has an ancestor he is of the line of Blake; but he leaves no progeny behind for his art is purely individualistic born out of his own experiences.

Baji Prabhou by Aurobindo Ghosh (Arya Office, Pondicherry, 1922) 10 As.

Aurobindo Ghosh—a revered name in Bengal—devoted the earlier years of his youth in writing ballad poetry of distinct charm and merit. He expressed the old traditions beloved of the people in simple but beautiful lines. Stirring episodes found in him a facile interpreter. *Baji Prabhou* relates the last stand made by a gallant officer of Shivajee against the Moghul hordes. Who would not feel the appeal in the lines :—

“We die indeed,

But let us die with high-voiced assent
Of Heaven to our country’s claim enforced
To freedom.”

A reprint of this powerful poem, now published, helps us to understand the spirit which moved Aurobindo to deeds which demanded service of the country as the first call upon a citizen. We recommend the introduction of this little book in our history classes.

This Land I Love by Robert Bowman Peck (Selwyn & Blount, Ltd., London 1922).

Mr. Peck’s first book *Perceptions* met with a cordial welcome on its appearance. His lyrical poems written with grace and ease of charm succeeded because he sung them out of his own emotions. In *This Land I Love* he sustains his claim to recognition as a poet of genuine feeling and high vision. His work is always careful, almost fastidious where

technique is concerned. The result is a work of distinct merit. The lines on 'Youth' and 'You who pass' are delightful reading. There is a slightly perceptible note of sarcasm behind a few of his poems but the sarcasm never bites for it is not malice-born.

True Love by S. M. Michael (Madras, 1922) Re. 1/-.

True Love is a collection of twenty love-poems—small cameos that reflect the pulsations of the heart in the presence of the beloved. Some of the lines are enthused with charm and beauty; others are unequal and suffer from sentimental overflow. As a first work Mr. Michael's effort is commendable.

The Song of Songs by Morris Jastrow, jr. (J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia and London, 1921) \$3.00.

Professor Jastrow's *Song of Songs* is a companion volume to his Biblical studies of the Book of Job and the Ecclesiastes. The revised version has been justly acclaimed as the greatest literary feat in English literature. Q. has recently emphasised in his Cambridge studies the perennial beauty and charm of the Bible as a literary masterpiece. Prof Jastrow felt hampered by 'traditional assumptions and theological predilections' in his readings of the lighter portions of the Scriptures. He has delved deep into ancient culture and correctly come to the conclusion that these books should be taken as they really are.' He considers the Song of Songs to be a "continuous ecstasy on the theme of sexual love." "It follows as a necessary corollary that the Song of Songs consists of a series of independent songs, all dealing with the one theme, which were brought together into a little anthology by some editor, or probably by some editors, who may have intended to give a semblance of literary unity to the collections." Prof. Jastrow has a complete answer to the objection to treat the songs as secular for their being included in a sacred book. These songs are expressions of folk emotions. Folk poetry is always direct, straight from the heart and free from any subtle over-consciousness. What may appear as lewd or obscene—such as the undisguised outbursts of passionate sexual love—is mere naivete which is characteristic of folk poetry and thus deprives the Songs of any suspicion of vulgarity. The Song of Songs in a sacred collection comes to 'reinforce the instinctive conviction of mankind that human love is sacred even in its passionate manifestations when not perverted by a sophisticated

self-analysis. Take the instance of the Maidens' Song :—

"Catch us the foxes
The little foxes,
Spoiling the vineyards;
For our vineyards are in bloom."

There is the Joyous *abandon* of youth and love and beauty and we feel the appeal to passion. But as forming part of a chorus, sung, say, while crop-gathering there can not be attached any vulgar meaning to it. Prof. Jastrow has done his work remarkably well, and his book is as full of erudite learning and industry as of charming and beautiful lyrics illustrating love and the "way of the youth with the maiden."

Our Library Table: Miscellaneous Literature.

Mr. Charles Kingston in his two earlier works—*Famous Morganatic Marriages* and *Royal Romances and Tragedies*—has depicted graphically and portrayed vividly the very human adventures and misadventures of royalties and commoners, of princes and princesses who have rebelled against the marriage customs of their caste; and has narrated the varied and fascinating love stories of kings and queens and of nobility and middle class folk. In his latest work called **Society Sensations** (Stanley Paul & Co., 31, Essex Street, Strand, London)—which is as brimful of interest as its two predecessors, already noticed by us in terms of appreciation—he confines himself to characters which are either British or Irish. A few may be able to recall the Colin Campbell and Dilke divorce suits, but not many know the exact details of the five trials which eventually decided the famous Mordaunt case, in which the then heir to the throne—the late King Edward—was cited and proved his innocence. Some of the most remarkable cases which have ever been before the Courts appear in this interesting volume which will make a wide appeal, and which will sustain the author's reputation as an extraordinarily good narrator of the lights and shadows of human life. We hope Mr. Kingston will give us other volumes of equally enthralling interest.

The first volume of Mr. Justice Sirajul Hasan's **Castes and Tribes of the Nizam's Dominions** (The Times Press, Bombay) is modelled upon the publications dealing with the subject in some of the British Indian provinces. The editor tells us that the material was collected by the late Mr. Kale—a competent scholar, whose premature death has been a

great loss to Indian ethnography. The contents of the book are arranged under the names of the various castes in alphabetical order beginning with the Ahirs and ending with the Waddar. The information brought together is interesting and accurate and the work when completed will be a notable acquisition to the literature of Indian ethnography. We congratulate Mr. Justice Hasan of the Nizam's High Court on the appearance of his first volume and hope that the second will be published before long.

Professor Solomon Reinach published, in French, in 1909, an excellent survey of comparative religion under the title of *Orpheus*. The book was subsequently rendered into English, German, Russian, Italian, Spanish and Swedish. In the literature of the subject it was the first book—to our knowledge—which treated Christianity in a scientific spirit—on a footing of absolute equality with the other religions. The chapters dealing with Christianity are now separately published as **A Short History of Christianity** (William Heinemann, Bedford Street, London). In his preface the author—who has revised the text and brought the bibliography up-to-date—reaffirms his view that “Christianity like all other religions, should be treated by history as a purely human institution.” The result is that the book is the most rational exposition of the subject and should appeal, as such, to a large circle of readers.

The firm of Mr. John Murray (Albemarle Street, London) is issuing small, handy, well-printed books in what is called “The Conan Doyle Stories,” in six volumes. This series of volumes contains a re-issue of the short stories—apart from those relating the adventures of Sherlock Holmes—written by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle and selected by him from the various books in which they originally appeared, and a few hitherto unpublished stories. Their names are:—*Tales of the Ring and Camp*, *Tales of Pirates and Blue Water*, *Tales of Terror and Mystery*, *Tales of Twilight and the Unseen*, *Tales of Adventure and Medical Life*, and *Tales of Long Ago*. These stories make delightful reading and we commend them heartily to lovers of good fiction.

Messrs. Macmillan & Co., Ltd. (St. Martin's Street, London) have issued in their “English Classics” series an excellent edition in one handy volume of the complete text of Thackeray's **Vanity Fair**, edited by Professor Michael Macmillan. The text is exceedingly well printed while the editor has enriched the usefulness of the book with elucidative and informative notes, which are appended to the

volume. It is thus a most excellent edition for the students of this classic of English fiction.

Rodwell's translation of the *Quran* is well-known and is considered the best in English. **The Selections from the Quran** (Rodwell's translation) arranged by the Rev. Dr. Stanton (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London) and intended to illustrate the main features of the Prophet's proclamation and history will be found useful by the students of the subject.

The Readings from the Literature of Ancient Rome (in English translations) which have been judiciously put together by Dora Pym (George Harrap & Co., Ltd., London) would be found equally interesting and instructive by people desirous of obtaining a glimpse of the life and thought of the people of ancient Italy as enshrined in Latin literature. The selections cover a fairly wide range—Livy, Lucretius, Cæsar, Catullus, Cicero, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Tacitus, Pliny and some others. The translations which have been made for the purpose of this book are very well done. There are introductions from the pen of the editor and translator to connect the passages selected from the Roman classics. Altogether it is a very useful work and we look forward to the publication of its companion volume to be called *Readings from the Literature of Ancient Greece*.

To the series of books being issued by Messrs. Macmillan & Co., Ltd. (London) dealing with the various tribes of Assam, the latest addition is **The Lohita Nagas** by Mr. J. P. Mills, I.C.S. Like the other book in the series it is a complete ethnographical study of the particular tribe it deals with, written by one who has made a speciality of the subject. Beginning with the origin and migrations of the tribe, it describes in detail their appearance, dress, ornaments, weapons, character, domestic life, laws and customs, religion, folk-tales, and language. It is thus a comprehensive dissertation on the subject and should be welcomed by students interested in Indian ethnography and anthropology. The many excellent maps and illustrations it contains, improve its value and utility.

Indian reformers interested in improving the administration of the police would do well to study English, American and Continental works dealing with the working of the police forces in the various countries of Western Europe and America. The latest study is Mr. Elmer Graper's **American Police Administration** (The Macmillan Company, New York, U. S. A.) which is a manual on police organization and methods of administration in American cities. This handbook is devoted to a consideration of

various phases of the police problem. Its purpose is to make available: (1) information as to what American cities are doing in the way of solving the police problem, (2) the general conclusions relative to good police practice that may be drawn on the basis of this information. It is not claimed that these conclusions are final, but it is hoped that they are certainly suggestive. Some of the chapters are on: The Organization of City Police Departments; Appointment, Promotion, and Removal; Training of Policemen; Detective Service, etc. Chapter X, on the Secretarial Bureau, is an adaptation of the standard recommendations relative to Police Records and Reports formulated by the New York Bureau of Municipal Research. It would thus be seen that the work under notice is alike comprehensive and instructive. As a correct picture of the administration, organization and working of the police force in America, it should interest police reformers in India.

It is a sign of the times that considerable attention is being paid to the study of questions pertaining to human character. The latest work on the subject, which is by no means an unimportant one, is Mr. Hugh Elliot's **Human Character** (Longmans, Green & Co., 39, Paternoster Row, London, E. C. 4, and Bombay). This book contains a large number of observations on human character, and endeavours to penetrate human motives and expose the inner workings of the mind. One of the chief conclusions reached is that character and motives depend on differences of emotion rather than upon differences of education or intellect. The author has derived most of his material from a study of men and women as they are, and the book therefore is free from any technical elements. Chapters are devoted to egoism, love, jealousy, morals, and religion. Men of thought and men of action are separately studied. A full account is given of "suggestion." A long chapter is taken up with genius and its relation to various forms of disease. Obsessions, fanaticism, vice, and crime are the subjects of other chapters: the mutual influence of body and mind: the relative importance of heredity and environment for character-formation, etc. The author introduces a new feature of character, which he calls Bovaryism, that has been much discussed in France, but has not hitherto been described in England. It would be seen that Mr. Elliot's book covers within a small compass a very large ground. It is written for the layman in popular language and should interest all thoughtful readers. The author presents us with a fully scientific exposition but in language understandable by the average reader.

An Introduction to the Psychology of Religion

by Mr. R. H. Thouless (University Press, Cambridge) is an excellent manual of the subject. It has been avowedly written with the object of popularizing the abstruse and recondite subject it deals with and its lucidity should appeal not only to professed psychologists, but also to the general reader who is interested in the psychology of his own religious experiences and at the same time has no prior knowledge of psychological terminology. In the first half of the book the author attempts to define the word religion and discusses and classifies the various roots of man's belief in a God, while in the latter half he considers the underlying instincts and subconscious influences and closes the book with chapters on types of Conversion and Mysticism. It is leavened throughout with quotations from such writers as Goethe, Thoreau and Thomas à Kempis, and with examples from the lives of St. Paul, St. Augustine, St. Teresa and others. Altogether Mr. Thouless's *Introduction to the Psychology of Religion* is an ideal text-book for a beginner.

The "Training Series," being issued by the famous American firm of Messrs. J. B. Lippincott Company (London and Philadelphia), written by leaders in different professions and presenting in a straightforward manner the demand upon character, the preparatory needs, the channels of advancement, and the advantages and disadvantages of the different pursuits, is a valuable collection of books on professional literature. The latest addition to it is **Training for Librarianship** by Mr. J. H. Friedel, who is thoroughly well qualified for the task. Though conditions of Library economy in India differ materially from those obtaining in the United States, nevertheless the book under notice will be found highly useful, so far as the exposition of general principles goes. The author describes the different kinds of libraries, giving instructive facts regarding all phases of public and special library work. Then there are useful tabulations, lists and bibliographies, besides interesting discussions of all matters pertaining to library economy. We unreservedly commend the volume to students of the subject.

Sir Henry Newbolt's **An English Anthology** (J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., London) is divided into two parts—the first containing the texts and the second notes and indices. In this book Sir Henry Newbolt gives us a selection of English Prose and Verse from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century. The book has been compiled for the use of teachers and students of English: its object is to show the progress of the English language and literature as the

gradual gathering of a great concourse of characters and influences. The total effect of this concourse at any moment is made clear by the arrangement. The authors included are placed, not by order of birth, but by the dates at which their first or most decisive work appeared. By this arrangement the reader will gain an idea of the effective content of the literary mind at any given date, and will be able to make his own observation of the influence of great writers or great events upon the generations which followed them. The value of this most useful collection of gems of English literature is enhanced by Part II, "Notes and Indices," which supplement the book and it is issued as a companion to the principal volume. It contains critical and appreciative comments on the authors and their works, and should be found especially valuable for students. The two volumes together constitute a very notable addition to the general anthologies of English literature and deserve a cordial welcome.

We extend a hearty welcome to the new, cheap edition of Sir Ernset Shackleton's **South**—the story of the 1914-17 expedition—which was first issued in 1919 (William Heinemann, London). A cheaper edition appeared two years later and we have now the revised and popular edition before us. The book is admittedly a classic in the geographical literature of the South Pole and the edition under notice—which is illustrated—ought to command a large circulation.

"The Common Commodities and Industries" series—issued by Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons., Ltd. (Parker Street, Kingsway, London, W. C. 2.) is a most useful collection of handy little treatises written by specialists and experts. The latest addition to the series is **Straw Hats** from the pen of Mr. Harry Inwards and deals comprehensively with their history and manufacture. There are many volumes in the series which should interest readers in India, especially those concerned in industrial manufactures.

The "Fiction Series" initiated by Messrs. T. N. Foulis, Ltd. (91, Great Russell Street, London, W. C.) is to include notable examples of English and American novels and stories. The books are small enough to go conveniently into an overcoat pocket, while their print is clear and the format good. The latest addition is a selection from the stories of the American novelist, Frank Stockton—who is best known for his problem story called **The Lady or the Tiger** which gives the name to the volume under review. The "Fiction Series" ought to have a great future before it.

Of Indian educational publishers about the most enterprising at present are Messrs. K. & J. M.

Cooper of Bombay and their publications for our students are marked by a striking originality, which is the result of their enlisting the co-operation of experts and specialists in their line. Their latest additions to their series of historical text-books are **A Short history of Hindu India** by that eminent scholar, Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Professor of Indian History and Archæology in the University of Madras, and the same author's **Hindu India from Original Sources** in two parts. The former is, to our knowledge, the first work of its kind in English and being from the pen of a distinguished writer on Indian history, is more than a mere students' text-book. It extends from the earliest times to the fall of the last important Hindu Kingdom—that of Vijaynagar in 1565. It strictly confines itself to Hindu India and deals with the Afghan or Moghul rule only when it is absolutely necessary. The book is meant for popular reading but it is learned and abreast of the latest researches in the history of the Hindu period. It is usefully supplemented by the author's other work named above, which is a scientifically planned source-book of great utility. The two books should be mastered by those desirous of understanding Hindu polity—political, economic, social and in other spheres of activities.

The latest addition to the "World's Classics" (Oxford University Press, Amen Corner, London and Calcutta and Bombay) is a work in two volumes, which should make a wide appeal to those interested in the political progress of India towards the attainment of a full measure of responsible government. It is Professor. A. Berriedale Keith's compilation **Speeches and Documents on Indian Policy 1750-1921**, which is enriched with a luminous preface from the pen of the editor. Professor Keith is a distinguished Scholar of Sanskrit literature in general and Hindu philosophy in particular, but he is more than that and he is equally well-known as a very capable expounder of the polity of the British Self-governing Dominions. It is, therefore, a matter of very great gratification that so well-informed and sympathetic a student of Indian affairs should have turned his hand to producing a book like that under notice. His work covers a wide range, practically from the dawn of British rule to the latest times, and its contents include (either in whole or in part) documents of all kinds—despatches, minutes, speeches, proclamations, statutes, firmans, treatises, petitions, memoranda, resolutions, notifications, reports and so forth. Thus the book will be found to be of the highest value not only for the very instructive foreword supplied by the editor—which is a masterly survey of the subject—but equally so by reason of its

miscellaneous contents enumerated above. The book might well have for its motto: "Much riches in a little volume." We commend its careful perusal to all interested in the progress of political reform in the Indian constitution.

The first issue of "**World Dominion**," a new quarterly review, edited by Dr. Thomas Cochrane, C.M., has reached us. The object of the journal is (to quote the editorial) "to think in World terms and to review the distribution of the forces and resources of the Christian church in the light of world need. It will plead for co-ordination and co-operation and a world plan." The quarterly will deal with missionary principles, policies and methods. It will attempt to point out how missionary work interdigitates with matters of everyday concern. It will discover how Near Eastern problems may have Far Eastern causes, how the moral condition of Europe may have Asiatic reactions. It will show the effect of medical missionary work on the world's health, and it aims at fostering a world conscience and a world peace. The first issue contains a noteworthy article by the editor on "Hope for the Leper," and the hope of man's deliverance from this terrible scourge. Other articles deal with Indo-China, Central China, the Near East, Japan, Africa from the above-stated points of view. The quarterly is published by The Livingstone Press for the L. M. S. Laymen's Movement, at 48, Broadway, London, S. W. 1, at 6d. per copy, or 2s. 6d. per year post free.

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Rai Bahadur Shyam Narain Singh, of the Behar Orissa Civil Service, and at present the official representative of his province in the Legislative Assembly, has done well to bring out a revised edition of his useful work called **The Industries in Behar and Orissa**. Not only he describes in it the various existing industries of the province, but suggests numerous openings which merit careful consideration at the hands of captains of industry. The author has a complete grasp of the subject and he writes on it with knowledge and authority. His book (which can be had of the author, who is stationed at Hazaribagh) is of value, being calculated to awaken interest in the dormant industrial activities of the province of Bihar and Orissa.

Of the love of man for horses there are many interesting chronicles. But Ann Sewell's **Black Beauty** holds the palm. A useful and cheap reprint of this famous appreciation of a horse has now been issued by the enterprising house of Jarrolds Publishers

(London). All lovers of the noble animal will delight in the pages of this poignant story of the ups and downs of a horse's life.

THE FIRST FOLIO.

PUBLICATION OF "THE PLAYERS' SHAKESPEARE".

A NEW MEMORIAL EDITION.

Exactly three centuries ago, in 1623, the works of Shakespeare were first printed in a collected form. In this rare volume, known as the First Folio and, in its perfect state, more greatly desired by collectors than any other book in existence, John Heminge and Henrie Condell, two of Shakespeare's friends and fellow actors, made the first effort towards a complete and authentic text.

Before its appearance several of the plays had been issued in quarto from pirated version. In their address "to the great variety of readers" the editors if they can be so described, remarked that the public had been "abus'd with diverse stolne, and surreptitious copies, maimed and deformed by the frauds and stealthes of injurious impostors, that expos'd them." These, they claimed, were now offered "cur'd, and perfect of their limbes; and all the rest absolute in their numbers, as he conceived them."

At long intervals during the next fifty years appeared, with typographical variations, three reprints of this text, known as the second, third and fourth folios, but it was not until the eighteenth century that any attempt at editing in the modern sense was made. Nicholas Rowe at the beginning of that century, was responsible for the first critical version of the plays, and after him came a long line of notable editors, including Alexander Pope, Dr. Johnson, and many others whose names though not so well known to the general public, are familiar to every Shakespearean scholar.

The work of these critics testifies to the absorbing interest which Shakespeare has for the student of literature. Yet, curiously enough, though from the time of the Restoration his plays have been constantly presented on the stage, there has been little evidence in book form of the everwidening appeal which the poet has made, and still makes, to the theatre-goer and to the actor. It was this aspect of the matter which Messrs. Benn Brothers Ltd., had in mind when the plan of "**The Players' Shakespeare**" was conceived.

In explaining the objects of this new edition of Shakespeare's dramatic work, Mr. Victor Gollancz,

under whose direction it is being published, places first the idea of bringing the theatre into the library. The plays occupy separate volumes which are illustrated by artists who, all of whom interested in the modern stage and working under the general editorship of Mr. Albert Rutherston, have endeavoured not to produce ordinary book illustrations, but to give expression to their vision of what a stage performance of the play should be and to communicate that vision of the reader.

Among the artists who have been engaged are Mr. Charles Ricketts, Mr. Norman Wilkinson of Four Oaks, Mr. Paul Nash, Mr. Lowinsky and Mr. Schwabe. Each volume will have an introduction by Mr. Harley Granville-Barker on whose reputation as a Shakespearean producer it is unnecessary to enlarge. These introductions give the results of study, extending over many years, of the practical problems involved in the stage representation of the Shakespearean drama.

Clearly a publication of such importance could not be lightly undertaken, and the ambition of the publishers has been to produce a series of volumes which shall not merely elucidate some of the perplexities of dramatic production, but also combine literary and aesthetic value with craftsmanship of the first quality. Accordingly, the printing is being done at the Shakespeare Head Press under the personal direction of Mr. B. H. Newdigate; the coloured illustrations of which there are five or more in each volume, are being carried out in facsimile collotype by Messrs. Wittingham & Griggs, and the numerous line blocks are by Messrs. Emery Walker.

There will be two editions. The first, limited to 100 numbered signed copies, will be printed on handmade paper exactly similar to that used by the Kelmscott Press; the second, limited to 450 numbered copies, will be printed on pure rag paper.

It remains to add that the text will be that of the First Folio. "**The Players' Shakespeare**" will thus link the earliest collected versions of the plays as written for the stage with the latest results, both literary and artistic, of modern inspiration as applied to theatrical production. In the broadest sense, therefore, it will be a Tercentenary Memorial which should be prized alike by Shakespeareans, by all interested in the twentieth century theatre, and by lovers of the perfect book.

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Those who knew the late Sir Walter Raleigh only through his serious literary studies, or his epoch-making *History of the Royal Air Force*, will in **Laughter From A Cloud** (Constable & Co., Ltd., London, 1923) meet him in that gayer nonsense-loving mood,

which gave unforgettable delight to his friends. Perhaps more than in any other works this book is a revelation of Raleigh as he was—wise, witty, tender, and whimsical. The contents of the volume range from essays and poems in which Sir Walter always with characteristic humour "sets down his Paternoster and his Creed," to others in which his muse is merely the mouthpiece of radiant and irresponsible fun. Collected here are his three little plays, *The Riddle*, *James*, and *Richard who would not be King*, a selection of the best pieces contained in that rare and inaccessible work *The Milan*, and other bagatelles in verse and prose thrown off in his lighter moments. The book opens with his earliest known work, an Address to the famous Cambridge Society of "The Apostles," and ends with the noble lines, *My Last Will*, from which the title has been taken. In these pages indeed we are privileged to listen to "The Author's" Laughter from a Cloud.

These scattered pieces, few of which have hitherto seen the light, have been brought together and edited by an intimate friend. There is a foreword by Mr. Hilary Raleigh, giving us a pleasing picture of his father in the family circle. *The Riddle* and some other pieces have dainty illustrations by Mr. Anning Bell, and as frontispiece we have a reproduction in colour of Mr. Francis Dodd's prophetic portrait of Walter Raleigh as "Sir Walter."

The widespread appreciation of the first eighty-nine volumes of *The Kings Treasures of World Literature* have induced Messrs. J. M. Dent & Sons to publish a further fourteen volumes in April next. Edited by Sir A. T. Quiller-Couch this series has now become very popular with readers both young and old and the fourteen new volumes will include:—

Robert Lynd's Selected Essays.

Junior Modern Prose. Edited by Richard Wilson, B.A., D. Litt.

The Life and Death of King John. Edited by Richard Wilson, B.A., D. Litt.

Standard Prose. Edited by B. L. K. Henderson, D. Litt. (From the 17th Century of the present time).

The Canterbury Pilgrims. By Mary Sturt, B.A., and Ellen C. Oakden, M.A. Illustrated.

Silas Marner. By George Eliot. Edited by Norman Hepple, M.A., M. Litt.

The First part of King Henry IV. Edited by Richard Wilson, B.A., D. Litt.

A Gallery of Master Historians. Edited by F. R. Worts, M.A.

The English Admirals. By R. L. Stevenson. With *England's Forgotten Worthies.* By J. A. Froude.

A Book of Lighter Prose. Compiled by M. M. and J. M. D.

The Tempest. By William Shakespeare. Edited by Richard Wilson, B.A., D. Litt.

Hamlet. By William Shakespeare. Edited by D. C. Somervell, Tonbridge School. (With Acting Appendix).

The Song of Beowulf. (Newly translated into English prose) by Prof. R. K. Gordon, University of Alberta.

More Animal Stories. By Charles G. D. Roberts. They will all be published at 1/6d. each net.

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"THE HERITAGE OF INDIA" SERIES.

It would be difficult for an Indian—whatever his race, creed, caste, tribe or community—to adequately express his sense of gratitude to the cultured Christian Scholars who have co-operated to organize the unique series of books rightly designated "The Heritage of India". (Association Press, 5 Russell Street, Calcutta). The Joint Editors of the Series are the Right Rev. V. S. Azariah (Bishop of Dornakal) and Mr. J. N. Farquhar. The former is a cultured Indian divine, the latter a well-known scholar and a sympathetic student of Hinduism. It would be difficult to conceive a better collaboration than that of these two gentlemen for series like the one under consideration. The writers, whose co-operation the editors have enlisted, are all experts and specialists in the subjects dealt with by them, with the result that the "Heritage of India" series is one which while catering for the educated public at large has still the merit of rich scholarship and sound learning. But even more so than scholarship and learning is to be appreciatively noticed the spirit of warm sympathy with their subject which is characteristic of the cultured writers of the books in this series. The result of this rare combination of scholarship and sympathy with things Indian is a series of works wonderful alike for their scientific spirit, scholarly accuracy and a genuine insight into the culture—artistic, philosophic, literary and religious—of Mother India.

The editorial preface is interesting as throwing light on the mental outlook of the joint editors of the series. To begin with they have placed—as their motto—at the top of their preface, the following noble lines from the Buddhist literature:—"Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honourable, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things." Then follows the following excellent preface:—"No section of the population of India can afford to neglect her

ancient heritage. In her literature, philosophy, art, and regulated life there is much that is worthless, much also that is distinctly unhealthy; yet the treasures of knowledge, wisdom, and beauty which they contain are too precious to be lost. Every citizen of India needs to use them, if he is to be a cultured modern Indian. This is as true of the Christian, the Muslim, the Zoroastrian as of the Hindu. But, while the heritage of India has been largely explored by scholars, and the results of their toil are laid out for us in their books, they cannot be said to be really available for the ordinary man. The volumes are in most cases expensive, and are often technical and difficult. Hence this series of cheap books has been planned by a group of Christian men, in order that every educated Indian, whether rich or poor, may be able to find his way into the treasures of India's past. Many Europeans, both in India and elsewhere, will doubtless be glad to use the series. The utmost care is being taken by the General Editors in selecting writers, and in passing manuscripts for the press. To every book two tests are rigidly applied: everything must be scholarly, and everything must be sympathetic. The purpose is to bring the best out of the ancient treasures, so that it may be known, enjoyed, and used." One need not quarrel with the learned editors for their view that there is much in Indian literature and art that is "worthless" or "distinctly unhealthy". Perhaps they would say the same of even Christian literature, if only they could be equally frank. But it would be profitless to pursue the subject further and we may console ourselves with recalling in this connection the well-known lines of Pope:—

*We think our fathers fools, so wise we grow,
Our wiser sons, no doubt, will think us so.*

But to turn to the books themselves. So far thirteen volumes have seen the light and several others are announced to be in active preparation or in the press. Of these thirteen, three are biographies—of *Gotama Buddha* by Mr. K. J. Saunders, of *Asoka the Great* by Mr. J. M. Macphail and of *Rabindranath Tagore* by Mr. E. J. Thompson. Each of these is exceedingly well done but we may specially mention the first as a notable example of the intense sympathy of the writer with the subject he deals with. Though there are many notable lives of the Buddha, Mr. Saunders' study of that great personality—one of the few greatest which mankind has produced—is not only the most sympathetic and consequently the most vivid presentation of Gotama's life and teachings, but also the one which is abreast of the latest researches in the ancient literatures of India. It deserves a very large circulation. Of the remaining ten volumes six are devoted to the religions and philosophies of Hinduism. These

are Professor Macdonnell's exceedingly scholarly *Hymns from the Rigveda*, *Psalms of the Mahratta Saints* by the Revd. Mr. N. Macnicol, *Hymns of the Tamil Saivite Saints* by Messrs. Kingsbury and Phillips, two erudite philosophical studies from the pen of Professor A. Berriedale Keith called *The Samkhya System* and *The Karma Mimansa* and *The Heart of Buddhism* by Mr. K. J. Saunders, whose study of the Buddha's life and teachings we have particularised above. Of this group of six, the last three are more important than the first. Professor Keith's analytical and critical studies of two of the most recondite systems of Hindu philosophy are original works of a very high order and will deservedly take a no mean place in Anglo-Hindu philosophic literature, while Mr. Saunders' probings into Buddhism are intensively sympathetic and evoke the best in the heart of that Great faith—or, to be more accurate, rule of life. This is how Mr. Saunders sums up his view of the Buddha:—"After the lapse of twenty-five centuries Gotama Buddha's influence is still a mighty power in the world. That an Indian monk, embracing poverty and the celibate life, writing no book, and setting up no hierarchy, should so profoundly sway the destinies of a continent, is one of the most impressive facts of history. And the modern world, with its passionate belief in organization and in wealth may learn much from Gotama." How vivid! How true!!

Of the remaining four books two are histories of Indian vernacular literatures—Hindi and Kanarese—one is devoted to Indian painting and the other to Indian coins. Each of these four volumes is meritorious and highly useful and each of them is a pioneer work in the literature of its class. Mr. E. T. Price's *History of Kanarese Literature* may not appeal to the

reader in Northern India to the same extent as Mr. F. E. Keay's *History of Hindi Literature*, but the fact of the former having gone into a second edition within a couple of years of its first publication is proof conclusive of its usefulness to readers in Southern and Western India, where Kanarese is the language of the people. Mr. Keay's *Hindi Literature* is a highly meritorious work and it need fear no competition even from the rival scholarly work of Mr. Greaves. The other two books—Principal Percy Brown's *Indian Painting* and Mr. C. J. Brown's *The Coins of India*—deserve the highest commendation. Though there are numerous books on Indian paintings and numismatics, each of these two subjects was badly in need of an introductory manual giving a general conspectus of them. The two books of Messrs. Brown are almost ideal works for the lay man desirous of undertaking the study of either Indian painting or Indian coins. Each of them surveys almost the entire field and presents with lucidity the salient features of the subject it deals with. There is no better introduction to Indian painting than Principal Brown's study of the subject and none more instructive than Mr. Brown's Sketch of Indian numismatics in his *Coins of India*. We have now referred to all the volumes issued so far in the "Heritage of India", series. Almost all of them were noticed, from time to time, in terms of appreciation in the *Hindustan Review*, but it has seemed to us desirable to give them as wide a publicity as we can by inviting attention to the merits of the series, as a whole. "The Heritage of India" Series should find a place in every library and on every bookshelf where Indian culture is studied and prized. It is an indispensable series of books on India.

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SIR ASUTOSH MOOKHERJI
AND
THE UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

By MR. DHIRENDRANATH GHOSH, M.A.

I. Sir Asutosh Mookherji and the problems of Bengal.

In tracing the development of the Calcutta University under the direction of Sir Asutosh Mookherji, it will be my earnest endeavour to approach the subject with the intellectual detachment of the historian, and to avoid the prejudices of contemporary judgment on controversial topics, as far as possible. I have no intention of solving the University problems of to-day, nor the ambition of dealing with questions of University re-construction in the future. These problems, let us note, are not sporadic accidents in our history, but they have their place in that consecutive sequence of events which unite the past with the present, and direct the progress of the future. For a philosophical view of our history within the last hundred years would show that Bengal has taken upon herself the task of evolving a rational synthesis between the culture of the East and that of the West on the basis of a recognition of the fundamental unity of man as such. This was the ideal which animated Raja Ram Mohun Roy in his great religious reconstructions, which have indelibly coloured the course of our history. It was this which inspired the social reform movements associated with the name of Pundit Iswar Chander Vidya-

sagar, which he based far less on the texts of the Shastras, than on the immutable principles of the ultimate laws of humanity. Undoubtedly, it fashioned the growth of our political history, which began in an one-sided study of western politics, but is coming back to-day to a more rational equilibrium, based on a truer perception of our national needs and culture. And it is this desire to "assimilate what is best in the East, and what is best in the West for a re-vivification of all that is most essential in our national ideals" which has inspired Sir Asutosh Mookherji in developing those ideals of University education that are agitating every thoughtful Bengalee to-day, and that are bound to engage the attention of every thoughtful Indian in the morrow.

There is about the career of Sir Asutosh, that stamp of uncompromising consistency, that unerring vision into the needs of the future, which enables a constructive statesman to create in anticipation of time as it were. In his early youth, in the very first stage of his career, he fixed his attention upon the questions relating to his University, and the problems affecting its future destiny, and made them his own. Since then he has prosecuted them with sure and unflagging instinct, until their solution has been all but achieved.

Sir Asutosh is characteristically fitted for the role of creative statesman. Gifted with an intellect that is encyclopædic in range, and a capacity for work that is superhuman in its persistency, he has the imagination to formulate, and the ability to carry out the most far-reaching ideals of University education to their ultimate conclusion. He has the insight of a scientist into the essentials of a problem, and the genius of a philosopher in effecting a synthesis in their details. A mind stored with the wisdom of the past, he has the catholicity to welcome the genius of the future with instant and instinctive delight. Daring in his idealism, he has never permitted his imagination to get the better of his practical common-sense. As a result of this extraordinary union of idealism and practicality, his idealism seems to possess the definite stamp of achievement, while his achievements have almost the impalpable grace of visionary ideals. It is the recognition of these rare-virtues that led Lord Minto to call upon him "to assume the reins of office at a turning point in the history of the University, for with its jubilee, the University enters not only on a new chronological era, but on a new regime, under new administrative conditions." (*Chancellor's Address 1907*). And His Excellency further stated, "I know of no pilot more capable of steering the ship of learning, through educational shoals and quicksands, than Dr. Mookherji, and I have no need to prophesy as to the future." (*Ibid*).

II. His views of the Indian Universities Act of 1904.

The policy of the University, as it is constituted to-day, was largely laid down in the University Act of 1904. That Act, at the time of its promulgation was severely criticised by our countrymen. The opposition was due to the apprehension widely felt, that the object of the act was to limit the scope of high education in India, by making the University a department of the state, so that nothing was to be done in it except "what passes through the custom-house of certain Publicans, that have the turnnaging and poundaging of free-spoken truth." And much of the odium that was concentrated on the head of Lord Curzon in those days has since then been passed on to the head of Sir Asutosh,—evidently on the very plausible, but entirely *a priori* assumption that since he has

carried out its provisions, he must have acquiesced in its promulgation. But as a matter of fact, when the measure was debated in the Council, no voice was more emphatic in recording the protests of the country against its retrograde provisions; no voice more insistent in demanding the recognition of liberal principles. Along with Mr. Gokhale, he led the opposition in those strenuous debates, and repeatedly moved ineffectual resolutions and voted in honourable minorities. But there was a difference between his opposition and the opposition of his political colleagues. He restricted his protests mainly to those clauses which were likely to hamper the autonomy of the University, and impose on its constitution the dominance of men who have not studied our educational problems, and of interests that are primarily political, not academic. Mr. Pal in his lucid character-study of Sir Asutosh said that it was his "detachment from practical politics" and his "intimate acquaintance with the state of things in the University" that enabled him to take this dispassionate view. But certainly it was also in harmony with a carefully-conceived policy based on the conviction that questions of education must not be judged by the fluctuating standards of politics, but entirely on their own merits. And he has summed up his ideal in the trenchant words, "We unreservedly stand by the doctrine that if education is to be our policy as a nation it must not be our politics." (*Conv. Address 1923*).

Viewing Lord Curzon's Act, therefore, not with the eyes of the politician, but with the judicial circumspection of an expert in educational affairs, Sir Asutosh's criticism of the measure was not sentimental, but extremely practical. Thus he gave his general support to the provisions of the Bill which sought "to enlarge the scope of the Universities and make it their duty to promote advanced study and research." "This is undoubtedly the portion of the Bill," he said, "which has been welcomed by every friend of education, but, it must remain a dead letter unless funds and men are forthcoming.....My Lord, is it too much to expect that the Government will, in the beginning at least generously and liberally come forward and help the University in this matter?" (*Speech in the Imperial Council, 21st March, 1904*). It is hardly necessary to point out, in view of the present financial situation, that Sir Asutosh had from the beginning

a definite idea about the financial obligations imposed by the new Statute.

Sir Asutosh also supported the clauses which defined the extent of the University's control of schools and colleges, as a much-needed reform, but he insisted upon certain reasonable reservations, which he was able to embody in framing the New Regulations under the Act. In his final speech in the debate on the Bill, he clearly indicated his position. "If the Universities are to be anything better than mere examining machines, the University must exercise an effective power of control over the affiliated colleges, and should exercise some degree of supervision over them. I concede that it is not desirable that there should be any undue interference with the internal management of the colleges, . . . but it does not by any means follow that it is desirable for the Universities to have no control over affiliated colleges." (*Speech in the Imperial Council, 21st March, 1904*).

But his opposition to the constitutional clauses was emphatic and comprehensive. For this purpose, he moved resolutions seeking to improve the character of the Senate. The gravest defect of the Bill, in his opinion, was its refusal to define the character of the Senate. He insisted that in this matter Government should abide by the recommendations of University Commission, of 1902, which was mainly this—that the Senate should consist of four classes of persons,—(1) University and college teachers, specially Heads of Colleges; (2) persons distinguished in any branch of learning and qualified to take part in the University business; (3) representative members of the learned professions; (4) representatives of Government. "If these principles", said Sir Asutosh, are adopted and fairly worked out, we shall be able to secure re-constituted Senates, which will be academic in their character" (*Speech in the Imperial Council, 19th March, 1904*).

Sir Asutosh also demanded "a statutory recognition of the non-official and of the Indian element on the Senate," but failed to obtain it, although he showed how from 1880, most of the reforms contemplated by the Act were anticipated and sought to be introduced by the Indian members on the Senate, and were systematically opposed and defeated by the official and the European members. This was because, the latter were moved by considerations of

administrative policy, and therefore Sir Asutosh always emphasised that Government must not interfere with education. "I deny most emphatically that it is necessary or desirable, to have any provisions in the law which may possibly convert the Universities into mere departments of the State." (*Speech in the Imperial Council, the 21st March, 1904*). He therefore tried to amend the Bill so as to secure a larger number of elected fellows, in recognition of that democratic principle, which to-day finds a more comprehensive expression in his speeches. As he pointed out in the Council, "Education can never be forced upon a people, and if you wish to educate you must carry the nation with you."

Sir Asutosh was insistent in his demand that an adequate number of the members of the teaching profession should find representation on the Senate, in order to make it really "academic" in character. And it was largely his advocacy that resulted in the incorporation within the Act of a clause ensuring that two-fifths of the fellows should belong to the teaching profession. It was always his firm conviction that education can never be endangered in the hands of the expert, and this has largely found expression in the working of the Calcutta University.

Sir Asutosh also protested against the power given to the Government "to add to or alter the Regulations" framed by the Senate. This principle upon which he based his opposition deserves careful attention. "It seems to me quite inconsistent," he said "with the character of the University, as a body of experts, that an elaborate set of Regulations framed by them should be liable to be modified by the Government, and I am unable to see, where Government will get expert advice outside the Senate to help it in this delicate and difficult task. If the Government has such expert advisers, they surely ought to be on the Senate. . . . Let the Universities be reconstituted with the utmost care and caution. But if the Universities are to take root and grow on Indian soil, the re-constituted Senates, must be trusted and allowed to enjoy some degree of independence." (*Sir Asutosh's Minute of Dissent to the Bill*) This is precisely the standpoint from which he is opposing the Bill in contemplation to-day,—by demanding that in all measures that affect the University, the University ought to have a preponderating voice.

Let us note here, that Sir Asutosh's main apprehension—that as a result of this Bill, there would be undue official interference with the machinery of the University—has been fully justified by subsequent events. And recognising this, the Calcutta University Commission has distinctly recommended that such interference, in the interests of high education, should cease, and the University should have complete autonomy in all academic affairs.

III. Re-organisation of Schools and Colleges.

We have already seen that Sir Asutosh recognised certain principles involved in the Act, which if judiciously worked out, were sure to have far-reaching effect on the future development of the Universities. And when he became Vice-Chancellor he concentrated his attention on the possibilities underlying these principles,—dismissing others as unimportant. This acute perception of the actual and the essential, and this refusal to allow the objectionable clauses to obscure the beneficent led him to close all controversies regarding the Act as a *fait accompli*, with the reflection, “In all efforts at reform a period is ultimately reached when debate and discussion must be closed and solid work undertaken.” (*Conv. Addresses 1907*). It is hardly necessary to indicate the wisdom of this reflection.

It is necessary for our purpose to take a brief review of the four fundamental principles upon which he based the structure of what he rightly called, “The New University” of Calcutta. These were—

- (1) that all affiliated institutions must be amenable to some supervision and control by the University;
- (2) that the University must satisfy itself that the residence of students is suitable and desirable;
- (3) that while the students have a thorough knowledge of “essential” subjects, they must be allowed “a wide choice and free scope” as regards those which are “non-essential.”
- (4) that “the University must not only be an examining body with power to grant degrees” or even “a federation of colleges” it is, also, a pre-eminently “a centre for the cultivation and advancement of knowledge.”

In translating these principles into action, Sir Asutosh always depended upon the support, unstinted and whole-hearted support of the Senate. How he secured “the united efforts of the Senate and the faithful co-operation of all who are vitally interested in elevating the tone and standard of University education in these provinces” is not one of the least surprising achievements in a career that abounds with surprising incidents.

(a) For the first four years of his Vice-Chancellorship (1900-10), Sir Asutosh kept in the background the greater ideals of policy connected with a Teaching University, and made the most strenuous efforts to improve the wretched condition of the schools and colleges, as a necessary preliminary for the establishment of a real and centralised Post-Graduate College. These reforming activities of the University under the influence of the prevailing atmosphere of tension existing at that time were viewed with suspicion and misgivings. The opposition to the improvement of schools was the more pronounced, because it was argued with some plausibility but hardly with sufficient wisdom that the Universities being in the main the repository of high education have no right to interfere with secondary schools. In one of those outbursts of indiscretions for which Lord Curzon will be famous in our latter-day history, his Lordship affirmed that education must be made costly in order to be effective and it was thought Sir Asutosh was only carrying out this eccentric opinion. But with incontrovertible logic, he showed that as the ultimate custodians of culture, the University must put the schools on a sound basis. “The University has conferred upon these schools the privilege of presenting candidates at the Entrance Examination, and the University is entitled to demand of them that they be maintained as places where sound education is imparted.” (*Conv. Ad. 1907*). The propriety of this principle has always been admitted by the foremost educational authorities in the world and the keynote to the policy of the Calcutta University under Sir Asutosh with regard to the reform of schools was based on a recognition of the principle that “Education in the University is the development, the amplification of school education, and in some issues, its complement.” (*Conv. Ad. 1907*).

In order to obtain a clear insight into the conditions prevailing in the schools, the Uni-

versity directed a thorough and minute inspection of all schools. The result showed that inefficient and ill-paid teachers, insufficient insanitary accommodation, inadequate libraries and hostels combined in contributing to a most unhealthy educational atmosphere. When the Vice-Chancellor interfered, it was openly affirmed that the destruction of schools was imminent. Sir Asutosh however was not moved by this political clamour. He publicly asserted, that "no institution that has any element of vitality in it will be driven to close its doors." (*Conv. Ad. 1907*). The University was aware of the acute financial difficulties, and therefore did not press for revolutionary changes but only a general conformity to the minimum requirements which its regulations demanded.

Without taking too exaggerated a view of the reforms thus inaugurated, and far from claiming that a condition has been arrived which is even near to perfection, it has got to be acknowledged that the results of this firm adherence to sound principles have been more than justified. I refrain from quoting statistics, for there is such a thing as the fallacy of figures which blinds people to essentials by turning their attention to the material. But it is undeniable that there is considerable justice in Sir Asutosh's contention that the general condition of schools has markedly improved. To-day the schools have a nobler vision of their ideals, and if they are not able to give these ideals complete realisation, it is because of that miserliness displayed by our Government and our people in all expenditure relating to education; a fact which is palpable in the Report of the Bengal Retrenchment Committee. Sir Asutosh was not a bit too early in reminding our countrymen—"Nothing is as costly as ignorance; nothing so cheap as knowledge". (*Con. Ad. '23*).

(b) Sir Asutosh's policy with regard to the Colleges was if possible, more systematic and comprehensive. The opposition was also less conspicuous. For the colleges were regarded as the trustees of high education on behalf of the University. In fact, Sir Asutosh regarded them as so many nuclei with the potentialities for the development of a teaching University. In this conception again is displayed that far-sighted statesmanship, on which I have so often commented. In order to make these colleges fit for the great trust reposed on them and the greater destiny he contemplated for them in the future, he was tireless in examining every detail of their

organisation, and impressing upon them the need for all-round improvement. But too much interference was always condemned and avoided by him. In the debates on the Universities Act he had accepted the principle of the University's control of the colleges with certain reasonable reservations. He summed up these reservations with admirable judgment in these words—"There should not be any undue interference with the internal management of colleges or with the administration of their finances so long as proper efficiency is maintained." In his very first Convocation Address he was even more perspicuous, "Although", he said, "the colleges constitute the University and although for the sake of sound education and for the reputation of the University, each of its colleges must be maintained in a state of efficiency, *each college by itself constitutes an entity, a self-governing body, with the internal administration of which the University cannot legitimately interfere.*" (*Con. Address, 1907*). I have italicised these lines in order to give prominence to the idea of the autonomy of institutions upon which he is so passionately earnest. The autonomy of the colleges rests on the same principle as the autonomy of the University. Satisfy yourself that the interests of an institution have been placed in the direction of responsible persons, and then leave its management to the unhampered discretion of such persons. The administration of Colleges should be vested in Governing Bodies. Firmly convinced that the ultimate control of education should remain in the hands of men "who have made education the profession of their lives", or "who are ultimately acquainted with the details of educational work," or "who have made a special study of educational problems," Sir Asutosh emphasised that these should be the basic principles upon which the Governing Bodies ought to be constituted. In these days of reforming activities, when all sorts of curious schemes about transferring control of education to merchants and manufacturers, financiers and politicians are in serious contemplation, it is good to dwell on the sanity of these principles and recognise the wisdom underlying them. Sir Asutosh most emphatically repudiated the notion that education would be endangered in the hand of the expert. "We must once for all destroy the favourite faith," he declared, "that the ultimate control of education cannot be placed in the hands of people, who have made

education the profession of their lives." (*Conv. Address, 1909*).

The criterion of all improvements in colleges was efficiency. Prior to the New Regulations, only a few of the colleges in Bengal "could satisfactorily stand the scrutiny of the most reasonable test applied according to Western ideals." In all the three factors of high education—teachers, instruments and books—they were sadly deficient. As a partial remedy of this state of affairs, Sir Asutosh earnestly pleaded for specialisation by colleges. "Much of the inefficiency of our colleges", he pointed out, "is attributable to the desire that each college should undertake almost every possible subject rather than confine its attention and devote the energies of its teaching staff to an adequate treatment of a few branches of knowledge." (*Conv. Address 1907*). No college, therefore, was to be permitted "to undertake the teaching of subjects, for which adequate provision has not been made," as this results "not only in injury to the students, but also lower the character of an institution, as an efficient teaching body, if the highest standard of excellence is not maintained." (*Conv. Address 1908*). A thorough inspection by a permanent officer assisted by members of the Syndicate was deemed absolutely necessary before affiliation in any fresh subject could be granted to any college.

In order to supplement the restricted scope of particular colleges, Sir Asutosh advocated the systematisation of the principle of inter-collegiate lectures as being conducive to a desirable feeling of co-operation among the colleges, which is bound to have a favourite reaction on the student community. This was indicated in the New Regulations (Ch. XXVI, S), and if worked out in detail, "a high state of efficiency may easily be attained without any hardship to students." Unfortunately this idea has not been taken up with any enthusiasm by the colleges. But in view of the later evolution of the post-graduate scheme, it is interesting to note how the conception of the University as "a federation of colleges," gradually took shape in Sir Asutosh's mind.

This vigilant administration and these helpful suggestions, resulted in a vastly improved state of affairs in the various colleges under the Calcutta University. Moved by his earnestness, our wealthy aristocracy came forward with generous donations to several colleges, among

which the Krishnath College, the Mymensing College, and the Bhagalpur (T. N. J.) College deserve special mention. In joyfully acknowledging these liberal aids to the cause of education, Sir Asutosh expressed his hope that "when the members of our wealthy aristocracy fully realise their responsibility in this matter, and extend their support to the maintenance of struggling educational institutions, there will be no danger of the extinction of private Colleges." (*Conv. Address 1910*). The results of this aspect of his administration in the first period of Vice-Chancellorship cannot be better summed up than in his own words in the memorable address of 1914,—"I find it difficult to appreciate how any true friend of the advancement of education in this country, can overlook the circumstance that since 1900, the schools and colleges throughout the province have been re-organised, and that in many cases the re-organisation has been of such fundamental and far-reaching character as to indicate a veritable re-birth of the institutions concerned.....I do not imply that our schools and colleges are maintained in a state of perfection; but I do maintain that they are in their present condition far more efficient as agencies for the instruction of our boys and young men than they were eight years ago." (*Conv. Address 1914*).

(c) The problem of the residence of the students of a non-residential University was far more difficult, but some sort of solution has been possible. Without suitable provisions for students living away from their guardians, no appreciable improvement in the moral outlook of students can be expected. Sir Asutosh clearly realised that the problem was bristling with difficulties, and any attempt to solve it on an extensive scale would not only require enormous funds, but would surely stir up all sorts of prejudices—social, political and religious. But having recognised these difficulties, and made due allowance for their existence, he carefully elaborated the policy upon which the system should be based.

The necessity of the residential system cannot be questioned. "It is the duty of each college not only to maintain intellectual discipline among their students, but to provide for their moral and physical welfare." This is a conception not Western in origin, but can be traced to the hermitage-schools of ancient India. "According to the ancient Indian ideal," said Sir Asutosh, "the student must during the period

of his pupilage, reside with his preceptor, serve him loyally and faithfully, and when he has finished his studies, and entered the world, retain for ever the influence of the stimulus he has received." (*Conv. Address, 1907*).

The practical difficulties in the way of the realisation of a comprehensive scheme were chiefly two—want of funds and want of sympathetic teachers. As regards the former, Sir Asutosh made no secret of his conviction that without a liberal grant-in-aid from the State continued for many years, and supplemented by private efforts on an equally extensive scale, it is impossible to provide schools and colleges with adequate and well-arranged places of residence for their students." (*Conv. Address, 1910*). The need for suitable teachers, was equally paramount. For it is an indispensable requirement for the success of the system that students must come in close contact with their teacher, and feel inspired by their example and precepts. Therefore the foundation of the David Hare Training College in 1908 was hailed by Sir Asutosh with particular delight, as it pointed to a time when the schools and colleges would be filled with teachers worthy of their vocation.

Having thus outlined the scope of his ideal and pointed out the difficulties in the way of its realisation, Sir Asutosh emphasised the desirability of making an organised effort to meet the needs of the situation. "What is imperatively needed," he declared, "is the development of a comprehensive policy whereby all our colleges in course of time will be furnished with suitable residences for students" (*Conv. Address, 1911*). It would be over-reaching the limits of an article in a journal if I try to elucidate the various lines of action adopted by the University in this connection. But that Sir Asutosh's ceaseless campaign on this behalf found some response from the Government is a matter of history. In 1912, the State contributing handsomely to this object, Sir Asutosh was able to outline the fundamental ideas of his scheme. "Each College", he said, "is encouraged and enabled by means of substantial grants from the State to improve its own hostels, or to erect entirely new ones; and the intimate connection of the hostels with the colleges is one of the most essential and valuable features of the scheme." Fortunately, in Lord Hardinge, the University possessed a most sympathetic Chancellor, and His Excellency's Government

was prevailed upon to sanction fairly respectable grants in order to enable the University, in Lord Hardinge's words, "to consolidate its work by some concentration of energy on the residential system."

IV. Development of Post-Graduate Teaching.

Having thus consolidated comprehensive schemes in regard to the re-organisation of the schools and colleges under the guiding supervision of the University, Sir Asutosh next applied all the resources of his intellect and imagination in grappling with the problems connected with the creation of a great Teaching University, which he always regarded as the mission of his life. Those misguided political theorists, who are never tired of accusing the Calcutta University of a policy of thoughtless expansion—as though the Post-Graduate Department of the University suddenly leapt out of Sir Asutosh's brains like Pallas Athene out of the head Zeus,—would do well to study, if nothing else, at least successive Convocation Addresses delivered by him since 1907. They will then see that the policy was first outlined by the members of a learned commission, it was approved by the cultured ideals of an eminent Viceroy, it was embodied in the preamble of a Government Act, and then only was it carried out step by step with the utmost caution and deliberation, and that after the fullest allowance had been made for the possibilities underlying existing machinery extra organisation for the purpose was called into existence.

I have already pointed out that Sir Asutosh supported the policy of the gradual evolution of a Teaching University laid down in the Universities Act of 1904, as an important function of the University. In the last Convocation, Sir Asutosh recalled to his audience, how years ago our great countryman, the late Mr. A. M. Bose "approached the Government with a request that the organisation might be transformed as a Teaching University,"—a request which was then "summarily rejected as a paradox." Twenty years after, however, the idea found favour with the powers that be, and Lord Curzon impressed this ideal upon the Universities with great earnestness and eloquence. "The ideal of a University," he said, "ought to be a place where all knowledge is taught by the best teachers to all who seek to acquire it, where the knowledge so taught is turned to good pur-

poses, and where its boundaries are receiving a constant extension." (*Lord Curzon's Address to the Convocation of the Calcutta University 1904*). The Act of 1904 was equally perspicuous. "The University," it said, "shall be deemed to have been incorporated for the purpose (among others) of making provisions for the instruction of students, with power to appoint University Professors, and Lecturers, to hold and manage educational endowments, to equip and maintain University libraries, laboratories and museums, to make regulations regarding the conduct and residence of students, and to do all acts.... which tend to the promotion of study and research." These were kept well in view in framing the New Regulations which, Sir Asutosh justly claimed, "marked an epoch in the history of the University which is no longer to be restricted in its scope as an examining body, with power to grant degrees but is, in future, to undertake Post-Graduate teaching and ultimately form a centre of knowledge." (1908).

When he became Vice-Chancellor, he was resolved to realise this ideal. For he was convinced that if India had to join in the intellectual competition among civilised nations and establish her claims to respectful recognition in the comity of Nations, the University must be so re-organised as to reflect the national consciousness, and to be a centre of creative knowledge. It is only through the Universities that India could once more hope to be united with the world of culture—throwing off her insensate isolation, and realising that harmony which depends on intellectual brotherhood. The members of an Indian University therefore, should be treated as the "trusted interpreters of the West to the East, and of the East to the West." They must "assimilate all that is best and of abiding value and interest in Western Literature, Western Philosophy, and Western Science," without neglecting, "in the glare of Western light, the priceless treasures which is their inheritance," or disregarding "all that is most sublime in Indian thought, and all that is best in Indian manners and customs." But such a synthesis, he clearly indicated depends on the ability of his countrymen "to take an important part, not at all unworthy of their ancient traditions, in that great intellectual and spiritual competition through which mankind may hope gradually to accomplish its high ideal purposes—a competition in which all people of the earth

may peacefully join, rivals and brothers at the same time." (*Conv. Address 1911*). To-day however, we hardly "contribute anything.... towards the progress and extension of knowledge." It is the duty of the Universities to remove this stigma, and then only our country will regain that intellectual eminence, which is her rightful heritage. "Indian with her great intellectual traditions," said Sir Asutosh, "India which in old times was one of the chosen seats of wisdom and learning is expected—nay, bound, to come to the front rank again, and take her place among the nations which are justly regarded as the leaders in the evolution of humanity in modern times." (*Conv. Address 1914*). In claiming that in "no other University in India has this view been realised and carried into effect as has been done at Calcutta," Sir Asutosh pointed out that "the Indian Universities have not yet been able to take root in the life of the nation because they have been exotics. Western civilisation, however valuable as a factor in the progress of mankind, should not supersede, much less be permitted to destroy the vital elements of our civilisation." (*Conv. Address 1922*).

Not only this, the organisation of Post-Graduate Teaching on a sound basis is of the utmost importance, because thereby we ensure a constant supply of capable teachers. This aspect was emphasised by Lord Hardinge in 1912, when he said, "It is very important that we should turn out good M.A.'s in sufficient numbers; otherwise it will be difficult to find capable lecturers for our colleges, or to provide adequately for research." (*Chancellor's Address 1912*). Sir Asutosh also clearly realised that if the University can develop into a real centre of scholarship, "we shall have effectively solved the question of an adequate supply of well-qualified teachers, lecturers, and professors, for the numerous schools and colleges within our jurisdiction." (*Conv. Address 1913*). This has, at all times been regarded as an important aspect of Post-Graduate Teaching, and we cannot help recalling the prevalence of similar practice in ancient India. An outstanding example of this is to be found in life of Bhorabi, the immortal poet who wrote the Kiratarjuniyam. Forsaken by his father, he struggled his way to a school, and there, in the humble position of a cook he was able to acquire sufficient knowledge to be chosen a successor to his preceptor. The discovery of genius and superior intellect is

thus always regarded as the ultimate function of higher teaching. And it is to facilitate this that we have to provide suitable post-graduate Departments in our universities,—and not because it will help to solve the incessant “bread-problems” of the nation.

Thus, the imperative necessity of expanding the Post-Graduate Departments of the University having been established on the grounds of the needs of the nation, the great questions remained to be answered,—would the indispensable prerequisites upon which the success of the scheme largely depended, be forthcoming? There were pessimists and sceptics who would have been only too glad to shelve the question by an emphatic negative. But Sir Asutosh, with his customary thoroughness, investigated the question, and it was only after he had assured himself of certainty, that he ventured on a beginning. The fundamental question therefore, was,—would there be competent teachers, capable students and sufficient funds?

(a) As regards professors, the standard must necessarily be very high. Professors for the Post-Graduate Classes must not only be men of high academic distinction, but they must also be original investigators in their particular departments. “While it is manifestly the duty of a Professor,” said Sir Asutosh, “to assimilate existing knowledge, he has a higher duty to perform; he must make strenuous efforts to contribute to the increase of knowledge, and the advancement of truth.” (*Conv. Address 1907*). For it is only a professor who is “himself capable of and actually engaged in original work”, who can “excite the enthusiasm and stimulate the faculties of the pupils,” and thus inspire them with the desire to extend the realms of knowledge by original speculation and research of their own.” In Calcutta, we need only mention the names of Dr. P. C. Roy and Dr. Abanindranath Tagore as a testimony to the truth of this doctrine. In the task of creating such a Professoriate, Sir Asutosh was confident of succeeding. “Given the needful opportunity and encouragement,” he boldly asserted while reviewing the work done by the Post-Graduate Department, in 1919, “our Post-Graduate teachers.....will be able to furnish complete justification of their appointment for the dissemination of knowledge and for the investigation of truth”. Even to-day, when the scheme is struggling against the ignorant and the malignant opposition of various classes of people, an

amount of success has been achieved that fills us with high hope. For the demand for professors of the Calcutta University has been incessant in every Indian University which is undertaking post-graduate work. “We are thus in a position,” said Sir Asutosh, “imperceptibly to permeate new institutions with our influence and our traditions.” (*Conv. Address 1922*).

(b) Sir Asutosh was equally convinced regarding the very great possibilities of the Indian student. “I am by no means persuaded,” he said, “that the number of students offering themselves for the higher course, would be relatively smaller than in other seats of learning where similar conditions prevail.” (*Conv. Address 1907*). If these students are given adequate preliminary training and guidance,” they would prove themselves, “thoroughly qualified to enter upon the field of investigation.” In order to satisfy himself as to the validity of his idealism, the first step he took was to alter the regulations for the award of Premchand Roychand Scholarship and to make it depend on the “capacity to extend the bounds of knowledge.” Elaborate courses of lectures also were organised by scholars of international reputation which were largely attended by senior students of the University. The success of these experimental measures, carried out with a good deal of circumspection through several years convinced him that his visions are not likely to prove “a mockery, a delusion and a snare,” but should be productive of encouraging results. It was only after a cautious survey of the existing materials that Sir Asutosh declared, “There was no lack of well qualified workers, and that strenuous efforts should be made to train research students and to co-ordinate research.” (*Conv. Address 1910*).

(c) Regarding the financial aspect of the problem, Sir Asutosh has systematically appealed to the responsibility of the Government and of the wealthy aristocracy, in the matter of developing facilities for higher instruction in the University. “In all civilised countries of the present age,” he pointed out, “higher scholarship and research, and not only such research as may conduce to material prosperity and advancement, are allowed to have a distinct claim on help, in many cases very substantial help from public revenues; the encouragement of learning and research are indeed looked upon as constituting one of the recognised

duties of Government." (*Conv. Address 1912*). Therefore it was a matter of vital importance that the obligations of the State in this respect should not be under-estimated. The sympathetic attitude of Lord Minto, and then of Lord Hardinge towards the development of Post-Graduate studies in the University raised high hopes that the Government would not be miserly in its relations with the University, and these were further consolidated by the generous contribution of Lord Hardinge's Government towards taking the first steps in the foundation of such an organisation.

This financial aspect has so far overshadowed all other aspects of this vital problem, that it was often maintained that instead of developing a costly centralised University Post-Graduate system, the colleges ought to have been encouraged to provide better facilities. But such a view is manifestly not tenable for the simple reason that the colleges found it impossible to make systematic provisions for M.A. teaching. The demands of New Regulations regarding the M. A. degree were far more exacting than those which were in force prior to 1909, and required greater facilities. Realising this, the University Commission of 1902 clearly laid down,—“We think it expedient that Under-graduate students should be left in the main, to the colleges, but we suggest that the Universities may justify their existence as teaching bodies, by making further and better provisions for advanced Courses of Study.”

Another possible course open to the University was gradually to build up a reserve fund by observing strict economy in its expenditure. The impossibility of such a course was emphasised by Sir Alfred Ewing, Vice-Chancellor of the Edinburgh University. “I have yet to find,” he said, “the University which builds up a reserve fund as a submarine cable company builds up a reserve for the renewal of its cables....Our poverty has made us opportunists; we live from hand to mouth.” In spite of this however, the University contributed handsomely towards the College of Science, as will be seen later on.

A third alternative was to wait until the Government could make it convenient to contribute suitably. But this argument has been effectively met by the *Report of the Committee appointed by the Senate on the 13th March, 1922*,—“If it be maintained that Post-Graduate Teaching should not have been undertaken by

the University unless and until permanent guarantees of adequate grants could be obtained from the Government experience renders the conclusion highly probable that there would never have been a Teaching University in Calcutta.” (p. 36).

Therefore, the University decided on a policy of bold opportunism, *i.e.*, in the words of Sir Asutosh, “to make good and speedy use of every opportunity to carry somewhat higher the stately building which we are rearing even at the risk that the pile may continue.....to look odd and unsymmetrical. We cannot afford to stop and wait until our means are sufficient to enable us to construct at once an entire new wing, or a complete higher story”. (*Conv. Address 1913*).

The capricious liberality of circumstance afforded the University opportunities to make a humble beginning. Thus to the munificence of the Maharajah of Darbhanga it owed a respectable Library Building, which was replenished by handsome contribution from the state coffers and enriched by rare and valuable collections, the gifts of distinguished men like the late Prof. Pishchel and others. It was further recognised by Sir Asutosh Mukherji that suitable and if not ample facilities for post-graduate instruction in Law, Medicine and Engineering are afforded by the University Law College, the Calcutta Medical College, and the Sibpur Engineering College—though the latter demanded extensive re-organisation. There thus remained the foundation of University colleges in Arts and in Science. “It is here,” said Sir Asutosh, “that in my opinion a start on new lines is most urgently required; it is at this point that we have to apply our first efforts to a True teaching University.” (*Conv. Address 1912*).

An impetus to this step was given by His Imperial Majesty in his memorable reply to the address presented by the Calcutta University. His Majesty urged upon the University the imperative necessity of affording better facilities for developing Post-Graduate teaching and research upon which he based his inspiring message of hope for the future. Lord Hardinge was impressed by the stirring words of His Majesty, and his Government sanctioned an annual recurring grant of Rs. 65,000/- for the express purpose of making “a solid advance in the direction of Teaching and Residential University.” Out of this grant two University

chairs—the King George V chair of Philosophy and the Hardinge chair of Mathematics were established, while, after protracted discussions, the University was permitted to set apart Rs. 15,000/- to enable it to entertain lecturers in various subjects, and thus establish the foundations of a Post-Graduate College in Arts. Lord Minto had already founded a chair in Economics. The University out of its own funds were able to establish a third chair,—the Carmichael Chair of Ancient Indian History and Culture. To crown all, Sir Taraknath Palit, with a generosity unrivalled in the history of education in India offered to the University the magnificent sum of 15 lacs of Rupees, for founding two chairs, of Physics and of Chemistry,—subject to the proviso, that “the University shall from its own funds, provide suitable lecture-rooms, libraries, museums, laboratories, workshops, and other facilities for teaching and research, and shall, out of its own funds, set apart a sum of 2½ lacs, and apply the same to the construction on the site given by the founder, of permanent and substantial structure for use as lecture-rooms, laboratories, and like purposes.” (*Palit Trust Deed*). Thus the University was pledged to the development of a Science College,—unless indeed it had taken the extraordinary step of refusing this unique grant on the score of its own paucity of funds.

The Government, however, refused to recognise the principle, expressed by Sir Henry Wheeler, that “it is a sound business transaction to encourage private liberality,” by supplementing it generously from public funds. It showed no disposition to aid the University to carry out the obligations to which it had pledged itself in accepting the Palit donations. I am not here concerned to discuss the gradual change in the attitude of the Government to the University from sympathy to apathy, and then antipathy. But this change in the angle of vision rendered Sir Taraknath Palit’s gifts almost nugatory. “It promptly brought credit to the donors, but produced no immediate benefit to the donee.” (*Report of the Grant Committee*, p. 13). In this exigency, Sir Rash Behary Ghosh gave to the University a donation of 10 lacs of Rupees in furtherance of the University College of Science and Technology. This enabled the University to establish four more Chairs—in applied Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, and Agricultural Botany. The Go-

vernment maintained an almost ironic silence. That Sir Asutosh’s disappointment was great can be well imagined. “The Syndicate felt..... that as the Government had expressed their readiness to afford liberal financial assistance in support of educational schemes for the creation of new centres of intellectual activity, they would not be slow to recognise that Calcutta has established solid claims to preferential treatment by the liberality and munificence of two of its most public-spirited citizens.” (*Speech on laying the foundation stone of the Science College, 1914*). But “the custodians of the public funds though repeatedly approached have met the legitimate demands of the University with steady and persistent refusal.” (*Conv. 1922*).

This attitude of the Government so disappointed the Senate, that in the words of Sir Asutosh “even the most optimistic amongst the members of the Senate—people who had unalterable faith in the sense of justice of the Secretariat—felt that for the present at any rate the University must rely on its own resources, unaided by the public funds.” (*Speech before the Senate, January, 1920*). The foundation stone of the college of science was laid on the 27th March, 1914, and the University met the cost of erection of the buildings from its Reserve Fund, contributing in all eight lacs of rupees from its own limited resources. This valiant effort to fight for the cause of High Education was recognised by Sir Rashbehary, and in 1920, he placed at the disposal of the University the further sum of 11½ lacs for the development of the Applied Sciences. This was followed by a donation of 5½ lacs of rupees from Kumar Guruprasanna Singh of Khaira, out of which chairs in Chemistry, Physics, Agriculture, Indian Fine Arts, and Indian Linguistics and Phonetics were established. Nor was the University inactive; from its own limited income it was able to found chairs in Botany and Zoology. Thus in spite of the persistent hostility of the Government, Sir Asutosh has been able to establish a University College of Science, which has already attained an international reputation and which is entirely manned by Indian scientists of world-wide fame.

The evolution of a University College of Arts was if possible, even a more arduous and thankless job. For here the University had to face not only the opposition of the Government, but, in recent times, the unintelligent criticisms

from self-constituted experts in University affairs. The provisional grant of Rs. 15,000/- to which I have already referred enabled the University to entertain lecturers in various subjects. This tentative move was dominated by the idea that "the University might carry out the new task by a judicious use of existing agencies, that is,.... the best B.A. teachers of the more prominent affiliated colleges might form in combination a staff of University lecturers." (*Conv. Address 1914*). The University maintained its M.A. classes by utilising the honorary services of these distinguished professors of the various colleges, and supplementing them by very few whole-time, salaried lecturers. The success of this makeshift arrangement was so encouraging, as to convince the authorities that a more permanent system must be devised. For this experiment of co-operation among the colleges in the task of imparting Post-Graduate instructions under the auspices of the University was open to several objections. The defects of the system, according to Sir Asutosh, were chiefly these—(1) "an arrangement which depends on the good will of a number of independent agents is generally not to be expected to work harmoniously and without constant breaks." (2) "It is most difficult... to arrange a working timetable when Lecturers are bound to consult the interests of their colleges first, and not those of the University." (3) "It inevitably excludes from so-called University work the staff and students of all colleges not situated in one centre." (*Conv. Address 1914*). "The system was rendered possible by the co-operation of professors of the different colleges who undertook to deal with particular branches according to their special qualifications, and the time at their disposal after the performance of their work in their colleges." (*C. U. Letter No. 2 dated 1st July, 1915*). The Government of India also characterised the system as "a temporary makeshift to cope with the phenomenal increase of candidates for the M.A. degree." (*Letter No. 1634 dated 14th Oct., 1915*), and indicated that Government was unable to hold out any hopes of financial assistance, unless they were satisfied that the scheme was suitable. The University was indebted to Sir Sankaran Nair, the then Education Member, for the appointment of a Committee with Sir Asutosh as Chairman, to analyse the situation and suggest a definite scheme for the consolidation of Post-Graduate Teaching. The Committee

submitted an unanimous Report, based on the following fundamental principles:

- (1) "The organisation of Post-Graduate instruction of all kinds should be considered to be the duty of the University."
- (2) "The appointment of a whole-time salaried staff is necessary."
- (3) "The whole-time University staff should be intimately associated in their work with certain number of college professors, also engaged in undergraduate teaching—(so as to prevent that artificial division between Post-Graduate and undergraduate world condemned by the London University Commission)."
- (4) "It is necessary to constitute a suitable organisation within which these teachers will be enabled by discussion among themselves efficiently to conduct the teaching and examination of Graduates."

It is important to note here that this scheme adopted in the main the plan outlined by Sir Asutosh in his Convocation Address of 1913, where he had claimed,—(1) that the University must be in a position to appoint University professors who may stay with us for lengthened period and deliver lectures on a systematic plan and remain in continuous contact with the best students in each Department; and (2) that these professors must in the future constitute special teaching faculties of the University, who would, "determine the courses of Post-Graduate study in the various branches within its cognizance." That the system was the most efficient in conformity with the needs of economy cannot be gainsaid. And whatever its critics might say, the Calcutta University Commission, after a most searching enquiry, came to the conclusion that "it represents an expenditure of labour and thought so great, and a skill in organisation so considerable, as to inspire solid hopes for the future." (*Report, Vol. I, p. 76*).

V. An interesting aspect of Calcutta University.

This study of the development of the Post-Graduate scheme would not be complete without a reference to Sir Asutosh's efforts in organising a systematic study of the History and culture of Ancient India and securing the recognition of

the Indian Vernaculars as fit subjects for examination for the M.A. degree. His efforts in the latter direction began as early as 1890, when he brought forward a proposal in the Senate to make the vernaculars compulsory subjects of study in all the stages of University education, but failed to convince the senators of its necessity. It was in 1906, that he was able to persuade the Government of Lord Minto (to use his own words) "to hold that every student in the University must, while still an undergraduate, acquire a competent knowledge of his vernacular, that his proficiency in this respect should be tested precisely in the same manner as in the case of any other branch of knowledge and should be treated as an essential factor of success in his academic career." (*Conv. Address 1907*). After the Nobel Prize for Literature was awarded to Rabindranath Tagore, Sir Asutosh, while conferring the degree of Doctor of Literature on the poet invited our attention to the true significance of this "world-wide recognition" accorded for the first time to an Indian Vernacular, and declared his belief that "if the Indian Universities are ever to be indissolubly assimilated with our national life, they must ungrudgingly accord recognition to the irresistible claims of the Indian Vernaculars." (*Special Convocation Address 1913*).

As a result of his persistent efforts, the Vernaculars were included in 1919 as fit subjects for examination for the M.A. degree, and he himself drew up the syllabus of studies in the Vernaculars which demanded an accurate and scientific knowledge of our language and Literature. "The fundamental principle which lies at the root of the new Regulations," Sir Asutosh pointed out, "is that a student should possess a knowledge of two Vernaculars namely, a thorough knowledge of his mother tongue, and a less comprehensive knowledge of a second vernacular. The student is also required to obtain a working acquaintance with two of the languages which have formed the foundation of the Indian Vernaculars such as Pali, Prakrit and Persian. The languages which have already been recognised as principal languages are Bengali, Hindi, Gujrati and Oriya. The languages which have been recognised as subsidiary languages are Bengalee, Assamese, Oriya, Hindi, Urdu, Maithili, Gujrati, Mahratti, Telugu, Tamil, Canarese, Malayalam, and Sinhalese. Besides these, the student has to

acquire a comparative knowledge of the Philosophy of his Vernaculars." (*Conv. Address 1922*).

The enthusiasm which the new Scheme has evoked and the appreciation which the works of such distinguished scholars as Dr. Dinesh Sen, Dr. S. K. Chatterji and Prof. Majumdar have met from learned professors of Europe, resulted in innumerable donations for the expansion and encouragement of this Department. As a knowledge of the philology of Bengali requires a competent acquaintance with other allied vernaculars, the University has undertaken the publication of suitable text-books in Assamese, Oriya, Hindi, Mahratti, Prakrit, Pali, and Gujrati, the cost of which has been largely met by eminent rajahs and zamindars from all parts of India. The Ramtanu Lahiri Research Fellowship was established out of donations given by Mr. S. K. Lahiri, and its distinguished occupant Dr. Sen, by the prolific results of his investigations into mediaeval Bengali literature, is fulfilling the remarkable prophecy which Sir William Hunter made nearly thirty years ago. Mention must also be made of the donation of Rs. 25,000/- by the eminent professor, Babu Adharchandra Mukherji for the promotion of study and research in Bengali. To crown all, Sir Asutosh himself instituted a medal in memory of his mother, "to be bestowed once in every two years upon the individual deemed by the Syndicate to be most eminent for original contribution to letters or science written in the Bengali language." It was first awarded in 1922 to Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. Besides, there are several lectureships and scholarships maintained by the liberality of our wealthy aristocracy, to whom the University owes so much.

Thus, as in the case of the Science College, Sir Asutosh was able to secure the support of his countrymen to enable the University to do all that was needed for the success of the new scheme. "The possibilities of instruction and research in this department," said Sir Asutosh, "will be recognised as boundless by the most superficial observer, and it is gratifying to find that so much real interest has been evoked by our efforts in this direction." (*Statement on Post-Graduate Dept. 1920*).

VI. New ideal of an University.

Thus, under the inspiring direction of Sir Asutosh Mukherji, supported by the liberality

of our wealthy aristocracy, and aided by the fervent idealism of a band of brilliant young men, "a vast organisation for higher teaching is in full operation in the Calcutta University." The ideals for which he had to work were not his own, and we may here recall Lord Carmichael's words,—“I have talked with Sir Asutosh about University development, and he has told me more than once that if he could set up his own ideals, and work for it, it might be very different from the ideal which has been set up for him, and for which he has had to work.” (*Rector's Address 1914*). Of that ideal, I shall try to speak on another occasion. Here, let us note, how he has been able to mould circumstances, and compel the existing order, engineered by reformers with whom he did not agree on fundamental principles, to approximate to the ideal which he had in view. That his countrymen were not slow in marking their appreciation of his capabilities, is well attested by the large endowments which have enriched the funds of the University. It was his great credit that he was able to command the confidence of his countrymen to such an extent as to secure donations of nearly 50 lacs of rupees in ten brief years. It was this which enabled Sir Asutosh to establish a new University with a potentiality so great that imagination fails to comprehend its impalpable future. Realising this H. E. Lord Ronaldshay was moved to exclaim in Convocation, “Surely you must be proud of the splendid attempt which is being made here to render to Indian civilisation and culture the homage which is its due.” (*Chaniellor's Address, 1921*). For years past, India had remained dumb before the blustering egoism of the West drunk with joy at her own supreme achievements. India could only recount her glorious past, obscured in the mist of time, and like the White Horse in the Mahabharata covered by the envious snakes, the subject of interminable controversies. It is the University of Calcutta which sought to make her clearly articulate, endowing her with a distinct voice of her own, which was not merely the futile echo of the clamour of the West. “We deem it inconsistent with our national consciousness,” said Sir Asutosh, “that the first and last words, the final and definitive judgment on Indian civilisation should be pronounced in intellectual centres far beyond the limits of our motherland.” (*Conv. Address 1922*).

The University of Calcutta may have some

defects. No one has been more alive to them, and more earnest in acknowledging them than Sir Asutosh himself. Repeatedly has he refused to lend even “the vestige of support to such a ruinous theory of self-complacency” as that of believing that sufficient progress has been attained and that “no further progress is needed.” But it would be false modesty to refuse to acknowledge that a new spirit has been evoked in the minds of young graduates, a new atmosphere has been created in the academic world in Bengal. Not every M.A. is a research scholar; neither is every graduate an aspirant of academic distinction or a selfless worker in the field of original investigation. Indeed in no University in the world is such an ideal state possible; I do not even know whether it is desirable. It is only the other day that a distinguished educationist in England declared that only a very small percentage of senior wranglers and scholars of the Cambridge University found it possible to advance the bounds of knowledge. The power to acquire knowledge more or less, belongs to all, but the creative instinct is confined only to the few and it has been the function of all Universities in all ages and in all countries,—whether in the *tolis* of ancient India or the academies of Classic Greece or the seminar of Mediaeval Europe, or the great Universities of the Modern World, to evoke this instinct wherever latent, and to organise its expression. To-day, when the idea is being constantly preached that culture should be subjected to the severe exigencies of a bitter struggle for existence, and when the University is expected to be the standard-bearer of such a materialistic gospel, it is important to remember that the function of the University is not to turn out artisans and tradesmen,—captains of the industries or leaders of the professions—but to diffuse an aroma of culture among its students in general and to aid the development of the creative facilities in those particular students who possess the instinct of research into the invisible and eternal phenomena of the Universe of man and Nature. Such an ideal has always animated Sir Asutosh Mukherji in his efforts to re-construct the University of Calcutta. “In this materialistic age,” he said in the last Convocation, “when Universities are apt to be regarded as workshops for the manufacture of the public servant, the professional man and the skilled mechanic, it cannot be superfluous to impress upon our students.....

that whether we turn our eyes to the unfathomed depths of the sea or the boundless regions of space, beyond the things which are seen and temporal, are the things that are unseen and eternal." (*Conv. Address, 1923*).

I have already referred to the idea of bringing the University in harmony with the spirit of ancient India that lay behind Sir Asutosh's ideal of an Indian University. With this object in view, he conceived the idea of founding a school of Ancient Indian History and Culture, which has already done valuable work in re-discovering the Social, Constitutional, Religious and Political condition of our country in bygone ages, and the potentialities of which cannot be overestimated. The development of a systematic study of Indian Vernaculars in the Post-Graduate classes was also inspired by a similar ideal. Nor must we ignore the comprehensive syllabus of studies in Sanskrit and Pali, which has been organised by him in the Calcutta University, and in the staff of which he has requisitioned the services of eminent scholars from all parts of India, and even from Tibet, Ceylon and Japan. It was this attempt to "resuscitate interest in the ancient culture of

the country," and "to stimulate thought on the lines congenial to the particular genius of Indo-Aryan races", that called to Lord Ronaldshay's mind an analogy with the famous Indian Universities of a past age like that at Nalanda, which, said His Lordship, "if we may believe the Chinese pilgrims who visited it in the 7th century A.D. was a famous centre of learning, at which were congregated 10,000 students, and the examinations of which were so exacting, that though learned men flocked to its doors from different cities, those who failed to pass its tests as compared to those who succeeded were 7 or 8 to 10,—a centre of learning moreover, where the day was found to be all too short for the asking and answering of profound questions, and where discussions proceeded from morning till night." (*Chancellor's Address 1922*). There is not an Indian, who will not feel inspired by the vision of such an ideal as this; and in formulating and carrying out schemes embodying such an ideal, Sir Asutosh has contributed substantially to that desire of harmonising the culture of the East and that of the West, which, as I have pointed out, is the dominating idea in the history of Modern India.

THE SPIRIT OF EASTERN ART

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Recent growth in European appreciation of oriental art demands more consideration of the philosophical theory, that a subjective understanding is a necessary basis for a true appreciation of genuine artistic merit. It is very improbable that the still increasing ugliness of the present European machine-driven competitive civilisation, visibly breaking down as it is, will ever be able to open our eyes and make them more susceptible even to the purely formal beauty of line, form and colour, much less open our minds to the inner beauty they may be made to suggest. Fortunately, certain writers who are firm believers in the subjective theory of art

have set themselves to teach us the true meaning of art; and from them we may learn what is essential to the understanding of the great works of Eastern art. As this knowledge slowly brings understanding, Europeans are able to adopt a different orientation towards the art forms of India and the East. For there begins a revolution in the common view of archaic renderings; of seemingly arbitrary symbols; and similar formal limitations, once we understand that such art contains or expresses something of an esoteric quality, which at least merits our sympathy and perhaps deserves our reverence.

In general tendency of their style the better

styles of Indian art forms show a close parallelism to the noble and impersonal art of Piero della Francesca, Puvion de Chavannes, and perhaps Watts, some of the few Western masters most distinguished by their subordination of the individual to the type.

Although painters of sensible reality, they display, perhaps more than any other European artists, a marked elimination of accidentals, with a corresponding accentuation of typical characteristics, that approaches the universal appeal of art desired by Tolstoi. In Indian art this is perhaps especially seen in some work from Rajputana; but in the best work throughout the East the tendency is generally toward type and away from individualism. That is, for many Western minds, the reason why such art usually appears cold and devoid of intimate personal charm. We would, however, recommend disbelieving critics to consider, for instance, the sleeping "Vishnu" from the cave-sculptures of Mamallapuram. If such inspired work be denied a high place in heroic art, we must seek new and narrower definitions for such a term. Some of the sensitive drawings reproduced in the recent books of Dr. Coomaraswamy are worthy of comparison, even on the ground of their technique alone, with the best line-work of masters like Holbein and Dürer.

Although it is not our purpose to discuss technique, it may be of interest to quote some lines on the much debated points of perspective and anatomy from Mr. E. B. Havell, who has done so much for the revival of the study of Indian art. He writes; "Abanindranath Tagore's recent discovery that India has a perfect and practical system of artistic anatomy—more practical than that taught in Western academies—has finally disposed of the European misconception of that subject. Our mechanical perspective is not related, like the Oriental and pre-renaissance styles, to the laws of design, but only empirically to the science of optics. The Indians have a possible and consistent ideal perspective. The offence in European eyes is that the science of Indian art transcends the limitations of modern Western science, which would keep art, like itself, chained to the observation of natural effects and phenomena as they are impressed upon the ordinary human eye." Read in the light of the recent discoveries on optical physics, by Einstein, such a relativity in art is not without possibility.

Some understanding of the values of Indian

Sculpture was indeed gained when we were persuaded to search for its noblest developments elsewhere than in the products of the Gandhara period; when we ceased habitually to refer to a subconscious Occidental standard of artistic merit based on objective realism, and no longer considered so highly the inferior productions, imitative of the Western schools, whose mode of worldly thought, with its resultant objective art we already understood and appreciated.

In Dr. Coomaraswamy's studies of the Rajput and Mughal Schools, for instance, we find astonishing examples of mature and masterly art, signifying something far more than their purely decorative value, something more than either scenes or portraits. Blake, the English Artist-mystic, maintained that the distinction made in modern times between a painting and a drawing arose from ignorance, and that the quality of merit in a picture was essentially based on the same factors as the quality of merit in a drawing. Here he was right, for only the illusion of colour, and of "light and shade" lure us farther into the conception of art as the image of a *maya*. Dr. Coomaraswamy holds this identity of drawing with painting to be distinctive of most Oriental graphic art, which is "distinguished by its preoccupation with form and design; it rarely or never transgresses the severity of its conventions by endeavouring to create an illusion or to produce an appearance of relief."

By form he evidently means a *suggestive* linear form, rather than *representational* form which is revealed by highly finished imitative light and shade. It is in its suggestion of three-dimensional values by two-dimensional methods, while containing that which is beyond both, that Indian art reveals the consummate skill of its guiding mental science which is the traditional base of its conventional limitations. Holbein and Dürer had, even in their pure line work, a strong appreciation of tone values; they suggested instead of represented; though the Indian draftsman's eye was mentally *trained to regard these aspects of light-and-shade or relief as inessential secondary matters*, nevertheless he was able, by extraordinary delicacy of linear treatment to produce in his work artistic completeness or unity perhaps unsurpassed elsewhere. It is design versus drawing; the mind versus the eye.

Technically, all art depends for final judgment on the masterly relation of means to an end; and all great art is economical with its

resources. If economy of technique in relation to an end which is gained, and even relative to the labour involved, is the surest proof that an art possesses great qualities, then the national art of India can show many masterpieces which can easily rank with the greatest styles of Europe. But, for its proper understanding there is needed some adequate comprehension of the underlying philosophy and also some knowledge of the daily life of its artists and peoples.

The central ideal of Indian art, as of Indian philosophy, and indeed of Eastern thought in general, is that visible Nature is the veil behind which the only true reality of Spirit eternally exists. "Veiled by the magic of my forms, I am not revealed to all the world," says Krishna, in the Bhagavad Gita. Buddhism, in its own way embodied this fundamental idea of Indian thought and carried the vivifying stream to other countries. At first a tiny stream, eventually it poured like a torrent through the passes of the Himalayas both westwards and into China, thence at first indirectly and later directly influencing the thought and art of Japan, yet leaving the place of its origin, perhaps for ever. This stream of ideas spread mainly in two ways: by the Buddhist missionaries first sent out by the great Emperor Asoka in the third century before Christ, and afterwards in increasing numbers; and by the thousands of pilgrims and students who subsequently journeyed to those great universities of India which began to flourish in the time of the two great Empires of Asoka and Vikramaditya. It was in these great university centres of India the schools of religion and philosophy were combined with the schools of art, science and literature. Would that the Universities of Modern India were as truly *universal* on their outlook and on the scope of their teaching. Where is the Indian University that definitely sets out to encourage and teach Indian Art?

Mathematics and astronomy, chemistry, and medicine were among the chief sciences taught in the forest schools of ancient Hindustan while literature, music, architecture, painting and sculpture then reached their highest development. The clarity of the underlying and unifying principles there taught had its inevitable result in the artistic work of that period and later times. As in Egypt, art was unified and thus made great by the controlling thought of the educated people among whom it developed.

Western scholars have in recent years greatly

advanced in their understanding and appreciation of Sanskrit learning, and we hear of the wonderful past, of the grandeur of its philosophy, the beauty of its literature, and the sublimity of its religious ideals, yet running through most of their writings is the constant implication that all this monumental glory of culture has vanished, and the notion fostered that its spirit is lost, that it has gone beyond recall.

The European public generally has little conception of the wealth of living native poetry and art still to be found in India to-day, away from cities and industrialism. They know practically nothing of the artistic soul of the people as expressed in the plaintive beauty of their songs and are ignorant of the simple sincerity of their arts, at their best when untouched by any taint of modern commercialism or by the ideas of money seeking alien culture. During the age of the Buddhist Emperor, Asoka, and of the Hindu Emperor Vikramaditya, it seems that an almost ideal condition of national life was attained.

And with this luxuriant energy the joy of life daily expressed itself in the visible splendour of the crafts of wood and metal, stone and clay. Architecture, with all its attendant crafts, became mighty, having none of the meticulous calculating care of the modern lest a shade too much strength be given to a wall or a pillar. Free from the dubious aid of iron, it grew in the natural power of brick and stone, decorated by marble and metal and finished with costly timbers, hung with beautiful textiles some of which, as in the muslins of Dacca, the world has never equalled much less surpassed. And with this all the lesser crafts of court and palace, of temple and shrine flourished, in cast and beaten metal, in a myriad luxuriant forms full of delight in the power of craftsmanship; in wood-working construction and delicate and wonderful carvings of intricacy and beauty, by the master carvers of that day. Of their descendants but few remain; how poorly they and their work is now appreciated!

How is the modern craftsman shackled to the ruts of poverty and compelled to give of less than his best; how he must look to his bread for the next day, since the patronage of princes is no longer his! For the modern prince has done his country the greatest evil by bringing in the foreign contractor with his foreign forms and mercenary ideas of art and craft. Thus the modern palaces of India are graceless hybrids. And the only bright spot is the thought that

their poor construction will bring them down after a short time, while the older palaces of the ancient rulers, yet standing mighty and powerful will endure in the strength of real and genuine architecture. Such is the contrast of the work ; such is the contrast of the mind of the people. As of old, it is for the rulers to do their part.

We will not speak of the idealism of the more ancient times, as of King Rama, for he would be classed by Western scholars as belonging to the "legendary epic period" as against "real history", although such legends may often be the truest history, since they are the living story of the ideals of a people enshrined in the fair casket of the arts; while the distortions, so often called "history", are all too frequently a biased interpretation of carefully selected facts by some crude conqueror. But the existing rock-hewn Edicts of Asoka are a sufficiently material proof to satisfy any historian, while the 'Golden Age' of Vikramaditya is amply authenticated by the "Nine Gems" of his court, the art works of which are to-day the immortal treasure of India. But to those who have eyes to see, even to-day the artistic greatness of India surrounds in beauty well high every step of the wanderer in her ancient land, it is marvellously recorded in the rocks of her temples, and still pulses in the rhythmic life of her people. Only in the cities and large towns is it dying of want.

When the daily life of a people is normally artistic, then, and then only, is a nation great in art. The nation that has no art is pitiful indeed ; even an empire, if its art be made solely to sell in the market-place, is but little to be envied. In the various arts and crafts of the masses of the people is the real challenge of national life, to the slowly erasing hand of Time ; there, if anywhere is written the true story of the life and thought of the nation. In art, in architecture of temples and palaces ; in painting and sculpture ; in song and music and poetry ; are inevitably expressed the desires, the aspirations, the hopes and fears of every living people. A nation without art of its own, is like a man without love—better dead.

The truest forms of art in all ages have ever been inspired by religion, or by some form of philosophy which ranks nearly as high, in the search of the spirit of man for the Supreme. This is presumably what the Greek, Plotinus,

means, when in speaking of this Supreme Beauty, he says ; "Never could the eye see the sun unless it had first become sunlike, and never can the soul have vision of the First Beauty unless it itself be beautiful". There is no vision without light ; no true nation without its own art.

The thought that developed the life and art of India profoundly influenced all of the East. "The great epochs of expression in Japan have always followed in the wake of Indian spirituality", says the Japanese critic, Kakuze Okakura ; and spirituality is conceived by the Japanese as "the essence of life of a thing, the characterisation of the soul of things, a burning fire within." Art thus "becomes the moment's repose of religion. The instant when Love stops, half-unconscious on her pilgrimage in search of the Infinite, lingering to gaze on the accomplished past and dimly-seen future, a dream of suggestion, nothing more fixed, but a suggestion of the spirit, nothing less noble." Art is also called there "the great Mood of the Universe", an expression of "the life-movement of the Spirit through the Rhythm of things". Art is indeed the rhythm of life functioning through the works of man, even as the works of the spirit functions in its own majestic move through the Universe of Nature. This is in keeping also with Chinese tradition. Chu Kaishu, a Chinese artist in the sixth century A. D. wrote a book on aesthetics called, "*Conversations of the Poppy Garden*", which is still recognised as a classic. In it he says that art is "an incarnation of the genius of rhythm manifesting in the living spirit of things." To tell the story of this "inner and informing spirit," rather than to portray the outward semblance, is the object of art for all painters of true Asiatic tradition.

The existence of this general aim of Eastern art is beginning to be understood by Western writers, one of whom, for instance, says : "the Japanese catch the spirit of a thing in the most wonderful way. They are the only people who can paint a bird flying. The essential difference between Western art and Japanese art is that the West choose to paint only externals ; its artists can paint very beautiful things but they are still all externals. They never try to get at the inner beauty, preferring form ; but the Japanese give us the very soul of the thing itself. Western art paints the veil and models the crude form ; Eastern art penetrates beyond, to

the veil beyond the veils, the beauty beyond beauties, the joy beyond joys."

These words of an unusually penetrating Western critic are more or less true of Oriental art in general, but especially so of those artists who know design, who paint only what they fully understand, and who sincerely and devoutly believe in the inner truths of the religion of their father. For artists who know and believe only externals cannot give anything more in their art, whether they are of East or West.

The above quoted comment was said specifically of the Japanese, but only because their art is almost the sole phase of Eastern art adequately known in the West. It is only since the Japanese have adopted individualism and commercialism, and demonstrated their ability to equal the West in modern warfare, that their art and life have been considered worthy of study and respect. Must India follow this sad example before Western people will think it worth while to study her life and art? Must India become military before she again becomes fully *artistic*? Even those who fully recognize India's claim to a great philosophy and literature, have frequently, as we have seen, no idea that there is any notable art to study, nor any conception of its greatness. But Kakuzo Okakura has clearly demonstrated in his *Ideals of the East* that, while Japan has taken the *form* of her art from China, its inspiration and penetrating ability to paint the soul itself are due to that idealism of religion which came from India, which is still to the Japanese artist the "holy land of most sacred memories".

The spirit of the Far Eastern artistic tradition comes admittedly from India. The sacred force of that spirit of art takes different forms according to the vessels into which it is poured; and though the typical forms of art in China and Japan differ from those of India, the mysterious energy which inspires the best Eastern art and differentiates it from the external art of the West has sprung always from Indian idealism. The principal channel through which this idealism was carried to other countries was, as we have seen, the philosophy of Buddhism. Hinduism has played its own part within the boundaries of India.

To quote Okakura once more: "Buddha embodied the root-idea of the Indian race, and, in thereby universalising Indian idealism in its highest intensity, becomes the ocean in which

the Ganges and the Hoang-ho mingle their waters." That Buddhists carried this spirit of Indian philosophy and religion to other countries will not be disputed. But as for art, it will more likely be denied by most Europeans that there was any to carry. But if they know of Borobodur in Java and Anghor-wat in Cambodia, they will at least admit the magnificence of the architecture.

To reflective minds however, it must seem strange that a people, which has so great a philosophy and so noble a literature, should be thought for a moment to have no creative art. That would be a contradiction indeed, for where true religion blossoms in the hearts of men, there too is art, not for outward adornment but as a living thing in life.

But art and life have, more than elsewhere, been as one in India, as religion and life have been one, for all is somehow realised as an experience of the Divine. In India poetry in particular might almost be said to be religion, and religion to be poetry; music is harmony with the Mood of the Universe, and music and poetry are as one, and spontaneous song is interwoven with the life of the people.

European lack of real understanding of the heart of India and the soul of the East may be seen paradoxically in articles written by Western admirers of the poet Rabindranath Tagore.

Through all the admiration and appreciation there frequently runs a strain of wonder; of bewilderment, as it were, for some undreamed-of-beauty suddenly made manifest, not to be measured by Western canons. There is the unspoken question: Whence comes this strange-seeming sweetness of song, simple and free? Is it from the poet himself? is it the tradition of a famous and ancient family? is it his religion? or is it the very breath of a land where poetry is still sung? In almost every village one may hear beautiful stories and songs of Krishna, held dear in the hearts of the people, to whom he is at once comrade and friend, playmate and lover, and, above all king and god. Their creed, enshrined in the words of the Gita, "In whatsoever way ye meditate me, in that way will I reveal myself unto you", has sunk deep into their hearts. "God will be to us what we desire Him to be"; that is the burden of their simple faith, in it is contained a deep philosophy of devotion.

The songs of the Bengali poet are great because they breathe forth the soul of India in

which religion and its vehicle of poetry are felt to be one, even as God and Nature are realized as one. From their exquisite simplicity shines forth the reality of that beauty. Only a few Western poets have written anything like them. In the lyrics of the Irish poet George Russell is an echo of this Eastern song ; and perhaps in Edward Carpenter and Walt Whitman.

The finer Eastern art is not made with any thought of monetary gain, nor for a pastime. "Art for art's sake" is a creed that had no place in India. Nothing is for itself alone, but all is for the sake of God. Art and science, philosophy and religion, all have their part in the great Eastern Temple of Life, whose God is love and whose worship is the rhythmic harmony of creation. Art then in the true tradition of the East does not try to "copy Nature". It strives to *express or suggest the essential principles* rather than represent the ephemeral visible results of the Cosmic forces ; therefore what it would produce would be as beautiful as creation itself, though in a different way—the way of art. The true Indian artist endeavours to achieve this, in his music ; in his sculpture ; in his painting and architecture. All true art is one because it has its source in devotion to the one Eternal Beauty of which Plotinus was the eager contemplator, but whose veil no man has lifted. To express some faint reflection of this beauty, even in a slight degree, the whole life of the artist must be attuned to the rhythm of the universe.

"Our music", says Rabindranath Tagore, "is the music of cosmic emotion". The Indian idea of different melodies for different times of the day is an exquisite yet entirely natural conception that could only have been developed where the oneness of all life in unceasingly different rhythms is felt as a reality. There are some melodies sung only at night : others at the dawn, some at noon, and some at the "cow-dust" time.

There are also tunes for the various times of year : the "rainfalling season", the time of "heart-joy" or Spring, the "month of the beautiful moon" in the Autumn, and others that make the whole year a great processional symphony. Is not this according to the rhythm of Nature ? Some flowers open to the sun, and others to the moon ; in the East some of the most fragrant flowers blossom at night.

"Indian music", says Dr. Coomaraswamy,

"is moreover, so personal and so capable of variation, according to the singer's mood, that no record can adequately interpret it." Even the same melody is never exactly repeated because a static imitation is not the aim but rather a dynamic expression. "The impression conveyed by Indian music is like a limpid purity of colour effect, and compared with Western concert music suggests a comparison of refined and delicate Indian dyes with the brilliant hardness of modern chemical colouring matter, or the flow of a deep river with the rush of a noisy torrent...There is a music which comes once or twice only to you, and which it is in vain to seek. The very greatest of Indian musicians are not professors, but wandering holy men". Of the best Indian music this is true but, how seldom does it come ! From these considerations he concludes that the Western craftsman will not recover his power of design until he "worships God with flowers": until the daily sacraments of life are become a ritual of accepted blessing, and until he gets back some real superstitions of the invisible life in place of the superstitions of "facts".

When is some concerted effort to be made to bring back to India her music ? When will Saraswati find again her throne in Hindustan ? There is nothing lacking except leadership. With a tithe of the energy that is wasted in vain political discussion, there could be started a movement for Indian music ; real music, not the poor substitute of the harmonium, and the drum as chief instrument. Not only the poor cracked song of the market place, but the delicately modulated voice of the subtly trained singer. There are surely thousands of students who would be delighted to receive training. But where and from whom are they to get it ? In the West, anyone who feel within them the spirit of music can get training, at least in the Western modes, which are but a few centuries old. Yet in India, with her traditions of music stretching back to the time of the Vedas, and her books and her rules, and her wonderful psychological understanding of the emotional effect of music is all this to be lost, is it all worth nothing, to be swamped in the cheap airs of a gramophone or the orchestra of the nearest cinema ? There is, if but the politicians knew and realised, a greater power in the force of music than there is even in their most burning words. By music the people can be aroused to perform great deeds. Let them be the maker

of the peoples, songs, and care not who makes their laws!

Bring once again the growth of Indian instrumental music, there are certainly teachers enough to start the movement. And see that the music is for each day and not only for special occasions. Music that is not one with the life of a nation is no music but a mere luxury of artificiality, something to gaze at but nothing to delight in.

The official religions and sects of the West are too often "kept for Sundays"; it is separated from the daily life of the people by the dreary necessity of their soul destroying and self-inflicted task of competition in industry and commerce. The East is more stable, calm and placid; not so easily rusted into profiteering. Their religious traditions still penetrate and illumine the thought of the people; it is their life and their civilisation, the source and foundation of their national existence. "Asia is one", says Kakuzo Okakura, "The Himalayas divide but to accentuate the mighty civilisations: the Chinese with its Communism and Confucianism, and the Indian with its Individualism of the Vedas".

In India the methods of religion and art are as one, for their object is the same—the Unveiling of the Infinite, and the great artist is therefore a *yogi*. As all artistic creation is the seeing of the ideal, the artist, as a devotee, sits deep in meditation, his mind single-pointed towards the aim of his art, until the veil is lifted within and the ideal appears to him, when he transcribes it into whatever form he can master. Was not this also the spirit of all great mediaeval art? It is the spirit that Ruskin loved in the Gothic workmanship, but which we have completely lost, even as the spirit of prayer has been lost. Even if it is only a flower that is portrayed, the Eastern artist does not simply have a flower before him. He works rather by many memory-pictures, and concentration on the meaning of the flower, whence the result is if he is a competent craftsman, an ideal suggestion rather than actual representation, and not the outer visible thing, but the infinitude it suggests. Thus does the artist become the revealer of inner creation.

"The imager should attain to images of the gods by contemplation only", says Sucracharya in his *Sukranitisara*. "In order that an image may be brought full and clearly before the mind,

the image-maker should meditate, and his success will be in proportion to his meditation; no other way—not indeed seeing the object itself—will achieve his purpose". Thus the artist pierces to the "soul of the thing", and is able to reveal it to the eyes and perhaps the understanding of the world. If he wishes to portray a celestial being, he becomes absorbed in the ecstatic vision until he "sees his god face to face", and his work thus inspired becomes at once a worship and a revelation. The rhythm of the Infinite pulses strongly through all true artists, the sensitive ones of humanity. The rhythm of things reaches them inwardly, and is revealed through all the senses at once.

Some reflection of this, one may feel when he has surrendered himself to the fascination of the finer Indian art. So intense at times is this suggestion that one experiences the rhythm of motion like music, and so overwhelming may this feeling become that one may be carried out of the external form into the meaning, the life, the very soul of the thing itself. One sees and realises the flight of the bird, not just a bird using its wings. Again, so intense may be the *spiritually* dynamic suggestion in the *physical repose* of a statue of Buddha, for instance, that one does not think at all of the external form; one feels the radiation of the soul.

All the technique of Indian art—a technique thoroughly developed, as ancient treatises show, is for this one purpose of piercing the veil of appearance to reveal the light beyond. To consummate this revelation is the ultimate aim of art, *bhakti* is necessary—that consuming devotion and love which carries the artist into the consciousness of the Eternal and Infinite Beauty. It was *bhakti*, energising in those who "built like Titans and embroidered like jewellers", that built the Taj Mahal and made it seem a living thing. "It was the spirit of India that came upon it and breathed into it the breath of life". Only such devoted love could have had such perfect flowering.

It is *bhakti* that has for centuries inspired thousands of the songs of India, sung by rich and poor, high and low, throughout the whole land—songs so frequently exquisite in natural sweetness and delicacy in their power, simplicity and depth. It is *bhakti* that has given living poetry and beauty to the life of the simplest peasant as well as to the King and the Sage.

It is *bhakti* alone, that spiritual awakening to the true comprehension of life, which will eventually restore to the Western world the real meaning of art ; *its renewed understanding will revive the glory of art in the East* and redeem it from the errors of the West.

For the difference between Eastern and Western art is the difference between the spiritual emphasis in Eastern and Western life. In the East everything has for those who understand, an inner meaning ; the major emphasis is placed on the things of the spirit. Every form

of nature or art can be made a symbol of the life beyond these lives.

In Eastern tradition everything has its spiritual interpretation. That God is everywhere is the common belief. He is shown in the flower and the tree, in the bird and the animal, equally far or near in the star and the stone. To develop this consciousness, this knowledge of God, is the supreme object of life and is the living flame of true art. This is the way of art for all the artists and craftsmen of India—will they walk on it?

TRUE REFORM IN THE INDIAN UNIVERSITIES

By DR. GOURANGANATH BANERJEE, Ph.D.

One of Richard Wagner's early prose works was called *The Art Work of the Future*. The great musician, then almost at the outset of his stormy career, sought to save musical drama from frivolity on the one hand and from the tyranny of the *prima donna* on the other. The "art-work of the future," would in Wagner's opinion, be a combination of vocal and instrumental music with scenery and with action, the theme of the drama being chosen for its permanent significance and the music designed to expound, support and vitalise the theme, not to afford a famous singer an opportunity for meaningless vocal ostentation of the bravura kind. Wagner's words carry weight still, not only on the specific question of operatic method, but on the wider question of the relation between education and the people. From the educational standpoint, the "art-work of the future" is even wider than that conceived by Richard Wagner. For the educationist is an artist not in tones or in marble, but in a material infinitely more significant.

But bad, as the present view of pedagogy is, even when supplemented, very inconsistently, by a volume of Buddhist or ethical doctrine, its badness is nothing when compared with that of the policy which would confine educational administration to a few men, transform the

teacher definitely and finally into a serf and despite all Egesian panegyrics, bar the door against the creative artist in educational work. Education, of all arts must be kept from deterioration and in view of the fact that, rather less than most arts is it at the beck and call of the money motive, there is some chance that it will be saved more easily than they, and in its salvation may then help to save them.

"One task of the educationist is the cataloguing and exposition of whatever is solid and valuable in our art and social achievements, everything that is or bids fair to be classical in whole or in part ; and his purpose will be to divert the national attention along directions that are worthy, to discourage the frivolous, the shallow and the mercenary. Education, it can not be too often repeated, does not cease with the child, it does not cease with the youth. Our educational administrators should possess vision beyond the walls of the school-room, and should recollect that all over the land there are churches and institutes paralysed for lack of capable official guidance on matters of serious art," (*vide* Hayward, "The Psychology of Educational Administration and Criticism").

Since a uniform programme of education is no longer possible in the social economy of a progressive people seeking through training

the realisation by many-sided youth of its infinite possibilities and since to an indefinite extent programmes must be adapted to the needs and opportunities of varying groups, it follows that differentiation and adaptation must take the place of our formal organisations, our uniform courses of study, our rigid entrance requirements and our traditional methods of teaching. Spite of all the changes made it must not be forgotten that 'they are being grafted on the machinery of an older educational organisation which had a limited social aim, a narrowly defined group and fixed methods empirically devised.' Consequently its administrative organisation can not serve effectively for our day. The new education will obviously have to possess far wider and more purposeful aims, its range or adaptability will of necessity be immeasurably greater, its methods must rest on scientific basis.

PLEAS FOR UNIVERSITY RECONSTRUCTION.

1. The University is a national institution doing national work. It cannot be divorced from the general educational machinery of the country or remain rigidly fixed to old methods and machinery, unrelated or inadequately related, to modern needs.

2. It is not sufficient to argue that Universities are maintained by endowments by private persons, and that they are for the most part independent of help from outside sources. The Universities indeed are the immediate trustees of the benefactions left them for the purposes of higher education. But the ultimate trustees are the State, which alone possesses the power and disinterestedness to bring co-ordination and unity between independent and sometimes antagonistic interests, to see that the spirit is not sacrificed to the letter of their trust and that the general interest of the beneficiaries who are the people of the entire nation are adequately secured.

3. Nor is it sufficient reply to urge that the Universities are efficiently governed and should be left to work out their own salvation. Even if there are no obvious anomalies or challengeable methods, or unwise isolation or wasteful overlapping calling for alteration and reform, the case for Government control would remain unweakened. No institution, however glorious, should remain without the stimulus, from time to time, arising from impartial enquiry,

criticism and suggestion. These latter are especially urgent now when we are seeking after a scientifically related system of national education.

4. The Universities are isolated. In view of the great changes and development proceeding in other fields of education, the place and function of the Universities in the educational system generally, call for reconsideration. The State has developed a system of education which touches and in part regulates all other phases of education. The old Universities proceed on their own way. It may be a good way yet some divergence from it may be necessary if only that the paths from other fields of education may reach it.

5. The form of government in the Universities calls for modification. One method of achieving a thorough-going reform in their government would be the establishment of a Governing Council composed of representatives from each college plus some public men and persons eminent in the learned professions. The establishment of such a Council would be a first step towards placing adequate financial control in the hands of the University. On no account whatsoever there should be created a foreign Board even of experts to control the financial administration of a University. If such a body is thrust upon the University it would be a sort of national disaster. It would surely retard if not actually prevent a healthy development of the body corporate.

6. The local Universities should have regard to local circumstances. It should attempt to give guidance to and encourage co-operation amongst all the educational forces around it. It would be also appropriate for the University to secure the co-operation of the adult citizens by means of lectures, publications and special tutorial classes and to enlist the sympathy of the parents in the work of the Colleges and particularly to interest them in subjects where their co-operation is essential, e.g., the proper games in which the students should take part, the society in which they should move, the place there they would spend their vacations and other matters affecting the health and morals of the students.

RESEARCH IN THE UNIVERSITIES.

"The fundamental basis of scientific research," says Prof. Kellogg, "is not personal

advantage nor even general utility, but is simply personal curiosity in its best form." It is the wish and will to know, as contrasted with the willingness to accept the common formula of the nearest neighbour. The Germans have a special word for this best kind of curiosity; they call it *Wissbegier*, common but to few persons, as contrasted with ordinary *Neugier* common to every one. The fundamental seat of research in an advanced country is not in the laboratories of industry and invention, nor even in the special research institutions but in the Colleges and Universities. For not only is the major part of scientific investigation done in them but also practically all the training of new research workers. Anything, therefore, which lessens the interest and activities of the Universities in research threatens not only immediate achievement in it but also the provision of the workers necessary for future achievement. Any lessening in scientific research now or lessening of the provision for research in the future threatens the national strength and well-being.

Unfortunately, there are conditions in Indian life to-day which are a grave menace to research and research training in the Universities. One of the main causes is the general apathy of the public with regard to proper University training. They think that it is the duty of the Government alone to foster the scientific research in the country. The public should take a special step in the establishment of a National Research Council, a Co-operative organisation of scientific men and some men of affairs interested in science with the essential purpose of promoting scientific research and the application and dissemination of scientific knowledge for the national benefit. Unlike the new English and Japanese organisations the Research Council will not be a Government concern; it should be neither Government-controlled nor Government-supported. And although vitally interested in applied science it would be no less but probably more interested in the encouragement of the fundamental or "pure" science. Hence it has a particular and lively interest in the research situation as it exists to-day in Indian Colleges and Universities. But before attempting any constructive efforts, by making a special survey of the research situation as it exists at present, there should be personal visits of representatives to the various educational institutions of the country and then a plan of co-ordination for utilising the manifold facilities should be for-

mulated. A familiar fact of general knowledge is that a major part of University research in this country comes from a comparatively small number of larger, richer, better-equipped, more brilliantly staffed institutions. But how important it is that the smaller institutions should be kept alive and encouraged for those struggling young men endowed with the persistent spirit of investigation, and competent to transfer some of this spirit and give some preliminary training to their more promising students, who later find their way to the Post-Graduate Department of the University. Besides a certain library and laboratory equipment, a sympathetic atmosphere and competent men, all research requires time, and much of it a certain degree of what may be called special opportunity. Prompt facilities of publication and means, both as regards money and release from routine requirements, for attendance at meetings and conferences of fellow investigators, are very helpful, sometimes indispensable.

University should serve the People.

The University must utilise definitely its equipment and personnel for research work in solving the problems of the State. In fact, the University should be the research centre of the State. Questions of all kinds and descriptions immediately related to the welfare of the people must be answered. All important results of research work will be published. By this means the University relates itself directly to the welfare of the State without in any sense violating its obligation to any group. Just so, in every realm the University should serve the people. With every problem of government, economics, sociology, art and education, the University should concern itself. In a word, it should become the thinking, investigating, philosophizing centre of India. We must never lose sight of the fact that the quality of civilisation waits upon discovery, invention and research. A true University as distinguished from College, must function mightily in this respect or it fails utterly. To aim at genuine service to the people, through the solution of all types of problems can only give vitality and power to our graduate work.

Finally, the University must permeate the State with knowledge. The people of to-day as never before understand the power which accrues to any one who has the facts and

proper training. The people are literally hungry for knowledge. The British Labor Party showed statesmanship when it affirmed that we must aim to "bring effectively within the reach not only of every boy and girl, but also of every adult citizen, all the training, physical, mental and moral, literary, scientific and technical of which he is capable." Such an ideal is true democracy applied to education. (*vide* the Inaugural Address delivered by the Hon'ble Victor M. Gare, Regent of the University of Michigan, at the Educational Conference, 1921).

Intellectual decentralisation is certainly one of the most important matters for the consideration of those who are interested not only in the educational question, but in the general welfare of the country. Many untrodden paths of study are open in the whole of India and many vary according to the different regions. What those who wish to explain them are deficient in, is method, they have not been trained, hence a great deal of useless efforts and meagre results. Philology, history, archaeology cannot be approached with the imperfect knowledge gained by secondary education, a better preparation is required and Higher Education alone can give it ; and what is true with regard to philosophy is equally so with regard to science. The provincial decentralisation is as yet very imperfect ; broadly speaking, the works hitherto produced have been as a rule, insufficient.

Will the youngmen, who enjoy the rare privilege of being able to think only of cultivating their mind, without having to consider the question of remuneration, take advantage more than formerly, of the facilities extended to them? It would be rash to hold sanguine views on this matter. It seems as if the advantages of wealth were incompatible with the greatest boon they can confer, *i.e.*, that of being at the head of the nation through intellectual achievement and knowledge. However, we may be permitted to hope that when great facilities are offered to them by the diffusion of science in the provinces, they will not all remain indifferent. An improvement in this matter would exercise a wholesome influence over the social condition of the whole nation. That intellectual life, so indispensable for the advancement of science and public welfare, with the exception of one or two great towns,

seems to find its chief obstacle in political centralisation.

Scarcity of Good Teachers in India.

Really good teachers are admittedly rare. To note their scarcity just now, however, is to do more than call attention to a platitude. For it is very difficult to find for teaching positions, both in the University and elsewhere, those who can fill them with reasonable success and distinction. We are acutely conscious that our national scholarship is not what it ought to be. There is a dearth of good books, able teachers and intellectual leadership. A country like ours, into which has been poured such a variety of stimulating influences and which has been blest with such an abundance of goods, ought to make annually contributions to learning which would give us a position in the world of scholarship at least equal to that of the countries with which we like to compare ourselves. But comparison is not gratifying. We are forced to admit that in spite of a multiplication of colleges and universities and in spite of a popular enthusiasm for education which often stimulates hopes in us, our system of education is rarely productive of intellectual greatness and distinction. Nor is it productive of a reading public large enough to make a steady and profitable demand for books of more than temporary value. The number of keys, catechisms and notes on text books is large, but the number of sustained and constructive treatises is small. Learning in the true sense does not flourish among us.

If we confine our attention to our Universities and ask in all seriousness why it is that the supply of really able men for them is so inadequate, the answer is, I think, simple. Our system of education is not intended to produce them. In other words, in education our attention has not been given significantly to scholarship, but to something else namely, to industry and alertness. Our system is designed to produce not a certain quality of mind, but a certain type of person, not a scholar who loves learning, but an Indian, alert and industrious, fitted to meet the demands of Indian life. That design should be eloquently advocated by the Education Ministers of the different provinces, and by those who will shape the policies of our elementary schools and Colleges. It should be woven into the methods and curricula of our schools generally

There is another reason which lately has been made much of, namely the inadequate salaries of the teaching profession. The people generally think that the teachers are under-paid shamefully. But in my opinion these shameful salaries are the effects rather than the causes of the state of learning in the land. If scholarship is not prized, there will be no prizes for scholars. We ought not to be deceived in this matter. To pay better salaries for doing simply what we have been doing, may, very naturally, result in getting more competent persons to do it and to keep them at it longer, but it will not necessarily result in doing something else. Salaries should be raised out of sheer decency and humanity, but we only trick ourselves if we suppose that better salaries alone will have much effect on increasing the supply of the type of teachers we have begun to feel we need. If they do not exist they cannot be bought. If money is offered them, they must be produced before they can be sold. A teacher's value and usefulness should not be measured by economic standards. It is neither sentimentality nor hyperbole to say that the good teacher's value is above price. His salary is usually his only income and is paid him that he may live decently. (vide *Educational Problems in College and University*, published by the University of Michigan, p 160 ff.)

Provision for Poor students in the American Universities.

In recent years, several American Universities have adopted a piece of administrative work which the University of Harvard, first among American institutions, copied in part from Oxford University, namely, an office through which members of the University, who need to support themselves wholly or in part, may obtain appropriate employment and graduates of the University ready for service may obtain employment appropriate to the education they have received. In England, the work of a University Appointments Bureau is chiefly devoted to procuring places for young graduates as teachers, civil servants, journalists, secretaries or Corporation officers; but in America a wider range of employment for graduates has been sought. At Oxford and Cambridge again, there are very few under-graduates who need to earn their living while in College; whereas in

American Universities a considerable proportion of all the under-graduates must be self-supporting or must earn a part of their expenses. In the larger American Universities the work of the Secretary for appointments is growing and likely to grow as the managers of large producing or distributing industries realize more and more the value of highly-trained young men and the extreme difficulty, in these days of applied science and minute division of labour, of bringing up competent managers from the ranks.

In a University in which are maintained dormitories, dining-halls and a co-operative society for supplying the articles which students inevitably need—such as clothing, books, stationery, furniture, athletic supplies, instruments and sporting goods—two or three administrative officers, deputed from the University, must give attention to the matters and particularly must assist the students in their conduct of co-operative undertakings such as co-operative stores. Their work will be partly administrative and partly accounting.

The directors of laboratories, libraries and museums have an important part in the administrative work of a modern University. Every laboratory, observatory or museum is in some sense a workshop, and the head of it ought to know how to conduct a workshop in an orderly, economical and efficient way. In as much as students are to be trained in laboratory work to the careful and precise use of their senses and to the procuring of the most favourable conditions for every experiment, every laboratory should be tidy and clean. Every library and museum should exhibit the most careful housekeeping, being kept as free as possible from dust, insects and accumulations of rubbish, not only in the show-rooms but in the work-rooms as well. Librarians and museum directors should keep clearly in mind definite policies concerning the relation of the bulk of their collections to their working-rooms their exhibition-rooms and their spaces for storage. A university which proposes to be an effective teaching implement for each new generation must be careful how it undertakes to maintain its libraries and museums in many fields of knowledge. The directors of collections, whether of books, specimens or records, need to study constantly the relative expenditures for collecting and for utilisation. Utilization should keep up with collection; and due proportion should be observed between the

cost of collection and the cost of utilization, else the passing generation will not get its share of the fruition. There is also danger that if utilisation lags behind collection much of the cost of collecting will be lost.

Any one who makes himself familiar with all the branches of university administration, in its numerous departments of teaching, in its financial and maintenance departments, its museums, laboratories and libraries, in its extensive grounds and numerous buildings for very various purposes and in its social organisation will realise that the institution is properly named the university. It touches all human interests, is concerned with the past, the present and the future, ranges through the whole history of letters, sciences, arts and professions and aspires to teach all systematised knowledge. More and more, as time goes on, and individual and social wealth accumulates, it will find itself realising its ideal of yesterday, though still pursuing eagerly its ideal for to-morrow (Charles W. Eliot, *University Administration*, pp. 350 ff.)

Here, then, is the University: Possessing equipment of lands and buildings, watched over by men of great training and scholarship, it has committed to its care the most precious assets of the state, *viz.*, the citizens of to-morrow. Afflicted with all the maladies of the academic mind, hypnotized by the student's world of

reality, stabilized by the ennobling and ancient ideals of all true Universities, it finds itself suddenly elevated into a unique position of leadership and directly sharing responsibility for the standard of a rapidly changing civilisation.

Finally, let us close this brief survey of administrative reforms of a University with what should be the attitude of the Government towards the University. We cannot better express ourselves than to quote the weighty pronouncement of Von Humboldt, sometime the Director of the Department of Public Instruction of Germany. Herr Von Humboldt expresses himself thus:

"The State should not treat the Universities as if they were higher classical schools of special sciences. On the whole the State should not look to them at all for anything that directly concerns its own interests, but should rather cherish a conviction that, in fulfilling their real destination, they will not only serve its own purposes, but serve them on an infinitely higher plane commanding a much wider field of operation and affording room to set in motion much more efficient springs and forces than are at the disposal of the State itself."

When will the Provincial Ministers of Education emulate and act up to this pregnant advice?

EDUCATION OF THE DEAF IN AMERICA

By DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE, M.A., Ph.D.

What would you do if you had to sit all your life in silence and ignorance? Do you realize how helpless and miserable you would be if you could not read, write, speak, and hear? That is the common lot of tens of thousands of deaf and dumb in India who have no opportunity for education. How would you like to be in their place? Just stop and think for a moment!

The first school for the education of the deaf mutes in America was founded at Hartford,

Connecticut, in 1817. To-day there are in the United States over ninety schools—government and private—for the education of the deaf children. They are attended by more than 10,000 students. Nearly all the States of the Union have institutions supported by the State government, which corresponds to Indian Provincial government. A national college—Gallaudet College for the Deaf—which is the only college of its kind in the world, is located

at Washington and is under the direction of the Federal government. The large majority of the graduates of these institutions learn to speak and become self-supporting.

Since an account of all the American schools for the deaf is an utter impossibility, I shall here confine myself to one which I have recently visited, the Minnesota School for the Deaf at Faribault, Minnesota. It is an ideal location for a school. Its buildings are nestled among low hills overlooking the Cannon River away from "the maddening crowd" of the city.

Pupils are generally admitted to Faribault when they are between eight and twenty years of age. Education for the deaf mutes in the State of Minnesota, as indeed in most other States, is both free and compulsory. Not only that, but even board and room are given free to all the deaf students of the school. It is not, however, an asylum or a public charity any more than any other American public schools or State universities. The parents or the guardians of the rich students could, without doubt, pay for their education, of course. But since the majority of the deaf mutes come from homes of limited means and are scarcely able to bear all the expenses of their schooling, the government has deemed it wise in the interest of democracy in the Republic to place all deaf children on the same footing by giving them an equal opportunity. Under the circumstances there would be no room for social distinction or class consciousness. To get a good education for nothing and at the same time not feel the stigma of charity—it is another victory for American democracy.

"Are you dumb?" I asked some years ago of a student of the well-known school for the Deaf at Mount Airy, Philadelphia.

"No, sir", was his instant protest.

In America the institutions for the deaf are not designated as deaf and dumb schools. It is the first postulate of such an institution that the deaf with proper training should speak. The words "deaf and dumb" are not interchangeable, because a deaf person need not necessarily be dumb. Persons who are born deaf are unable to speak chiefly for the reason that being deprived of hearing, they are not able to imitate the sounds which constitute speech. The name of their school should not imply or even remotely suggest that they are dumb. Again, there being many deaf men who are fluent speakers they resent when they are referred to

even as "mutes." For all this, no schools for the deaf in America, to my knowledge, are called deaf and dumb schools.

The programme of study at Minnesota School for the Deaf comprises the common school course, and is so varied as to meet the special needs of deaf children.

The deaf mutes learn to speak by imitating the motions of the lips, tongue, and throat of the teacher, who also makes use of pictures and diagrams to facilitate the work. This method of learning to speak by watching the play of the lips is known as the articulation and lip-reading method. The pupils begin with the names of objects preferably in their own class room—things which they are most familiar with. The instructor pronounces the word, and then either the real object or a picture of it is shown to the pupil. He reads the word from the movements of the mouth and throat of the teacher, and tries to imitate her. Gradually he understands what that particular word he is trying to say stands for. It is a slow work; but not a second word is taught until he has learned the first. At Minnesota, I was informed, a pupil usually acquires a vocabulary of from 400 to 600 words the first year he is in school. Much of the time for the first year is given, however, to the mastery of the elements of sound. The organs of speech are limbered up by an extensive course of gymnastics. First nouns, then verbs that can be acted, such as ran, jumped, combed, shook, are taught. Simple intransitive verbs are given first, and only the past tense is used in the beginning.

Whenever possible, new words are taught by a short action which is given in pantomime. For instance, the word "comfortable" is taught by having a pupil lie down as if in bed, and tossing and turning. Then the teacher writes the sentence on the board: "Sam's bed was not comfortable." Gradually simple actions are woven into a series of sentences. Here is an example of "action work" which is used as a means of teaching language:

John bought a book.
He carried it.
He dropped it
He picked it up.
He put it on a table.

At the Minnesota school they have a manual and an oral department. All new students start in the oral department. Here they are taught, and in most instances successfully, how to speak

and read the lips. When a pupil, however, lacks sufficient quickness of perception to acquire a facility in speech, he is turned over to the manual department, when he is taught by means of finger alphabet.

There are two kinds of manual alphabet—a one handed alphabet and a two handed. The manual alphabet is rather simple and can be learnt in a few hours. In the single handed alphabet, you hold up your clinched fist and you are saying "S"; the open palm with the thumb across it is "B"; the clenched fist with the thumb in between the fourfinger and the middle finger is "T". The other letters are equally simple, and some of them even resemble the shape of the printed letter.

While there is much controversy among teachers as to what method is best, yet it seems to be generally admitted that the articulate and lip reading method is the superior. A deaf person trained in this system can carry on conversation so well that very few would suspect the speaker to be afflicted. The manual method, however, is not without its good points. Even those who are instructed according to the manual system learn enough of English to follow successfully any vocation that they may adopt. And it is worth noting that it was by manual alphabet—the silent language of the fingers—that Miss Sullivan educated the world-renowned American deaf-blind, Miss Helen Keller.

The students of the school at Minnesota, though deaf, do not live a cloistered life. In fact they keep in close touch with the important happenings of the world. To this end, the school prints a daily bulletin of current events. This daily news sheet becomes a sort of text-book for the class in Current History. The instructor in charge of the class discusses and enlarges upon the great national and international events in a way so as to broaden the mental horizon of the pupils and make them familiar with social and political conditions throughout the world. There is also a tri-weekly paper, *The Companion*, which serves the same purpose of keeping the students abreast of the times. Moreover, the school has a daily assembly where short lectures are delivered by the teachers. In these assemblies, they discuss topics of interest in the practical, worthwhile things of life. "When called upon to do so," the Superintendent of the school will explain to you, "the older pupils are expected to re-

produce these lectures. These reproductions make up a part of the final examination marks."

The literary society of the school holds its session during the first and third Saturdays of each month. Debate, essay, declamation, and dialogue, make up the programme. In the business meetings of the society, parliamentary law is required to be observed.

Joseph Mazzini, one of the chief makers of modern Italy, declared, "Earth is our workshop." In the United States, the earth has been made the workshop not only for the hearing but also for the deaf. Here no one is considered educated until he knows how to earn his livelihood. Each boy and girl must become a self-supporting, intelligent, and aggressive citizen. Training in industries and domestic science at a school for the deaf, is, therefore, of prime importance. No one can be excused from either the domestic or industrial work of the institution. At Faribault trades are taught by men and women who are master-workmen in their fields. The trades taught to the boys are cabinet-making, and general use of carpenter's tools, turning, and wood-carving, glazing, type-setting, tailoring, and baking. The older boys are detailed to the school farm where they are instructed in the modern methods of farming. Then they have also a hennery, small dairy, and greenhouse. Plain sewing, darning, and sloyd are taught to all boys. The girls have their special work to learn. They are taught dress-making, sewing, cooking, and lighter housework. In short, the school is doing much which will render the deaf mutes competent to battle with the problems of the busy world—in the workshop, in society, and in their families.

It is a happy, cheerful, but a crowded life which the students spend at Faribault. There is no time to loaf. The following is their official schedule of meals and studies for week-days:

Rise, pupils	...	6-00 a.m.
Breakfast officers, supervisors,		
and pupils	...	6-45
School and trade	...	8-00
Recess, Lunch, pupils and		
teachers	...	10-00
Assembly	...	10-20
Schools and trades	...	10-30
Close of school and trades	...	12-30 p.m.
Dinner, officers, supervisors,		
and pupils and teachers	...	12-40
School and trades	...	1-40
Close of school and trades	...	4-00

Supper, officers, pupils, and supervisors ...	6-00
Study, boys	7-00
Study, girls	7-15
Retire ..	7-00, 8-00, 9-00, 9-30

The graduates of the Minnesota school, like other American institutions of this kind, have little difficulty in getting a job. They have shown that they are able to use the talents which they acquire at school, although deprived of one of the most precious that a person can have—hearing. The educated deaf mute is not an outcaste, but a respectable member of the community. He is, as I know him from contact, trustworthy, reliable, and more mentally alert than an average person. He certainly is sharp: he can see almost through the back of his head. Most positively is he not a sociological curiosity. Down in the depths of his soul he knows he is a human being.

The speaking deaf man in the United States competes with the hearing in the arts and professions. There are to be found among the lip-reading deaf men and women, architects, brokers, expert chemists, writers, and even

superintendents and managers of factories. "The deaf need no list of occupations for them to choose from," writes a deaf man, Jerry Albert Pierce, in *The Volta Review* (Washington, D.C.) "With the exception of telephone-operator, there is practically no trade or profession in which they could not make some headway. It depends entirely upon the individual ability of the man, his previous education, and upon whether or not he can speak and read the lips."

The great obstacle in the spread of education among the deaf mutes in India is the inertia of Indian leaders who ought to bestir themselves to make "the powers that be" come to time. They should remember that the strongest chain is no stronger than its weakest links. The deaf are to be considered in India, as they are in America, from the standpoint of a larger social well-being, social efficiency. If the society is to be progressive and self-supporting, it cannot afford to have a single member weak and ignorant. It is the recognized duty and obligation of the state in all civilized countries to provide adequate training for the deaf mutes

THE AUSTRIAN PUZZLE

By LT. COLONEL H. A. NEWELL, F.R.G.S., Author of *Footprints in Spain etc.*

Of post war Austria it cannot be said that "Distance lends enchantment to the view". Seen from afar the spectacle of the one mighty central empire, now reduced to an impecunious Republic with a population of six millions, may well cause the most optimistic certain misgivings. Hence the oft expressed opinion that Austria cannot exist as an independent state, and the despairing verdict that her case is beyond remedy.

If this is the attitude of outsiders that of Austrians, themselves, may well be pardoned for being pessimistic. Their country is in the position of a man who has lost his limbs and must get accustomed to existing without them

Under the altered conditions imposed by the Peace Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, the Government has had to be constructed upon an entirely new basis. To do this efficiently requires both time and experience.

With the collapse of the monarchy a number of political parties arose. Each was eager for power and place. The Socialists were easily first. Finding themselves at the head of affairs they sought to strengthen their position by every means at their command. Rightly or wrongly they conveyed the impression that their dominant, if not their sole, object was to gain popularity and increase their following.

At the time of the Armistice the country was

depleted of foodstuffs. Under the circumstances there was no alternative but to make large purchases abroad at considerable cost. Provisions were retailed to consumers at much below the price paid for them regardless of the financial status of the purchaser. In this way the very rich paid no more than the poor. Such a lack of common prudence was the first step towards economic disaster. Unfortunately worse followed.

In their zeal for social reform the Government completely disregarded the wise warning conveyed by the old saw—"Be just before you are generous." As a result milliards were lavished upon various philanthropic schemes, all excellent in themselves had the time been well chosen. Coming as they did on the heels of a lost war, and directly after the breakdown of 1918, they merely served to plunge the country into serious debt and add to her difficulties.

Working hours were reduced. Wages were doubled and even trebled. Unemployment doles were introduced. Furthermore the State took upon itself the burden of maintaining the old, the infirm, and all those whom misfortune of any kind prevented from earning a living. Large numbers of ex-officials from former Austrian states were received into Government Service. These flocked into Vienna on the dissolution of the monarchy and readily found employment, it being the policy of the Socialists to propitiate them as much as possible. Extravagant sums were expended upon raising and maintaining the Volkswehr, a species of Militia, regarded as nothing more nor less than a party army. It is true that Austria was spared the horrors of Communism. Nevertheless there were times when Austrian socialism came perilously near to Hungarian Bolshevism.

The financial position went from bad to worse with bewildering rapidity. The public had no faith in the new order. Those who could concealed what money they possessed. An effort was made to save the situation by issuing vast masses of paper money. This merely led to catastrophic inflation of the currency. The Krone, which formerly stood at twenty-four to the pound, has dropped to such an extent as to be practically worthless as international tender. The Budget shows an overwhelming deficit.

A sinister financial moral is pointed by an anecdote told of a well known Viennese, whose pre-war wine cellar was celebrated. He died three years ago leaving his two sons a thousand

bottles of choice wine apiece. The elder was of a frugal disposition. He sold his and banked the money, which, within a few months depreciated so much as to be, practically, worthless. The younger son drank his wine and then sold empty bottles for a million kronen, thereby scoring greatly over his more prudent brother.

Austria has paid dearly for proving that the theories of Marx are not practical. Bad though conditions undoubtedly are those qualified to express an opinion take a hopeful view. They insist that a remedy exists provided that a leader could be found with courage and energy to apply it irrespective of party and propaganda.

As a matter of fact what Austria is now suffering from is an epidemic, which has spread throughout Europe and, practically, the entire world. She is the victim, not so much of the war as of political experiments and party feuds.

The Socialist Government having failed to make good was succeeded by the Christian Socialists. (Christlich-Sozialen.) This party is under the aegis of the Church. The Prime Minister, Herr Seipel, is a priest. Although in power the Christian Socialists have to reckon with a very strong opposition as represented by their predecessors in office, who are still formidable both numerically and politically. These last sought to propitiate the masses of the industrial world and the large number of state employees enjoying fixed salaries and prospective pensions. The Christian Socialists, on the other hand, endeavour to win their supporters from the agricultural element, a class which has, accordingly, been pampered and privileged to the detriment of the general public. Unfortunately party spirit runs high. The two strongest groups exhaust their energies in warring one with the other instead of uniting for the benefit of the country.

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that Austria is constrained to call upon outsiders for help. Not that she lacks able and clever men. Quite the contrary. Those most qualified to assist in the work of reconstruction are hindered by political factions, hence the call for a foreign Commissary General, a foreign adviser for the newly established National Bank, a foreign Manager to control the State Railways, etc.

The foundation stone of post war Austria was laid in Switzerland. It consisted of the gold loan guaranteed by the signatories to the Protocol of Geneva. Further credits are inevi-

table. At the same time money alone will be unavailing without drastic interior reforms. Austria must look for salvation from within and not from outside. Signs are not lacking that her leaders are beginning to realise this truth. Greatly though it has depreciated in value the Krone has remained fairly stable for several months now. This is of most hopeful augury and has gone far towards restoring public confidence. Furthermore it is surmised that those in power have learnt a salutary lesson from past mistakes and will endeavour to avoid repeating them. Determined efforts are being made to put the Budget in order.

There can be no question as to Austria's capability of existing. For centuries she laboured to construct a highly important financial and industrial organisation, which, web-like, united her interests with those of the dependent states whereby she was surrounded. Even under the altered conditions which now obtain, her neighbours cannot do without her. For this

reason it would be advisable for her to conclude a commercial treaty with Hungary and Czechoslovakia in order to abolish the hampering customs duties and restrictions between the three, whose close proximity render such particularly irksome.

Austria has much still in her favour. Owing to her exceptional geographical position she is the intermediary, par excellence, between East and West. Her industries are highly developed. She is possessed of considerable water power, although this has yet to be utilised. She is rich in such natural resources as timber, iron, ore, magnesite, brown coal, etc. Her scenery is of great beauty and should attract visitors from all parts of the world. Her people are friendly, courteous and agreeable. In Vienna she has, perhaps, the most attractive and artistic capital in the world. Briefly, Austria has but to set her house in order to become a useful and beneficent member of the European family of nations.

THE GERMAN MARK.

By RAI BAHADUR SUNDAR DAS SURI, M.A.

The interdependence of nations from an economic point of view is a patent fact though not always fully recognised. The concern of India in the economic rehabilitation of Germany hardly needs emphasis. In the pre-war year 1913-14 our imports from Germany did not fall far short of Rupees 13 crores in value, while exports to that country from India amounted to 26 crores. In the fiscal year 1921-22 imports worth Rs. 7 crores were received from Germany and the exports including re-exports to Germany rose to 16 crores in value. Again Germany is a good customer of England. It appears from the Board of Trade figures, relating to Commodity trade during the past year, that exports from the United Kingdom to Germany amounted to 32 million Pounds, and *net* imports from Germany into the United Kingdom were valued at 9½ million Pounds.

The re-entry of cheap German goods into the Indian market at an accelerated rate revives German competition with British exporters. It is said that British Manufacturers of dye-stuffs, iron and steel, and industrial machinery and plant have been undersold. One reason for the lower import price of German goods is the depreciated exchange value of the Mark which gives atleast temporary stimulus to **German exports.**

The Mark Exchange during and after the War furnishes an interesting study. It has a direct relation with the German War finance and the post war economic condition of Germany. An attempt will be made to trace briefly the causes which have led to the catastrophic fall of the Mark.

The pre-war par of exchange under the Gold standard was 20.43 Marks to the £. The decline started early during the War, and was almost

continuous, with short periods of recovery, to the end of the year 1920. In May, 1921 when the Reparation debt was fixed, the average rate was 246 Marks to the £. At the end of June last year, the "middle" rate was 1610. On January 10 of the present year the pound cost in Berlin 48100 Marks, and on the last day it reached 227,500 Marks. The violent recovery to 90,000 Marks on February 15 was due to the action of the German Government—the declared object was the support of the Mark through the intervention of the Reichsbank. The bank used foreign balances to steady the exchange at about 100,000 Marks to the pound. These balances, acquired cheaply by the purchase of Foreign Bills, had been collected to meet Reparation payments. The Reichsbank restricted credit facilities. The discount rate was raised to 18 per cent. on the 23rd April in pursuance of the Government Policy of stabilisation at a higher level than was originally contemplated.

With a view to help the Reichsbank to replenish its stock of foreign exchange, the German Government offered to the public 200 Million Gold Mark Treasury Bills guaranteed by the Reichsbank. Payment might be made in sterling, any neutral European currency, Argentine Pesos or Japanese Yens. It appears that at least a quarter of the Bills had been subscribed some-time ago. Since half the issue had been guaranteed by a Banking Syndicate, partial success of the loans might be considered as ensured.

The preparedness of Germany for War is obvious from the fact that with the aid of special taxes levied in 1913 the War Chest at Spandau formerly 120 million gold marks was trebled by the addition of equal quantities of gold and silver. Besides, financial machinery was put in readiness, for the speedy mobilisation of the financial resources of the banks and the public including the peasants and the workers. "The Reichsbank extensively increased its gold reserves, considerable purchases of gold were made at a loss, still more was absorbed from circulation by the issue of small bank notes encouraging private issues and stimulating the substitution of paper for gold in payments by Private companies and the Railway and Postal administration."

During the war the Banks made the first advances supported by their gold reserves and by gold transferred from the War chest at

Spandau. The "loan bureaux", opened all over the country, made advances to the people on large varieties of securities—who in turn were thus able to lend the money to the government. As a war measure, loan bureaux' notes were treated as a "cash" cover against outstanding notes issued by the Reichsbank (The Imperial Bank of Germany). This unsound financial procedure coupled with other measures encouraged indefinite expansion of the Reichsbank note circulation. Again, before the armistice the invaded territories were flooded with German Marks. For instance, all payments in Belgium were made by the German Government and the troops in occupation in Marks at a forced exchange value of 1.25 francs per Mark.

Inflation in Germany has proceeded at an accelerated rate. The following figures mark the growth of the Reichsbank note circulation:—

At the end of	Notes in circulation Million Marks.
1914	... 5
1919	.. 35.7
1921	... 113.6
1922	... 1280.0

The increase in the month of January, 1923 was 704 Millions. The monthly average of total note circulation in 1913 was 6 Millions. Last March the figure mounted to 5543 Millions.

The gold reserve of the bank at the end of 1913 was one milliard marks; it rose to 25 milliards at the end of 1916, then it diminished until it was reduced to one milliard at the end of 1919—at which figure it stood at the close of the past year. It is interesting to observe that last November certain experts invited by Germany to report on the possibility of stabilizing German Currency noted that "at the rate of 3500 Marks to the dollar the gold in the Reichsbank now amounts to about twice the value of the whole issue. This is an unprecedented situation. No other currency has fallen into decay with so great a potential support still un-used."

The fall in the internal value of the Mark is due to inflation and repudiation—the latter is the inevitable consequence of inordinate and long continued depreciation. The German aversion to the Mark is shown by the hoarding of commodities in excess of requirements, the sinking of liquid capital in building and similar operations and the accumulation of balances held abroad.

Inflation is due to the Budget deficit and reparation payments. Owing to the continuous

rise in prices and the Government expenditure on food subventions and on State monopolies such as Railways Telegraphs and Post Office—there is the ever widening gap between revenue and expenditure. The preliminary estimates have to be revised repeatedly. Thus from the Official statement annexed to the twelfth supplementary Budget for 1922, approved by the Reichsrat it appears that the deficit is 7100 Millions, that is to say more than eight times the figure estimated last autumn. The receipts being insufficient to cover expenditure owing to the inability of the Government to further increase its revenue by taxation in proportion to the fall in the value of the Mark, and long-term loans not being obtainable, the Government falls back on short-term borrowing and expansion of Paper money. Inflation had its effect in raising prices and wages, and the rise created still greater demand for Marks, thus forming a vicious circle, inflation being itself the cause of further inflation, which ultimately resulted in a marked dearth of money.

The relation of discount rate to inflation, credit and foreign exchanges is well known. The relation of inflation to the discount policy of the Reichsbank in the extraordinary circumstances during and after the War, cannot, for want of adequate data be clearly deduced. The expert German opinion appears to be that, at first, inflation helped industrial activity—production supported by the existing stock of raw materials was fairly active. Later, inflation received an impetus from the large speculative purchases of marks, which enabled Germany to import raw materials. The result was easy money conditions; and there was no occasion for the intervention of the Reichsbank. The tendency towards lightness of money which subsequently set in, was at first not apparent owing to the rent restriction law, food subventions and other measures which had the effect of raising the purchasing power of the Mark within the country and of checking the shortage of money. Subsequently when the tendency could not be mistaken, the Reichsbank co-operated with the private banks in providing credit requirements. The Bank met the private demand for credit by the renewal of commercial bills, which had almost ceased during the War, and the State demand, by increased discounting of Treasury Bills. The commercial bills rose to 697 millions by the end of January, 1923. The Treasury Bills remained in the hands of the Bank. The

large increase in the unfunded debt forced the Reichsbank to increase the Note circulation. The Bank raised its discount rate by rapid steps to 10 per cent. in the middle of November. As observed in a preceding paragraph the present high rate of 18 per cent. announced on the 23rd April—forms part of the plan of stabilization of the Mark.

The connection between inflation and rise of prices is clearly shown by the index number of whole-sale prices published by the "Frankfurter Zeitung". The number at the close of the past year rose to over 2000 times the last figure recorded before the War.

While it is difficult to form a correct estimate of the burden of taxation in Germany compared with that in other countries it is claimed by a high German authority (J. Jastrow) that the tax system in force which includes numerous levies on property and income as well as those on consumption is adequate "to extract from the economic resources of the nation, for the needs of the commonwealth, the maximum amount possible."

Control of Exchange operations has during the War and after been attempted by many countries. The chief object in view seems to have been the utilisation of the restricted available resources for a national purpose. Brief reference may be made to some of the later measures adopted in Germany. To check the export of capital a law was enacted in August, 1919, prohibiting the transmission abroad of media of payment (Currency, bank note, drafts, bills of exchange etc.) except through the agency of Banks. The exchange control was re-introduced in 1922. Owing to the difficulty of procuring dollar sterling or neutral exchange in sufficient amount for reparation payments it became necessary to invest the Reichsbank with power to control the traffic in bills of exchange. Exporters were obliged to make over to the Reichsbank bills of Exchange not required by them to meet their own obligations. Another object was the prevention of speculation in bills of exchange. The Regulations of October, 1922, supported the Mark in home transactions in which foreign currency media might not be demanded or accepted. The restrictions appeared to have failed to achieve the end in view.

The significance of the Reparation payment in augmenting the deficit in the German Budget will be realised from the fact that in prescribing the Schedule of payments under the Treaty of

Versailles, the Reparation Commission fixed the amount of the debt at the high figure of 132 milliards of gold marks (£6600 Million), more than double all other inter-Government debts. The annual contribution was fixed at two milliard gold marks (£100 Million) plus 26 per cent levy on the value of German exports and cost of armies in occupation.

We need not enter into the history of Reparation payments. A recent statement published by the Reparation Commission shows that upto 31st August, 1922, Germany paid nearly $7\frac{1}{2}$ millions of gold marks of which about two-thirds consisted of gold, foreign currencies and deliveries in kind and one-third of State properties in ceded territories. Further, about two-fifths of the total payment represented the cost of armies in occupation and the coal advances made under the Spa agreement. The conclusion reached in a recent *Federal Reserve Bulletin* is "apart from cessions of State property, etc., the capital debt would have stood on August, 31st 1922 at just about the amount at which it was fixed on May 1st 1921". Under an agreement entered into with Belgium last September Germany has paid the monthly instalment of 47 Million gold marks for the redemption of Treasury Bills given to Belgium which fell due on February 15 and March 15.

It is generally recognised that Germany cannot pay the indemnity to any large extent by German holdings of foreign securities nor by earnings of shipping. Owing to the confiscation of her Merchant fleet. Germany has had recourse to the sale of Marks to obtain foreign currencies for payment of Reparation, with the consequent inflation of her currency. She must ultimately pay the indemnity mainly by excess of exports over imports. The pre-war figures for five years relating to trade balance show an average of annual substantial excess of imports over exports. According to Dr. Von Glassnapp, Vice-President of the Reichsbank, taking into account both visible and invisible exports, before the War Germany had an export surplus of one Milliard gold marks a year, for investment abroad. With the deprivation of mercantile marine and reduction in territory and mineral resources this export surplus had been converted into an import surplus, which including the payments made under the Treaty in cash, but not in kind, amounted to 11 Milliard gold marks in three years.

The progressive depreciation in the external

value of the Mark under the existing inconvertible paper régime in Germany is due to the persistent large deficit in her immediate balance of payments. The deficit—the gap between debts and claims—is the result of her adverse balance of trade, the efflux of German Capital into foreign countries, and payments under the Peace Treaty. Exchange control, speculative purchase and sales of Marks, and political events affecting the credit and economic condition of Germany have been disturbing influences. Similarly the Government control of prices, control of syndicates, restrictions on exports and the tariff barrier in foreign countries taken in connection with the rigid demand of Germany for foreign values have affected the exchange value of the Mark. Again the interaction between the exchange depreciation, budget deficit and inflation is an admitted fact, though for want of complete statistical data it does not appear easy to establish the sequence, hence opinions differ.

The psychological effect of political events on the Mark quotation is well known. For instance unofficial news of the Upper Silesian partition between Germany and Poland, which transferred to the latter country more than four-fifths of the Upper Silesian coal deposits and of zinc ore production and of two-thirds of iron and steel production led to a sharp drop in the value of the Mark. Similarly the occupation of the Ruhr by the French was the signal for the panic decline. The economic importance of the Ruhr may be realised from the fact that after the deprivation of Germany of the Saar Valley, Alsace Lorraine and portion of Upper Silesia, the Ruhr was the only large industrial centre left. Last year Germany received four-fifths of its home coal supply from the district, though the output of coal and coke has been greatly reduced compared with the pre-war production. The largest iron and steel plants and some of the key industries of Germany are located, in the Ruhr Valley. The most powerful German combines have their Head Offices in the Ruhr and its neighbouring cities. France now owns nearly half the iron ore deposits of Europe, and depends for the full development of its iron and steel industry on the coke of high quality easily made from the Ruhr coal.

The discount on the Mark gives Germany distinct advantage in the World's markets, for the process of depreciation of the mark is continuous and there is the lag in economic reactions. Though it appears, that, under the pressure of

labour organisation, wages follow the rise in prices, the response is not quick. The employers of German labour in producing goods for the Worlds' trade have the advantage in the low unit of cost and the higher prices for export than for the home market. The stimulus to exports has had to be controlled for the protection of necessities of life. In case the low scale of wages, as is alleged, affects the efficiency of labour, the advantage to Germany may be dearly bought.

From the imperfect Trade Statistics relating to Germany available to the public, it appears that the average monthly exports by weight of iron and iron manufactures, machinery and electrical supplies, and dyes and dye-stuff in 1913 were considerably in excess of the average monthly exports for the last eight months of the year 1921 and the first eleven months of 1922, and that the last year's figures mark a distinct advance.

There is evidence in support of the view that Germany sells her goods in foreign countries too cheap. This is probably largely due to self-deception—the dividends are received in

increased quantities of paper marks, and sufficient allowance is not made for depreciation and replacement charges. The profits dwindle to an insignificant fraction when reckoned in a gold currency.

Passing reference may be made to the heavy losses sustained by purchasers of paper marks—they are aptly described as “defrauded creditors”. On the other hand, there is no doubt that foreigners have taken advantage of the depreciated exchange value of the mark and have made investments in Germany. They have bought cheap property, shares, and industries. “The loss in the Mark's value has been met by the pauperisation of the German people.”

The future is uncertain—particularly in view of the political developments that we witness. The attempt of the German Government at the stabilisation of the Mark has failed. The Mark was quoted at 277,500 on the 30th May, 1923. If optimistic view is to be taken, the stabilisation of the Mark, under favourable circumstances, as in the case of the Austrian crown, at a very low level compared with pre-war parity may be achieved.

CAN HISTORY BE BETTER TAUGHT?

By MR. FREDERICK J. GOULD.

(Hon. Sec. Executive Council, International Moral Education Congress).

It is several years since I contributed a paper to the *Hindustan Review*, and I hope to be allowed once more to address its readers. I would like to say something on the subject of a better and truer method of History-Teaching.

On 30 July, 1922, an audience drawn from twenty or thirty nationalities had assembled at the Palace, or Secretariat, of the League of Nations, a building which stands in gardens on the shore of the blue lake of Geneva, Switzerland. The meeting was a session of the Third International Moral Education Congress. All the other seven sessions were held at the University of Geneva, but this particular meeting

took place, by the invitation of the League of Nations, in the League's official centre. The reason was, that our topic for the occasion was intimately connected with the aims and ideals of the League. A series of speakers (myself among them) dealt with the question of History-Teaching; and I wish to draw special attention to the fact that Asia was represented by three gentlemen,—Mr. Akira Ossawa from Japan; Mr. Teheou-Wei from China; and Mr. D. N. Bannerjea, from India. The following words opened Mr. Bannerjea's speech:—

The genius of India and its history is in perfect agreement with the ideals that inspire this

International Moral Education Congress, and I am very glad to be able to speak to you about my own country. For such a gathering no place could be more appropriate than the Seat of the League of Nations, which seeks to maintain peace, to promote international friendship, and to displace military autocracy by democratic autonomy in all civilised lands, as well Eastern as Western.

Mr. Bannerjee was listened to with respectful interest, and his address was published in French, in a Swiss Journal.

I mention these circumstances in order to show that, at the very outset of our enterprise for the reform of History-Teaching, we sought the aid of Asiatic minds. I desire now to extend the scope of that aid from the East, and, if possible, to rouse the thought of Indians in this important educational direction. At the closing session of our Geneva Congress, we adopted this resolution (called, in French, "Vœu") :—

"To circulate in all the countries associated with the Congress the "Vœu de Genève" on the subject of the moral reform of History-Teaching, conceived in an international spirit, that is to say, of justice and sympathy; to stimulate the best known historians in all countries to work in harmony with this ideal, and to prepare text-books for schools, for popular reading, or with a view to general culture, inspired by it; and to direct the International Executive Council to appoint a Permanent International Committee of Experts to co-operate with the International Moral Education Bureau at The Hague. This Committee will prepare a general plan, to be liberally interpreted, for historical works; judge history books submitted to them by authors or publishers; award prizes to the best, or select any for honourable recognition; and promote their translation and world-wide circulation."

Towards this object we ask for the help of our friends in the East. We know from long experience that the Asiatic point of view is very often neglected by Western authors of books on History. I am here referring to neglect by English writers, but by European and American writers generally. Events have linked India with England in a very intimate manner; but India has to explain herself and her records not merely to the English public, but to the world at large. So has China. And so far as our Congress is concerned, no sec-

tional spirit need be feared, for we describe our platform thus:—

OBJECT:—To enlist the active co-operation of all, irrespective of race, nation, and creed, in promoting the work of Moral Education.

BASIS:—The Congress does not advocate the views of any society or party, but affords to all who are interested in Moral Education, whatever their religious or ethical conviction, nationality, and point of view, an equal opportunity of expressing their opinions and comparing them with those of others.

It may be added here that the Executive Council, which meets in London, has three Indian members, two of whom have actually attended when in England. Their names are,—Mr. Abdullah Yusuf Ali, Mr. K. Natarajan, and The Hon. Sir D. P. Sarvadhikari. I am in correspondence, from time to time, with all these three gentlemen, as well as with members of a National Committee for India. To this latter Committee we hope to add considerable members.

When our Congress next assembles (at Rome in 1926) we trust that our History-Teaching Committee will be able to report valuable progress in the discovery of the best History-Teaching books in all countries, in the encouragement given to sound methods of practical instruction in schools and colleges, and in the contribution of gifts, in many languages (Indian vernaculars included), of the better types of History Manuals (these books should be sent to our International Moral Education Bureau, whose representative is S. L. VEENSTRA, 196, Laan Van N. O. INDIE The Hague, Holland).

Our Executive Council is issuing a circular, a copy of which I shall be pleased to send to anybody interested in this aspect (perhaps the most vital aspect, indeed) of both popular and collegiate education.

I often address meetings of English teachers on this subject, and distribute a leaflet, from which I may cite the following passages:—

"Civilisation is the development of habits of order, co-operation, and mutual respect; it is the development of humanity through nature-conquest, industry, art, literature, science, politics, and ideals, and through gradual release from slavery, poverty, disease, ignorance, and war.

History Teaching conducted on this basis, whether in a survey of various nations and races or of

one's own Motherland, should bring into relief, at each stage (early, medieval, modern), the following elements:—

- (1) Nature—study, and human and economic geography; animals, plants, minerals; action of nature on man, and of man on nature.
- (2) Industry; useful arts and crafts, and travels involving socially useful exploration.
- (3) Fine arts—poetry and general imaginative literature, including myths and legends; music and drama; painting; sculpture; architecture; gardening, and the decorative uses of plants.
- (4) Science, from its crude origins onwards.
- (5) Social order and progress, customs, manners, politics, religion; phases of slavery, serfdom, guilds, trade unions, etc.

The evils of slavery, poverty, disease, ignorance, and war should be treated as obstacles which civilization progressively attacks, and this attack is the negative aspect of human development.

Writers and teachers should systematically inculcate respect for all who serve humanity by self-denial and self-sacrifice, even though the ideals aimed may appear mistaken, and even though the virtue is displayed in fields of social or international conflict. The heroisms of war should be valued, while war should be deplored and condemned. These heroisms should be re-directed (as William James indicated in his essay on *The Moral Equivalent of War*) towards nature-conquest and the fight with social evils."

That is my own way of putting the case. The

Council's circular presents the same general ideas in another form. All teachers in all countries should put the emphasis on the factors just enumerated; and the ultimate effect will be to prove that, along these good lines, every nationality has, in greater or lesser measure, done service to civilisation, outside its wars, internal or foreign. Such a method will suggest to young minds the fundamental unity of mankind.

I would like, if I may, to refer to the very remarkable body appointed in 1921 by the Assembly of the League of Nations. It is known as The Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. The Chairman is the famous professor H. Bergson of Paris, and among its members are Mr. P. N. Bannerjee, Prof. Gilbert Murray and Madame Curie-Sklodowska (the lady who, with her husband, discovered Radium). The business of the Committee is to link up, in friendly collaboration, the labours of scientists, artists, and research-workers all over the world, so as to form an army of thinkers whose influence will always be cast on the side of international fraternity. Or, as Professor Gilbert Murray remarked, they will help in creating "a universal conscience." That, too, is what our Congress aims at.

I trust the Editor will permit me to give my address (Armored, Woodfield Avenue, Ealing, London), and to say that I shall be pleased to be in touch with any Indian educationist. I visited High-schools in the Bombay Presidency in 1913, and so am not altogether strange to Indian educational circles.

JEHANGIR : A CRITICAL STUDY*

Professor Beni Prasad of the University of Allahabad deserves to be congratulated on his excellent *History of Jehangir* which has just been published by the Oxford University Press. Mr. Beni Prasad is the first man in these Provinces to bring out a work which embodies enduring research and to him will always belong the credit of having been the first scholar of the

University of Allahabad to have published a historical treatise of considerable original merit. There was a time in our University when History was treated more or less like an orphan child whom any body could take charge of but with the establishment of the History Department

**History of Jehangir* by Beni Prasad, M.A., (Oxford University Press, Calcutta) 1925. Rs 12/-.

historical studies were placed upon a sound basis and if we can judge the work of the Department from the researches of Prof. Beni Prasad we may confidently expect that it will produce still more brilliant results in the future. *The History of Jehangir* is authentic and brilliant. The learned author has drawn upon contemporary sources and has carefully used what are called the raw materials of History. All available original documents, English works, the writings of European travellers whose list is a formidable one, Hindi and Urdu works, as well as inscriptions, coins, grants and firmans—all have been scrutinised with a meticulous care and have been made to yield important results. Any one who glances at the foot notes added by the author and the bibliography given at the end of the book will be convinced of the labour which the work must have involved and one may agree with Dr. Khan that it will prove a most useful work on the reign of Jehangir.

Jehangir came of that hardy stock to which Baber and Akber belonged. He combined in himself the chivalry of the former and the boldness and energy of the latter though the luxurious life led at the court brought about a certain amount of intellectual degeneration among the Mughals. Heir to a vast empire, the eldest son of a man who proclaimed from the high platform of public interest the gospel of toleration and good will towards all men, Jehangir does not seem to have been a particularly fascinating personality and the superficial reader may feel somewhat astonished that Prof. Beni Prasad could have the inspiration to write a splendid volume of 500 pages on this inveterate drunkard and slothful emperor who boastfully remarked, half in jest, half in earnest, that he cared only for "delicious food and wine" and nothing else. But on reflection he will see that Jehangir, though he loved ease and comfort, possessed that shrewdness and native intelligence which enabled him to discern the working of the administration and the necessity of continuing the liberal policy of his father. Though inclined to be lazy and even indifferent Jehangir was capable of energetic action when occasion required and his paroxysms of wrath astonished even his intimate associates when his anger was kindled by the contumacious conduct of a vassal or the disloyalty of a recalcitrant noble. Born under the spell of a wonder-working saint the Prince's life passed through interesting phases and there are events in his

career which have invested it with a halo of romance and have made him one of the most interesting, if not the most remarkable, Kings of the Mughal dynasty.

The book opens with an account of the birth of Salim at Fatehpur Sikri where his mother Mariyam-uz-Zamani, as she was officially designated, was taken to receive the blessing of the Shaikh Salim Chishti of whom the author has given a picturesque account. The birth of Salim was the occasion of universal, rejoicing all over the empire and in Abul Fazal's words 'Delight suffused the brain of the age'. Gifts poured in upon the emperor and poets and writers were inspired by their muses to compose odes to felicitate him on the birth of an heir to the throne. This child of superstition petted and carressed by all was brought up in an atmosphere in which, inspite of the great care which the emperor took to provide him with good tutors, the higher qualities of character which distinguished Baber and Akber in such a large measure were impossible to attain and Prof. Beni Prasad rightly observes that 'he was denied the splendid opportunities which form the silver lining of the dense clouds of want and struggle—opportunities of acquiring insight into human nature, tact and resourcefulness; energy and audacity; in a word, that grit which forms the essence of character.' 'All his life he suffered weakness of will and resolution, from a lamentable propensity to surrender himself to the mercies of superior talent or craft'. Spare the rod and spoil the child is a homely saying but it applies to the children of the great and noble as much as to the children of ordinary men. Salim cultivated the habit of drink and according to his own candid confession in the year 1594 'his potions rose to 20 cups of doubly distilled spirits, fourteen during the day time and the remainder at night'—a fact which clouded his judgment, marked the perspicacity of his vision and later on brought about that incapacity for work which made him a helpless figurehead in the hands of his able and imperious wife. Early in life Salim's dissipations and political intrigues to grasp at sovereignty strained the relations between him and his father and he had no scruples in taking the life of Abul Fazl upon whom he looked as the principal author of that estrangement which existed between him and his father without thinking in the least of the anguish which such a tragic deed was to cause to the emperor in his old age. But filial in-

in gratitude was the common characteristic of the Mughal family and Salim rebelled against the authority of his father. "All the elements of discontent gravitated towards him for as the eldest Prince of the empire he could be the most convenient centre for seditious conspiracy". He assumed independence and at Allahabad where he stayed he had indecent quarrels with his son Khusrav and inflicted execrable punishments upon the conspirators, for which the large-hearted Akber sharply upbraided him. The author passes over this instance of singular barbarity by saying that Salim's conduct admits of no defence and he emphasises the guilt of the offenders and further pleads in extenuation that this was the only occasion when the Prince inflicted the barbarous punishment of flaying which Akber had severely interdicted. Round the death-bed of the emperor there were intrigues and conspiracies set on foot to supersede Salim who was already in disfavour but the emperor forgave Salim and commended him to the Omraos and nobles present as their future emperor.

Jehangir was not faced with the problem of re-construction. His great father had organised all the departments of the state and had given them a stability which could last for several generations, only if nothing were done to disturb the principles upon which the fabric of his government rested. Professor Beni Prasad has written an interesting chapter on the working of Mughal Government. The Mughal Government, to use Dr. Khan's phrase, has been described here in terms of political science though at times one feels that the references to European writers on History and Politics are too many. The Mughal Government was a personal Government which assumed a pronounced monarchical form because of the perpetual struggle between the centrifugal and the centripetal forces so common in Indian History and the danger of foreign invasion that always over shadowed the political sky. We certainly agree with Mr. Beni Prasad that "the Mughal Government was not a mere arbitrary oriental despotism" which requires no further analysis but we cannot agree with him that the Mughals had any conscious political theory or constitutional machinery, as we understand it had, through which to govern the vast populations over which they had established their sway. It is true, as Seeley says, that, though monarchy has often been represented in history as an incubus or a night

mare which crushes the race of mortals in the dust, in reality no despotism can rest on individual will, but the fact that our monarch has a small clique or coterie to support him and carry out his behests does not mean the acquiescence of the people. A powerful military faction may dominate a disunited majority successfully for a long time and defy with ease the expression of individual or group assertiveness and treat with disdain the sullen resentment of the conquered. It is difficult to hold with Mr. Beni Prasad that the Mughal Government was not based on force. The learned Professor writes: "It was a physical impossibility that an enormous population scattered over a vast country in a million villages and towns should be ruled primarily by force for any length of time. Moreover in all medieval studies it has to be constantly borne in mind that the disparity between a state and an armed rabble was far less in those days than it is now. Force would provoke force and the State might soon be in serious danger! Truly speaking, all Government rests, to some extent, upon force and implies coercion but it would be incorrect to say, though we may heartily concede that the Mughal State was a culture-state, that the element of force was relegated to the back ground." We do not mean that the day to day administration was carried on by a perpetual demonstration of the military force of the empire but there is nothing to show that the acquiescence of the teeming millions of Hindus was the result of their appreciation of the beneficent organisations of the empire. The numerous Rajas and Chieftains were held down by force and though in the popular mind there was ample distrust of and even dislike for the ruling oligarchy traces of which are plentiful even now in our social relationships, the masses succumbed to the inevitable as they had done before. The element of force was in prominence in Mughal India and continued to be so until the death of Aurangzeb, and the occasions on which the force of the empire was used were not few and far between in the annals of the Mughal administration. It may be admitted at once that the Mughals were more humane than other Muhammadans, more tolerant of the infidel majority, more dextrous in their state-craft and more skilled in foiling their opponents by their diplomacy but it would be too much to assert that the Mughal Government was based upon a *plebiscite*. The administration was run by a bureaucracy which, though not Mughal in the strict sense of the word, was

Muhamadan in its sympathies and antipathies, in its prejudices and its predilections, for in the long list of Mughal officers furnished by Blochman at the end of his *Ain-i-Akbari* there are only a few Hindus. Exclusion on credal grounds was by no means wholly unknown though a few men of exceptional genius and influence were invited by the emperor to co-operate in the reconstruction of administration. Even in the days of Akber there was an unholy chuckle in the military camp at Chittor when the mighty fortress that had long protected the honour and the pride of the infidels had been battered by Moslem warriors. It is difficult to understand Prof. Beni Prasad's statement that the Mughal Government had this much of the democratic element in it that its general policy was in accord with the wishes and sentiments of the people. Well we may ask who constituted this *demos* and how did it approve of the doings of the Government? Because the people were submissive and powerless to resist the virile conquering class it does not follow that they gave their consent to the plans and policies of their rulers. When we speak of Mughal Government we mean the Government of all the Mughals but how can this be predicated of Mughal Government under all the rulers of that dynasty? The personal factor counted for much in the practical working of the administration and the emperor's will was the law recognised throughout the empire.

The Mughal Government under Akber was undoubtedly superior in its moral and intellectual aspects to the European Governments of the same period. There was toleration and the emperor was the first Muhamadan to realise that all religions and faiths despite their myriad forms and soulless ritual were trying to reach the same goal. Mr. Beni Prasad's remark somewhat diminishes the credit which is due to Akber personally. Writes the learned Professor: "Akber to whom the whole credit for toleration has been wrongly ascribed, really only embodied the spirit of the age. He carried the policy to its logical conclusions but the policy itself was the outcome of sheer necessity; it was the *sine qua non* of the very existence of the Government. Even Aurangzeb refrained from its complete subversion. The European Travellers who visited India during the reigns of Jehangir and Shahjehan, bear eloquent testimony to the perfect religious toleration in the country as a whole" Akber's toleration was not due to sheer

necessity; it was due to magnanimity of soul with which he had been endowed by nature and to his acute insight into the conditions and problems of his growing empire. He was an exceptional man; he had the ray divine in him which illumined his entire moral being and convinced him of the futility of the contentions of narrow-minded divines and urged him on to the path of peace and knowledge and the present writer is superstitious enough to believe that he was a manifestation of the Divine Power which had appeared to raise men higher and to lead them towards the fuller expansion of their selves so far cribbed, cabined, and confined in the strait waist-coat of the formulas of their caste and creed. He stamped himself upon the age in which he lived. His genius placed him above all his contemporaries and his sympathetic nature attracted kindred spirits from far and wide all eager in their devotion to him and urging with one another in strengthening the hands that held aloft the banner of peace and goodwill for all men. There may be times when toleration is the *sine qua non* of the very existence of the Government but kings do not always realise it and sound principles of state policy whether asserted or implied are more honoured in the breach than in the observance. In France Catherine d'Medici planned the massacre of St. Bartholomew's day in 1575 to get rid of the Huguenots but a little later Henry of Navarre issued the edict of Nantes by which he respected the feelings of the Huguenots and thus strengthened the kingly power. Necessity existed in both cases but in one case the powers that be suffered from poverty of statesmanship and defective political vision and in the other an enlightened ruler grasped the fundamental needs of the situation. The age gives its message but a ruler or a Government may refuse to listen to it and follow a contrary policy heedless of the results of a struggle with the time-spirit. Aurangzeb's age needed toleration and *laissez faire* quite as much but he persistently disregarded the call of time and laid the axe at the roots of the empire which the Hindus and Muhamadans had built out of devotion to a hero who disdained bigotry not because the age demanded it but because his generous nature was chilled by it and because his philosophical and statesmanlike instincts urged him to accept what would bring him nearer to Truth and earn for him the loving homage and gratitude of those whom Providence had placed under his care.

The cultural side of the Mughal State has been ably described by Prof. Beni Prasad. The governmental organisation is thus described by him. At the apex of the system was the monarch himself and he was helped by a council which in the words of the author is "an irreparable accident of autocracy". The State had numerous officers, the principal among whom were—the Vakil, the Prime-minister of the empire, the Dewan or Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Bakhshi who performed a number of duties, the Chief Qazi, the judicial head of the empire, the Sadr-u-Sadur, the minister for religion, charity and grants, the Mir Arz who was in charge of petitions and the minor bakhshis who were entrusted with the draft, seal and issue of the imperial firmans. The other chief officers were the Mir Mal (the Lord Privy Seal), the Qurbegi (The Lord standard bearer), Mir Bahri (the Lord of the Admiralty), Mir Barr (the Superintendent of forests), Mir Manzil (the Quarter Master-general) and several other officials engaged in the duties of the administration. The organisation of so many offices carrying well-defined duties with them speaks volumes for the genius of the Mughals and it is this which has secured for them a distinguished place in history. The various departments of the State were well-managed. The police was in the charge of the Kotwal who had a number of other officers to assist him. There were no courts in Mughal India comparable to ours but the administration of justice was efficiently conducted. Mr. Beni Prasad explains with characteristic lucidity and brilliance the manner in which the judicial machinery worked. The Qazi investigated the case and a *mir adl* pronounced the sentence. The emperor also sat in the Jarokha which became virtually an institution, to receive the petitions from the people and redress their grievances. Jehangir "fastened a chain between his apartments and the bank of the Jamna, which every one could touch and to which bells were attached" but it seems probable that the chain of justice was more admired than pulled owing to the fear of the emperor. There were no written codes of law or of procedure. An interesting account has been given of the procedure adopted in deciding cases. Civil cases were decided according to custom and the judges must have exercised their discretion freely on occasions. The Criminal cases were decided according to an unwritten code which was a mixture of the Quranic law, Muslim

Tradition, Indian custom, and imperial ordinances, and inflicted drastic penalties; though the sentences of death had to be confirmed by the emperor. Prof. Beni Prasad's authorities make the judicial procedure appear much better than what it is now in our courts. He says: "No sooner were the accused apprehended than they were produced before the court. It was seldom that a man had to wait for more than 24 hours for his trial. The parties to every civil suit or criminal case were examined by the judges. Witnesses were summoned and severely cross-examined. The Hindus had to swear on a cow; the Muslims on the Quran and the Christians on the Bible. The judges went over difficult cases several times. No sooner was the sentence pronounced than it was executed, unless, of course, an Appeal was to be preferred or confirmation was to be obtained. The "round and quick justice" says Terry, "keeps the people in such order and awe that there are not many executions". These are words from which even our modern judicial officers may learn a great deal. Our author rejoices over the absence of lawyers in Mughal India and says in words that have a ring of unfairness about them that the historian of Mughal India need hardly shed any tears at the non-existence of a class which sells its genius for a mess of pottage and which is parasitic to society as a whole! This is an exaggerated condemnation of the legal profession into which great abuses have crept owing to the peculiar political and economic condition of India. We can form no idea of the decisions of the judges in Mughal India for their judgments have not come down to us and to make deductions from the *obiter dicta* of contemporary annalists does not help us materially in constructing a comparative estimate of the administration of justice. It may well be presumed that discretion must have played a large part in the judicial proceedings of the Mughal Courts and that offence's gilded hand often succeeded in shoving by justice. The needs of Mughal India were comparatively simpler; society was less complex; contracts were fewer; population was sparse, the system of land tenure was simple and communication between the different parts of the country almost nothing. Under such circumstances a simple procedure might have satisfied the judicial requirements of the state. The conditions are altered now and in giving his verdict the historian has to take all these things into consideration. A historian who

applies his ethical code rigidly Acton-like will realise on reflection that human institutions are influenced a great deal by the environment in which they exist. We may condemn legal procedure as much as we like but the fact is that in a complex society it is vital to the safety and liberty of the people. The French revolutionists in their frenzy tabooed legal procedure as the "predatory apparatus of a bandit profession" but the France of Napoleon saw that a patriotic and sound heart could not decide complicated questions of property and inheritance and restored it to its former position.

However that may be, the Mughal Government was stern in the repression of tyranny and injustice. Even the provincial governors were cashiered for misconduct and the highest dignitaries of the empire were called to account. The revenue system was well organised but the rapacity of the subordinate staff must have caused much suffering to the peasantry. "The chief merit of the system", says Prof. Beni Prasad, "lies in its certainty and in the absence of zamindars. The emperor maintained a splendid court like the Roman emperor of old." As we read through the annals of the time we feel the awful contrast between the magnificence of the emperor and the grovelling poverty and squalid misery of the dweller in the cottage in his empire. A court was a necessity for the Mughals. Even the great Napoleon who hated shams and the realities had to maintain a court, in imitation of the Bourbons, where he admired the fashions and frivolities of the levy of soulless women who gathered around him. Mr. Beni Prasad rightly says the poor man's money flowed like water to gratify the tastes and vices, the whims and fancies of a few high personages. The etiquette at the court was tedious, servile and sufficiently humiliating. The Persian etiquette had been introduced by Akber and Jehangir "fully maintained the debasing theatrical representation though, probably as a concession to the strong prejudices of democratic Islam, he exempted the judicial officers, Mir Adls and Qazis from the humiliation". The servility of the courtiers was insufferable; their adulations of the emperor were fulsome and in the perpetual round of festivities that went at the court, the voice of self-respect, if there was any, was hushed and all vied with one another in reaping a rich harvest of imperial smiles. These courtiers were different from the Afghans who looked upon their king only as *inter primus*

parens. The apotheosis of the Mughal Crown was complete and before its might and majesty, Hindus and Musalmans alike, bowed their heads in profound submission and gave proofs of their fervent loyalty and devotion. At the end of the chapter, Mr. Beni Prasad mentions the debt which the Mughals owed to their predecessors and the debt which we owe to them. We are in profound agreement with him when he says that the administration under which we live is mainly based upon that which preceded it.

Prof. Beni Prasad in his brilliant chapter on Nurjehan explodes the common error that Jehangir had obtained possession of Nurjehan by compassing the murder of her husband. This view may sound revolutionary to us who have been educated, as it were, in the belief that Jehangir had murdered Sher Afghan but the evidence which Mr. Beni Prasad has collected on the subject creates a doubt about the authorship of that catastrophe. The commonly received version of Nurjehan's chequered career describes how she was cast adrift on the road-side by her destitute parents and was, afterwards, taken to Delhi where she blossomed in beauty so as to excel all the ladies of the east and became the cynosure of all eyes at the capital of the empire. Her matchless beauty charmed the heir apparent but Akber who disapproved of such a plebeian alliance affianced her to Sher Afghan and thus removed her from Jehangir's covetous eyes. But the passionate lover found his opportunity on his accession to the throne. He brought about the death of her beloved's husband and quietly admitted her into the seraglio. Nurjehan over-powered with grief at first refused to have any thing to do with the murderer of her husband but later when her grief was assuaged by the seductive allurements of power and wealth which royalty implied she accepted him as her husband. Our author's study has yielded a different result. He says Nurjehan was married to Sher Afghan who was placed on the staff of Prince Salim by Akber in 1599 but Sher Afghan was, later on, suspected of sedition and was ordered to be arrested by Jehangir. Qutubuddin, the governor of Bengal, was entrusted with the mission but Sher Afghan flew into a rage at his treacherous conduct and assaulted him whereupon the latter had him hacked to pieces. Nurjehan was brought to the court and was appointed a lady-in-waiting to Sultan Salim Begum. In 1611 four years after Sher Afghan's death Jehangir happened to see her at the vernal fancy bazar,

fell in love with her and married her. Such is the story of this celebrated woman as related by Prof. Beni Prasad. He has examined the evidence furnished by contemporary writers with meticulous care and has come to the conclusion that the murder theory is absolutely untenable in the face of overwhelming evidence to the contrary. There is nothing in contemporary chronicles to warrant the belief that Sher Afghan was got rid of by Jehangir to facilitate the seizure of Nurjehan. It is really astonishing how the legend grew up. Scandal as the Professor remarks, spreads like wild fire and the world takes a keen interest in the propagation of scandal. Jehangir says nothing in his Tuzak but his silence is of no value for he will not record so heinous a crime perpetrated by himself. But Mutmad Khan, Kamghar Husaini, Abdul Hamid Lahori and others do not even "let fall a hint which would connect her life with a deep scandal". The European travellers who "revelled in scandal" and who have recorded unspeakable rumours about exalted personages have nothing to say on this subject. The European travellers like Sir Thomas Roe and Finch and Pietro de la Valle who were present in India in Jehangir's time when Nurjehan's fame and power was at its zenith make no insinuations about the emperor's dealings with Nurjehan. The European Travellers who came later and whose ears were always wide open to receive any kind of gossip or scandal have recorded nothing to accuse Jehangir of the murder of Sher Afghan. "Indeed", says Prof. Beni Prasad, "there is no contemporary writer at all who charges Jehangir with the murder of Sher Afghan. Negative testimony of this nature is in itself conclusive on the point but, further, the story is inconsistent with certain known facts and probabilities". The Professor gives his reasons why he considers, such an event improbable. These are his reasons:—

- (1) Firstly, why should Akber forbid a marriage between Nurjehan and Jehangir when plebeian alliances were common among the Mughals?
- (2) Secondly, if Akber really chagrined his son by disappointing him in his love affair why he should be so unwise as to attach Sher Afghan to the Prince's suite?
- (3) Thirdly, why should Salim, on his accession to the throne, go out of his way to promote and enrich him?

- (4) Lastly, Nurjehan was a woman of imperious nature; she would have never consented to share the bed of her husband's murderer if she had known him. A high-souled lady is hardly likely to bestow such love and devotion upon her husband's murderer.

Prof. Beni Prasad tries to exonerate the emperor from all blame by saying that Bengal was a focus of intrigue in those times and the emperor was anxious to get rid of Raja Man Singh who aimed at setting up a kind of *imperium in imperio*, in the empire. Sher Afghan was suspected of having participated in treasonable proceedings and Mr Beni Prasad without conclusive evidence to establish his guilt, opines that no wonder that a Persian adventurer who had once deserted Prince Salim was suspected of treason and was sought to be removed from the centre of disaffection. The death of Sher Afghan was brought about by a "tactless blunder" on the part of Qutubuddin, who seems to have allowed his zeal to outrun his discretion in the performance of a difficult and delicate duty. Naturally Nurjehan, bereft of her husband and her home was brought to Delhi where she was attached to the staff of Mariyam-uz-Zamani. Prof. Beni Prasad does not say how the mysterious legend grew up. The charge of murder is a pure fabrication or invention of later historians who embellished the story of Nurjehan with much extraneous romantic matter without judging its genuineness or otherwise. He dismisses the testimony of Persian historians, Rajput bardic chronicles, Khafi Khan, Sujau Rai, Sadiq Tabrezi and others, obviously because they were not contemporaries and comes to the conclusion that a study of contemporary authorities "knocks the bottom out of the whole romance and the characters of Jehangir and Nurjehan appear in a truer and more favourable light".

We may admit the learned Professor's forcible contention that there is nothing in contemporary writings to justify the commonly received version of Jehangir's marriage with Nurjehan. The negative evidence which he has adduced has some value and can not be easily dismissed. But contemporary writers may have a good reason, as the Professor says himself, for omitting such a criminal act of a member of the royal family and Sir Thomas Roe and others were probably too anxious to win the favour of the Sultan and cared not to listen to such things. But the silence of late travellers, though no conclusive

evidence, goes against the commonly expressed view. It is true there is no documentary evidence to justify the murder theory. But murder can take place even though there may be no evidence to prove it and the *onus probandi* lies upon those who defend the emperor's conduct. A close and dispassionate examination of circumstantial evidence goes against the emperor. A careful study of the question suggests the following points which merit consideration:—

- (1) The whole question turns upon the treason of 'Sher Afghan.' We may ask what proof was there of his treasonable proceedings. No scrutiny was made into his conduct and he was given no opportunity to explain his position but steps were taken with preceptitate, we might almost say, with indecent haste to effect his arrest. His disloyalty was not even casually mentioned to Nurjehan's father and brother who held important positions at the court and with whom the emperor was in daily touch. In the absence of positive evidence to establish the guilt of Sher Afghan the charge of conspiracy seems to be the usual tyrant's plea invented to cloak sinister designs. Even the great Napoleon executed Duc d'Enghien on a charge of complicity in a royalist plot.
- (2) It was probably Qutubuddin's infamous proposal that stirred Sher Afghan's wrath and as a valiant and self-respecting soldier he could not brook it.
- (3) Sher Afghan was killed in 1607 and soon after his death Nurjehan was brought to the Court and appointed lady-in-waiting to Mariyam-uz-Zamini. In this capacity she must have laid in the palace or at any rate frequented it but strangely enough Jehangir's eye falls upon the woman of "peerless beauty known all over Hindustan" only by accident at the vernal fancy bazar in 1611, *i.e.*, four years after her arrival at Delhi. It seems improbable that Jehangir should not have had occasion to see her before. It appears the spirited lady mourned the death of her

husband and for four years refused to listen to the overtures of Jehangir. She was at first unwilling to marry but later when time with its mollifying influence assuaged her grief, the hope of becoming the empress of Hindustan, a pardonable ambition in a gifted woman reconciled her to to her position. Mr. Beni Prasad's contention that if she had known Jehangir to be the murderer of her husband she would never have consented to share her bed is inadmissible. For if the emperor, the mighty lord of Hindustan, had set his heart on her there was no way out of the difficulty except by putting an end to her life as the proud Rajput Princesses did on many an occasion.

- (4) Mr. Beni Prasad betrays ignorance of a paramour's mentality when he says that Salim would certainly not honour and elevate the husband of his beloved and on his accession to throne he would hardly overlook his desertion and go out of his way to promote and enrich him. There is nothing strange in this attitude of Jehangir. Men of lascivious character practise such devices to achieve their object without creating a scandal. The emperor wanted Nurjehan and he would be only too glad if he could fulfil his desire by raising Sher Afghan to eminence. Persons in high stations follow such devices even in modern times. The practice is so well-known that it is unnecessary to labour the point further.
- (5) According to Prof. Beni Prasad the legend grew up in the second half of the 17th century, *i.e.*, in Shah-jehan's reign. In a matter which so vitally concerned the honour of the royal family and the emperor's father no one seems to have contradicted the legend. No contemporary annalist corrects himself and condescends to give us the correct version. On the contrary the whole thing has been dressed up and magnified by later writers.

The murder theory is then open to doubt but

Prof. Beni Prasad has struck a new ground and it may be expected that his views will stimulate further enquiry and lead other historians to examine the original evidence with the same care with which English historians scanned the Casket Letters to judge the guilt of Mary Stuart. Further research and examination of original evidence will shew how far the conclusions arrived at by Prof. Beni Prasad are tenable. Whatever view may be held of these conclusions it is refreshing to turn from a discussion of the murder theory to the brilliant delineation of Nurjehan's character by the author. As her subsequent career amply proved Nurjehan was a remarkable woman and rightly does our author remark :—

"Nature had endowed her with a quick understanding, a piercing intellect, a versatile temper, sound common sense ; education had developed the gifts of nature in no common degree. She was versed in Persian literature and composed verses, limpid and flowing, which assisted her in capturing the heart of her husband. She had a fine aesthetic taste and possessed in a high measure those graces and accomplishments which are supposed to be the glory of her sex.....Indeed, intensity of thought and feeling, that unfailing mark of greatness, characterises all her life. She was intensely fashionable, intensely charitable. She loved Jehangir intensely, she mourned him intensely. When a friend, she raised Khurram to the pinnacle of princely greatness ; when an enemy, she reduced him to dust. When in power, she ruled everything ; when out of power, she abstained religiously from all active life. It was in perfect harmony with her character that she was intensely ambitious. She was one of those strong intellects who are conscious of a vast reserve of power ; who find relief and delight in incessant activity ; who love to dominate every situation and who tend unconsciously to gather all authority in their hands. To an ambitious and dominating temperament, Nurjehan added practical capacity of the highest order. She would go straight to the heart of every question. She could comprehend the broad outlines and grasp the details of every problem with equal ease and clearness. Her enemies admitted that difficulties vanished at her touch. To clarity of vision she added marvellous diligence and driving power. Whatever she took in hand she would exert her utmost strength to accomplish. Her presence

of mind and resourcefulness would not desert her in hours of extreme peril. Seated on an excited elephant in the waters of a deep, rapid stream a target to a thick shower of hostile arrows she retained perfect composure of mind".

Nurjehan dominated the politics of the empire for full 16 years. Green writes of Elizabeth that she played with statesmen as a cat plays with mouse. Like her, Nurjehan also rated ministers and diplomatists like boys, looked into every detail of the administration, determined the fashions of the Court, and made and unmade nobles by her breath, while Jehangir passed his days in inglorious ease. But the result of this petticoat government were soon visible and when Nurjehan envolved herself in political intrigues to overrule the claims of Prince Khurram, ambition brought about its own nemesis. All party machinations failed and at last Khurram emerged triumphant from the brawls and skirmishes of rural factions. Nurjehan retired from public life and was "content to accept a pension of 2 lacs of rupees a year from the man whom she had advanced to the pinnacle of fortune and then dashed to the ground but whom destiny had raised to empyrean heights inspite of her."

There are a few other matters that deserve mention. Prof. Beni Prasad is of opinion that a reaction had begun against the religious policy of Akbar but he does not emphasise the fact that to some extent Jehangir, himself, was responsible for strengthening the hands of reactionaries for though not personally orthodox he had taken an oath to act according to the faith. This reaction increased in Shahjehan's reign and finally assumed dangerous dimensions in the reign of Aurangzeb and proved the chief cause of the ruin of the empire. To this is to be attributed the imprisonment of Shaikhs Ahmad and Ibrahim and the persecution of the Shevetambar Jains of Gujrat. The origin of the Sikh revolt is also to be found here. The Guru was executed for affording shelter to Khusru who had fled to him. As a religious man he was filled with compassion at the flight of the Prince and the explanation which he gave of his conduct was true. His barbarous execution was a short-sighted act and gave offence to the Sikhs. Persecution on a large scale began and as in the case of the Dutch Calvinists in Europe it steeled their temper and hardened their hearts to such an extent that they cultivated an inextinguishable hatred of the Musalman and grimly vowed

vengeance upon the empire. How different was all this from the policy of Akbar!

Prof. Beni Prasad has thrown a new light upon many old problems relating to Jehangir's reign. In almost every book on history he is described with insufferable levity as a pleasure-seeking drunkard and debauchee utterly negligent of the duties of his office. It was his misfortune to come after Akbar and he has suffered much from this contrast. Mr. Beni Prasad has redeemed his fame and proved the unsoundness of the common view. As to the methods of administration we do not find Jehangir possessed of much originality. Besides, the problem of administration was not so difficult for Akbar's organising and methodising genius had thrown huge blocks of granite into the imperial system and that is why it continued with unabated vigour inspite of the sloth and self-indulgence of Jehangir. The edicts issued by the emperor were more honoured in the breach than in the observance by himself. To meet the charge of lack of originality brought by Sir Henry Elliot against Jehangir Prof. Beni Prasad says, "originality in administrative organisation is extremely rare. Neither Akbar nor Sher Shah had much of it". This is an amazing statement in view of the marvellous boldness of originality of conception displayed by these two monarchs and is suggestive of a biographical vein. The besetting sin of Jehangir was his tendency to fall under the influence of those around him, who loved him and won his love! This yielding propensity acted as a severe handicap and when the hardihood and vigour of youth were gone and a once muscular physical frame was undermined by drink and dissipation cliques began to be formed and power began to slip out of the sturdy hands that had so far wielded it. Nevertheless Jehangir deserves credit for preserving intact the heritage which his father had bequeathed to him. Art and literature progressed, commerce thrived and in the words of Prof. Beni Prasad "quite a host of remarkable Persian and vernacular poets all over the country combined to make the period the Augustan Age of medieval Indian literature!"

The '*History of Jehangir*' is a striking book in many respects. It contains a copious bibliography which is of considerable help to the students of Mughal History. The style maintained throughout the book is brilliant and shows the author's command over language. As

I am writing this review a friend tells me that there is too much generalisation in some of the chapters which is a thing Indian scholars have to be warned against. Prof. Jadunath Sarkar in his introduction to Irvine's *Later Mughals* (Vol. I, p. xxiv) writes on this point:—"We have yet to collect and edit our materials and to construct the necessary foundation—the bedrock of ascertained and unassailable facts, on which alone the superstructure of a philosophy of history can be raised by our happier successors. Premature philosophising based on unsifted facts and untrustworthy chronicles, will only yield a crop of wild theories and fanciful reconstructions of the past like those which J. T. Wheeler garnered in his now forgotten *History of India* as the fertile result of year's toil." It is true we have to record the events of the past but it does not mean that the historian of India is to degenerate into a mere chronicler and that he should totally eschew all criticism and deduction.

The get-up is not what it might have been and the price is prohibitively high. The University should have no mercenary object in view and it should make its productions easily accessible to all. The History Dept. of the University of Allahabad deserves to be congratulated on this enterprise and it may be hoped that it will endeavour to awaken interest in history. Indians ought to study their civilisation and institutions and place a correct, unbiassed interpretation of them before the world. So long as we continue to neglect the history of our race so long shall we be unable to find out the distinct lines along which we can direct the intellectual and political advancement of our society. As Dr. Khan apply puts it in his Foreward, 'our love of self-deception has hitherto proved a serious obstacle to the appreciation of our unique annals' but the time is come when such false modesty which it would not be far wrong to characterise as the result of what is in popular parlance called "slave mentality" should cease to exist. Following Dr. Khan's example we may conclude this review by praying like the Presbyterian divine who vented forth his feelings in the quaint prayer: 'Oh Lord! Give a good conceit of ourselves.' Empires rise and fall, institutions grow and perish, civilisations prosper and decay but behind all these lie some great fundamental ideas and truths which it is the business of the historian to discover and interpret aright. The forms may

disappear but the function never dies and humanity constantly energises itself in various ways. The task of the researchist is tedious, lonely and labourious; the derisive silence of eternity by perpetually mocking at us may induce in us a sense of despair or hopelessness but patriotism and duty alike demand that we

should pursue our work, inspite of difficulties, for in a correct explanation of the past are to be found the principles which will determine the success or failure of our political and social ideals.

HISTORICUS.

THE EARLY YEARS OF SHAH JAHAN

By SAHYID QASIM HUSAIN, M.A.

It is admitted on all hands that the existence of parties is necessary for the efficient conduct of a democratic government. The majority governs the kingdom, while the minorities, which constitute the opposition, serve as a check to its whims and caprices. Similar function is performed by factions in a monarchical form of government. Here the party in power is the reigning King, while the factions, revolving round the royal princes or some important personages, form the opposition. The fear of rebellions under them prevents the King from arbitrary exercise of his powers; while the vigilant watch of the King hinders the factions from plunging the country into anarchy and confusion. Thus a sort of balance is maintained in administration. If we examine in this light the various rebellions and struggles for the throne occurring in the Mughal regime, its history becomes clearer and more systematic. The uncertainty of succession in the Islamic and Chaghtai polity was another cause for the frequency of the wars of succession. Naturally those who secured the majority got the throne. It reminds one of the doctrine of 'Natural Selection.' The survival of the fittest prevailed in the end. This custom was harmless so long as there was no hostile enemy to face with, otherwise, it led to the disruption of the empire. It was these internecine struggles that were greatly responsible for the subjugation of the Mongols and the Chaghtai-Turks at the hands of Taimur and Shaibani respectively. The

Mughals met with similar fate in India when the Hindus inspired with religious fervour rose against their conquerors. "The Indian Mughals made a statesmanlike attempt to remedy these distempers by an early clear nomination of one of their sons to the throne. The grant of the sarkar of Hissar Firoz, a veritable principate of Wales, the elevation to the highest rank in the peerage, the bestowal of some exceptional honour or other, residence at court as a rule and close association with affairs of the central government proclaimed the nomination to the world." But through age-long practice it was implanted in the nature of the Mughals, like the Angevins of England, "that ever brother should strive with brother and son against father." The reigning sovereign tried to counteract the rivalry of the princes by setting up one against another. Babur was estranged with Humayun in his later years. He began to show open favour to his other son Hindal Mirza. His brother-in-law, Mahdi Khwaja, was also raised up as a possible candidate by Khalifa, Babur's right-hand man. Similarly when the rivalry of Saleem became unbearable, Akbar received Khusru in his favour as he was likely to follow in his foot-steps and continue the tolerant policy. The death-bed of the Emperor witnessed a hard struggle for the throne between Khusru and Jahangir. The former was the nominee of the older nobility, which entertained liberal views, on the other hand, the latter was supported by the younger party which was dis-

pleased with the heterodox policy of Akbar. Both stood for two different principles—liberalism and conservatism. This struggle was not so much of persons as of principles. The decision of Fereed Bukhari turned the scales against Khusrū. Being outnumbered the Liberal Party submitted to Jahangir on a promise of good treatment. He wisely abstained from a complete reversion of Akbar's liberal policy, probably because he feared that such a radical change just after him would bring about a sure rebellion in the kingdom. The older nobility was won over by liberal treatment. Being thus separated from his supporters, Khusrū was sent to prison shortly after.

Jahangir had several issues, four of whom played important parts in history. The eldest son, Khusrū, was born in 1587 A.D. (996 A.H.) of Man Bai, daughter of Raja Bhagwan Das of Amber, who belonged to the Kachwaha branch of the Rajputs. He was given a very liberal education by Akbar after his own liking. He was taught first alphabets by Akbar himself. Next his instruction was entrusted to Abul Fazal and his brother Abul Khair. A very learned Brahmin, Sheo Dat (seen in some manuscripts as Bheo Dat), who was famous as Bhattacharya, was appointed to teach him Hindu Sciences. Man Singh was selected as his Ataliq. (1) The direction of such tutors and guardians produced in him a healthy liberalism which combined with the sufferings that he underwent in prison, made him very popular with the subjects of the Empire, who were composed of various creeds and nationalities. Thus he was a great factor to be reckoned with in any struggle for the throne. Jahangir pacified the public by frequent announcement that he will succeed to the throne after him (2).

Parwiz, the second son of Jahangir, was born in 1589 A.D. (998 A.H.) two years and two months after Khusrū. His mother, Sahib-i-Jamal, was the cousin of Zain Khan Kokah, son of Pichah Jan Augah, one of the nurses of Akbar. According to the instructions of Akbar Abul Fazal taught him the first alphabets. Zain Khan Kokah was appointed as his guardian (3). Further we get no information

about his education. From the fact that great pains were taken in the training of the Mughal princes we can safely infer that he must have received good education but with a tinge of intolerance about it, because he came of an orthodox family. His guardian Zain Khan Kokah had quarrelled during the Usufzai campaign with Hakim Abul Fatah and Raja Bir Bal, who were held responsible for the orthodox Muhammadans for the heterodoxy of Akbar (4). Parwiz naturally took the part of the orthodox party, which raised Jahangir to the throne. It was in company with Jahangir that he contracted the habit of hard drinking. The chroniclers speak of him as a drunkard with no capacity or ability. But most of them belong to the party of Shah Jahan, who are interested in vilifying his character. The habit of drinking was not peculiar to him. Babur, Akbar and Jahangir had all weakness for drink. The fact is that his rising career was eclipsed by the advent of the Nur Jahan Junta and he got no open field for the exercise of his abilities, if there were any.

Khurram, the third son of Jahangir, was born in 1591 A.D. (1000 A.H.) (5) at Lahore. His mother was Jagat Gosain best known as Jodh Bai. She was the daughter of Udai Singh son of Raja Maldeo. He was adopted as his own son by Akbar who gave him to his childless wife Ruqayya Begum to bring him up. He was placed under the guardianship of Tatar Beg, who was well-versed in Turkish language. Mir Murad Dakhini together with his son Qasim Khan and Raja Salbahan, who were noted for archery and swordsmanship, were appointed to teach him their respective arts. Qasim Beg Tabrizi, the possessor of all acquired and revealed knowledges and one of the ablest pupils of Maulana Mirza Jan; Hakim Dawai, Gillani, an expert in Greek philosophy; Shaikh Abul Khair, an embodiment of material and spiritual sciences; Shaikh Sufi, a scholar of philosophical and theological school and one of the pupils of Miyan Wajihuddin—were all chosen to give him instruction in their respective branches. Shah Jahan used to say that of all teachers he was much indebted to Hakim Dawai (6). Thus

(1) A. N., III, 523, 604, 647, 839.

(2) Roe's Embassy, II, 280; Terry, 411-2; Amal-i-Salih, 163—Salih an admirer of Shah Jahan states that on the secret murder of Khusrū people used to assemble at his tomb every Friday night and shed bitter tears at his sad fate.

(3) Memoirs of Jahangir (R and B), I, 19; A. N., III, 568, 577, 647

(4) Ain-i-Akbari, I, 344-5, 183, 188, 192, 199, 204; Badaoni, 715.

(5) His birth near the close of 1000 years of the Hijra Era was given much significance later on. He came to be believed as Mujaddid-i-Islam and Sahib-i-Qiran.

(6) A. N., III, 786; Amal-i-Salih, 31-2; M. U., III,

unlike Khusrū he received a pure Muhammadan education. English historians relying on the testimony of Thomas Roe describe him as proud, subtle, false and barbarously tyrannous. But Roe was greatly prejudiced against him as he was an orthodox Muhammadan and was rather inclined towards his rivals the Portuguese. Roe had frequent quarrels with Shah Jahan about trade and presents⁽⁷⁾. His early life was very pure and commendable. "Gradually as his years increased so did his excellences and he was more attentive to my father than all my other children, who was exceedingly pleased with and grateful for his services and always recommended him to me and frequently told me there was no comparison between him and my other children. He recognized him as his real child." While the atmosphere was surcharged with electricity he refused to quit the bed-side of his dying grandfather for fear of life. He twice saved the life of his own father. He did not taste a single drop of wine till the age of 24 and this in an age when wine was considered a necessary appanage of high rank⁽⁸⁾. His gravity of demeanour misled Roe in thinking that he was proud. Like all princes he was, of course, full of ambition.

Shahriyar, the fourth son of Jahangir, was born in 1605 from a concubine⁽⁹⁾. Like Parwiz we have got very meagre and partial evidence about his life and character. He came late on the stage and vanished away soon. He was unfortunate in being allied with Nur Jahan, who was very unpopular for showing open

favour to her countrymen, who were Shia by religion.

One of the great problems of the Muhammadans in India was how to deal with the Hindus, who were always hostile to their rule. Balban, Alauddin and Md. Ibrū Tughlak had adopted different means but with no great success. Akbar saw that it was impossible to reconcile the Hindus and the Muhammadans with one another without removing their religious bigotry. It was by means of religion, which exercised great influence on the people at large that he tried to eliminate it. Din Illahi, which was introduced by him was cosmopolitan and very liberal in its tenets. Had all adopted this religion India would have witnessed the early rise of a strong and united nation. But they failed to realise its value and significance. The Hindus supported it because it gave them greater privileges. The Muhammadans opposed it because they were unwilling to forego the advantages, which they possessed as a ruling class. Naturally the latter prevailed as power was in their hands. Khusrū was the leader of the Liberal Party, which was predominantly composed of the Hindus. Parwiz and Shah Jahan had identified themselves with the Sunni Orthodox Party of the Mughals, while Shahriyar with the Shia and Persian element. Parwiz and Khusrū, who were somewhat dangerous were secretly removed from the way by Shah Jahan. Shahriyar who was supported by a weak element was easily defeated by open force. He also executed his nephews so that they might not disturb him in future. Thus he fulfilled the doctrine of the survival of the fittest. But he taught a bad lesson to his descendants. The second success of the Orthodox Party further estranged the Liberal Party and the inauguration of intolerant policy by Aurangzeb accelerated open conflict between them. Both of these having combined together led to the downfall of the Empire.

As Khusrū was Jahangir's rival for the throne he was thrown into prison and Parwiz, the next eldest son, was set up against him and marked out for succession. Out of extreme confidence he was entrusted with the charge of the Scal. Just after accession he was sent at the head of a grand army against the Rana. After having quickly settled with the Rana Jahangir intended to leave Parwiz in Hindustan and himself start for the conquest of his ancestral dominions in Transoxiana. But in the

78; Badaoni (Urdu Edition), 414; Ain-i-Akbari, I, 538, 541, 543—A. F. groups together all notable learned men of Akbar's time into 5 classes. 1st class—such as understand the mysteries of both worlds (*auliyan*) 2nd class—such as understand the mysteries of the heart (*Sufi*) 3rd class—such as know theology and philosophy (*Akhlā*) 4th class—Philosophers (*Hukma*) used in a wider sense as physicians also are included in it 5th class—such as know science resting on testimony (*Ulmā*) Miyan Wajihuddin belongs to the first class, Abul Khair to the second class, Shaik Sufi to the third class and Qasim Beg Tabrizi and Hakim Dawai to the fourth class. Thus his tutors were drawn from the above four classes. They gave him a liberal Islamic education as opposed to an orthodox type. It does not follow that he was not a strict follower of Islamic tenets. He was convinced of their excellence through reason.

(7) Roe's Embassy, II, 283, 310, 346, 424, 451-3. Khurram's dislike of the English—I, 168, 167; II, 277, 289, 346, 452. Rejects Roe's offer of assistance against the Portuguese—II, 287. Expects a letter from James I—II, 347. Quarrel over presents—II, 380-3, 486.

(8) Memoirs of Jahangir (R and B), I, 19, 306, 329.

(9) Memoirs of Jahangir (R and B), I, 20.

meantime Khusru escaped from prison. Jahangir hastily recalled Parwiz to guard the region from Afghanistan to Agra as it was full of sedition and intrigue. Parwiz patched up a truce with the Rana and hastened to the help of his father. Before he reached Agra the affair of Khusru was over. Jahangir summoned him to his presence and bestowed upon him the parasol which is the sign of royalty and the rank of 10,000 Sawar. He was next given the command of the Deccan Expedition and promoted to the rank of 15,000 zat and 8,000 Sawar (10). At this time Shahriyar was a mere boy and Khurram did not play an important part. On the flight of Khusru, Khurram was entrusted with the temporary charge of the capital. In 1607 he was honoured with 8,000 zat and 5,000 Sawar. He further ingratiated himself with Jahangir by revealing the plot of Khusru's adherents to surprise and arrest Jahangir while he was hunting. Once more the life of Jahangir was saved by him on the occasion of a lion-hunt. In recognition of these services he was raised to the rank of 10,000 zat and 5,000 Sawar (11).

Now an ambitious figure comes on the stage. Jahangir married Nur Jahan in 1611. She soon quarrelled with the Sunni Orthodox Party which had raised Jahangir to the throne. Its outspoken leader was Mahabat Khan. His rising career and that of Parwiz were seriously eclipsed and they did not come into prominence till 1622, when their services were required by Nur Jahan. She was determined to make herself supreme in the state and in order to give permanence to her influence she made a coalition with Khurram by marrying her niece, Arjumand Banu Begum, afterwards known as Mumtaz Mahal, to him in 1612. Khurram, who was full of ambition, eagerly grasped this opportunity to ascend to power. It is wrong to believe that Nur Jahan raised Khurram from the dust to the highest pinnacle of glory. He was gaining steady influence on Jahangir before Nur Jahan made a coalition with him. Differences arose between them soon after. It was by virtue of his own abilities that he reached to such a high eminence in the state. In

1612 Khurram was granted the rank of 12,000 zat and 5,000 Sawar. In 1613 he was placed at the head of the Chitore Expedition. His success there greatly impressed Jahangir, "By dint of placing a great many posts especially in some places where most people said it was impossible to place them on account of the badness of the air and water and the wild nature of localities and by dint of moving the royal forces one after another in rain and making prisoners of the families of the inhabitants of that region brought the matters with the Rana to such a pass that it became clearer to him that if this should happen again he must either fly from the country or be made prisoner. Hence he sued for peace through his maternal uncle Subh Karan and promised to wait upon the prince with his son." For this achievement Khurram was rewarded with 15,000 zat and 8,000 Sawar equal to that of Parwiz. Another rival, Khusru, with his adherent Khan Azam was placed under the custody of his father-in-law Asaf Khan (12).

As affairs in the Deccan were not progressing well owing to disagreement among the nobles, Parwiz was recalled. Khurram, who had recently won success in Chitore, was raised above him to the rank of 20,000 zat and 10,000 Sawar and sent in his place. From this time began the disfavour of Parwiz. He tried to see his father but was refused interview owing to the intrigues of Nur Jahan. Khurram was closely followed by Jahangir himself. The Deccanis finding themselves hard pressed sued for peace which was readily granted. The coalition between Nur Jahan and Khurram was by its very nature full of friction. It was a mixture of opposites. Both were ambitious personalities each playing for its own hands. Khurram was a man of strong mettle. He could not brook the tutelage of another. Moreover he was unwilling to see the rise of the Shias and the Persians, who were traditional enemies of the Sunnis and the Mughals respectively. Being an orthodox Sunni he was the last person to see the Shias wielding so great a power in a Sunni Kingdom. It was to introduce the dangerous Persian horse in a Mughal Troy. He regarded his own alliance with them merely as a ladder to ascend to power and that is all. When that was achieved he began to show

(10) *Memoirs of Jahangir* (R and B), I, 16, 18, 26, 70, 73, 136—The court historians of Shah Jahan relegate Parwiz to an inferior position and state that Shah Jahan was marked out for succession from the very beginning. The modern historians are also misled in thinking so. But a critical study of the *Memoirs* shows that such was not the case.

(11) *Memoirs of Jahangir* (R and B), I, S7, 123, 186, 192; *Amal-i-Salih*, 50.

(12) *Iqbal-Nama*, 54-7; *Intikhab-i-Jahangir Shahi*, E and D, VI, 451-52. *Memoirs of Jahangir* (R and B), I, 217, 224, 256, 258, 259, 260, 265, 276, 288.

independence. While Khurram was away in the Deccan Nur Jahan tried to be reconciled with Khusrū and offered the hand of her daughter by Sher Afghan to him. But he refused. Whether it was owing to the reasons stated above or because he too much loved his first wife cannot be said with certainty. That he made a mistake is clear. He should have secured his release by this means and then he could have easily dispensed with Nur Jahan. Khurram hearing of this intrigue tried to cut the ground under Khusrū and to have a party of his own by marrying the grand-daughter of Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khana one of the great pillars of the older nobility(13). Nur Jahan was furious at it but she did not find any proper opportunity to give vent to her rage. Jahangir was much pleased at Khurram's triumph in the Deccan. He conferred upon him the rank of 30,000 Zat and 20,000 Sawar and the title of Shah Jahan. He was given the unprecedented privilege of sitting on a chair near the throne. His reputation for generalship and statesmanship was further enhanced by the successful expedition of Kangra and other minor ones. Every victory saw fresh honours from Jahangir. "My consideration for this son is so unbounded that I would do anything to please him and in fact he is an excellent son and one adorned with every grace and in his early youth had accomplished to my satisfaction everything that he has set his hands to"(14). He became the favourite of Emperor and the staunch friend of the generals of the Empire. Having reached to the highest pinnacle of glory he now openly broke the alliance with Nur Jahan. But she was not to be trifled with.

In the meantime, the Deccanis again raised their head. Shah Jahan was ordered to proceed against them once more. Fearing that in his absence Nur Jahan might not make an alliance with Khusrū and thus release him from prison, he managed to get the permission of carrying away Khusrū with him while Jahangir was

drunk(15). In the last resource Nur Jahan married her daughter Ladli Begum to Jahangir's youngest son, Shahriyar, in April 1621 and began to intrigue for his succession secretly.

While Shah Jahan was away in the Deccan Jahangir fell dangerously ill and all hope was given up by the physicians. Parwiz hastened to the bed-side without leave. Shah Jahan murdered Khusrū(16). But Jahangir recovered through the kind nursing of Nur Jahan. Just at this time the Persians captured Qandhar. Shah Jahan who had won laurels in India was ordered to proceed there. The health of Jahangir was very uncertain. He might die any day and the throne be seized by his brothers in his absence. So he refused to go on so distant an enterprise without full security. Jahangir was enraged. He was led to believe that his unprecedented favours had turned his head. All his titles and honours were withdrawn and he was styled Bi-daulat. Shahiyyar was sent to Qandhar. Mahabat Khan and Parwiz were once more received into favour and sent against Bi-daulat. After various vicissitudes of fortune he was defeated and forced to give up his sons, Dara, Shuja and Aurangzeb as hostages for his good conduct.

A fresh danger now arose in Mahabat and Parwiz but Nur Jahan supported by Asaf Khan, the old enemy of Mahabat, adopted stern attitude. Unwilling to follow Shah Jahan's fate they yielded. Mahabat proceeded towards Bengal. Charges were brought against him in order to ruin him completely. Being driven to extremes Mahabat suddenly appeared with about 5,000 Rajputs and captured Jahangir. Force having failed Nur Jahan got him released through a stratagem.

On hearing of Mahabat's revolt Shah Jahan left the borders of Ahmednagar and marched towards the north with 1,000 Sawars, half of which was commanded by Raja Kishen Singh, in order to seize the throne with the help of the Rajputs. But his faithful general died on the way. So he resolved to proceed to Persia and seek help from Shah Abbas from whom he

(13) *Memoirs of Jahangir* (R and B), I, 273-4, 288, 291, 338. *Roe's Embassy*, II, 281-3, 292-3, 294, 293-4, 294, 297. Della Valle, I, 56-7. *Amal-i-Salih*—173. Wheeler in his *College History of India* page 76 gives the cause of disagreement between N. J. and Shah Jahan the latter's refusal to marry the daughter of N. J. by Sher Afghan but it is not corroborated by any other evidence. There is certain vagueness as to what led to dispute between Nur Jahan and Khurram. The present writer has tried to remove it here.

(14) *Memoirs of Jahangir* (R and B), I, 435-6.

(15) *Amal-i-Salih*, 162.

(16) *Memoirs of Jahangir* (R and B), II, 215. Mr. Beni Parshad's 'Jahangir', 336-8 foot-note 4.—He has quoted a large number of English and Rajput authorities to prove the complicity of Khurram in the death of Khusrū. But he has quoted only one Persian authority namely, *Maasir-i-Qutub Shahi*. A second Persian authority which gives graphic account is *Amal-i-Salih*. It settles Shah Jahan's guilt beyond doubt, as *Salih* was not biassed against him.

had received assistance, while he was in power (17). But he could not accomplish this object as he was prevented from crossing the border by the followers of Shahriyar. Meanwhile news arrived of the opportune death of Parwiz (18) and the flight of Mahabat to the Deccan. Shah Jahan gave up the idea and marched back to the South again. With the death of Khusrū and Parwiz, the respective leaders of the Liberal and Orthodox Sunni Party, the way was made clear for Shah Jahan and he stepped into their shoes. An alliance was cemented with Mahabat. Now he had to face with the Shia-Persian Party of Nur Jahan only which at present wielded considerable influence in the state.

Jahangir who was dragging on life for several years breathed his last on the 28th October, 1627 on his way to Lahore and now the last scene of the struggle for the throne was enacted. Nur Jahan summoned all the high personages of the realm to a meeting with an intention to remove them secretly out of the way of her son-in-law Shahriyar. Shah Jahan was fortunate in possessing an invaluable supporter namely, Asaf Jah. He was always a secret well-wisher of his son-in-law. His defection from the side of Nur Jahan weakened her party which was divided in itself. Asaf Jah proved too astute for Nur Jahan. He revealed her secret design to the nobles and won them over to the side of Shah Jahan. They rallied round him as they were unwilling to see the accession of a concubine's son on the throne and the predominance of the Shia-Persian element in the state. Dawar Baksh, son of Khusrū, was raised as a stop-gap as Shah Jahan was far away in the Deccan. Nur Jahan was soon after put in confinement and her activities were restricted. A very swift messenger was despatched to Shah Jahan to inform of the matter. Shahriyar by lavish expenditure of the treasures at Lahore collected an army about 15,000 Sawars consisting largely of raw recruits. Baisanghar, Tahmuras and Hanshang, sons of Prince Daniyal, supported his cause. But the

inexperience of his troopers and wide-spread treachery in his ranks undid all his efforts (19). He was easily defeated and captured together with the sons of Daniyal. While Asaf Jah was controlling the situation in the North, Shah Jahan was looking after the affairs in the South. Saifi Khan, the governor of Guzrat, was Persian by birth and a relative of Nur Jahan. He had quarrelled with Shah Jahan. Khan Jahan, the governor of the Deccan, came of the Lodi tribe of the Afghans, the immediate predecessors of the Mughals in the Sultanate of Delhi. They were extremely jealous of the Mughals for their supersession at their hands. Both of these governors made a common cause with the Shia-Persian Party of the North. Had the armies of the North and the South joined hands the Afghan-Persian coalition would have proved very dangerous to the existence of the Mughals in India. They were not slow to realise it. They mustered strong under the banner of Shah Jahan. He energetically marched to the weaker spot, wrested Gujrat from the hands of Saifi Khan and gave it to Nahir Khan with the title of Sher Khan. As Khan Jahan Lodi was not to be trifled with, he tried to conciliate him by liberal treatment. Janisar Khan, who was noted for his diplomatic talents, was sent to him with a firman for the re-grant of the Subaship of the Deccan. But Khan Jahan refused to join hands and marched to the North. But with the quick and sudden defeat of Shahriyar the whole project dashed to the ground. His followers deserted him and he fell back on his Suba which was restored to him by Shah Jahan for the time being in order to win him over to his side (20).

Having consolidated his power in the South Shah Jahan proceeded to the North. As he reached Agra he sent a firman to Asaf Jah that he should either blind or kill Shahriyar, Dawar Baksh, Gurshasp, Hushang and Tahmuras so that he may reign with tranquility (21). Accordingly all of them were done to death. He reached Agra on the 27th Jamad-i-ul-awal 1037 A.H., in about 2 months. After the expiry of 12 days and at the approach of an auspicious

(17) Iqbal-nama, 280-2.

(18) Mr. Beni Parshad's 'Jahangir', 428 foot note 9 — "There is certainly reason for suspicion particularly in view of Shah Jahan's past and future record, but the evidence in this particular instance is not adequate to justify down-right assertion. Shah Jahan was too far off. Parwiz had already ruined his constitution. The details of his illness point as much to alcohol as to poison." Amal-i-Salih says that Parwiz died a natural death.

(19) Amal-i-Salih, 295, 298, 211, 212; M. U., I, 154; A. H., IA, 70, 72, 74.

(20) Amal-i-Salih, 213, 214, 216, 217, 218, 220, 224 — The court historian of Shah Jahan, Abdul Hamid Lahori and Amal-i-Salih describe the risings of Saifi Khan and Khan Jahan as if they were sundry rebellions but a careful study reveals intimate connection with Shahriyar's Party.

(21) Iqbal-nama, 295; A. H., IA, 79; Amal-i-Salih, 219.

day he ascended the throne as Sahabuddin with the title of Sahib-i-Qiran Sani.

Asaf Jah for his invaluable services received the title of Yamin-ud-dowlah and the highest rank of 8,000 Zat and 7,000 Sawar. He was appointed as Vakil-i-Kul (Prime Minister), Iradat Khan as Wazir, Sadiq Khan as Mir Bakshi and Musi Khan as Sadar-us-Sudur. Mahabat Khan was honoured with the title of Khan-i-Khana and entrusted with the highest command of the army. His first action was to remove the innovations, which were introduced by Akbar against the precepts of Islam. The custom of prostration, which was fit for the Creator only, was prohibited. Instead the courtiers were ordered to perform four Taslims. Holy men were allowed the privilege of paying

respects in purely Islamic fashion as Salaam-va-Lekum and on departure to read Fati-ah. The Hijra Era was restored with a cycle of ten years each on the basis of the holy number of the first ten companions of the Prophet. The gold and silver coins which were issued bore Kalima and the name of the first four Caliphs on one side and the name of Shah Jahan with the date of issue on the other (22). Pious Muhammadans might well rejoice that now an orthodox King had come on the throne but to a profaner eye he fulfilled the doctrine of 'Natural Selection.'

(22) A. H., 1A, 82-91, 177-86, 126-9, 110-14, 91. Amal-i-Salih—206, 271, 279, 280, 281, 253-6, 257-8, 228. K. K., 397.

PRIME MINISTERS OF GREAT BRITAIN: A STUDY*.

By PROFESSOR AMARNATH JHA, M.A.

Since 1721 there have been thirty eight Prime Ministers of Great Britain. It is obviously impossible to deal with all of them in the course of one paper. They have been men of such different types, they have belonged to so many varying shades of party, there have been such disputes with regard to the lives, characters and public services of so many of them, that anything like an exhaustive survey is impracticable within our present limits.

1721 is the year in which Sir Robert Walpole made himself responsible to the King on the one hand, and to the commons on the other, by accepting the office of First Lord of the Treasury, an office carrying with it patronage so great that, according to Fox, "whoever fills it must have much more power than any other member of the Cabinet". From the time of Walpole's acceptance of his dual responsibility, the office has never been vacant. Before that date the Stuarts had dispensed their own favours and

chosen their own tools. George I was not at home in the English language or among his English Ministers. He preferred to deal with one man only, with Walpole, and so long and so well did Sir Robert perform his task that by the time of his death the Premiership had become an integral part of the British constitution. That is the genesis of the office of Prime Minister.

Walpole was essentially a Peace Minister. But there was in him "nothing more sublime than strong sagacity, penetrating commonsense, and tenacious public spirit." There was hardly any moral dignity in him—his talk would hardly be tolerated now even in a regimental mess. His expression seemed to be between a smile and a sneer. But his son, the famous Horace said, "It would have done you good to hear him laugh—he laughed the heart's laugh." He is supposed to be the author of the cynical saying, "Every man has his price." "I put off my cares," he said, "when I put off my clothes". While we remember his faults, it is but fair to recollect that he was a great patron of

**Prime Ministers of Great Britain* by the Hon. Clive Bigham (Mr. John Murray, London, 1922). *One Guinea*.

learning. He got for Young a pension of £200 a year, he subscribed for 10 copies of Fielding's works, sent banknotes to the unfortunate Richard Savage, made Congreve a Commissioner of Works. He deserves, too, the thanks of posterity for having originated the Saturday half-holiday, though he did so in order that he might get away to hunt. Dr. Johnson compared him to a fixed star and Chatham to a meteor. He kept the country quiet in what Carlyle calls "a sturdy, deep-bellied, long-headed John Bull kind of fashion."

In Walpole's time, the house which is now 10 Downing Street, was the only official residence in that famous purliet. It belonged to the Crown, and the Hanoverian Minister Bothmar lived in it. When that Minister died, George II wished to make Walpole a present of it. Walpole refused it as a personal gift and they agreed that it should for the future always go with the offices of First Lord of the Treasury and the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

In one of his final fights in the House of Commons, when the so-called patriots were assailing him, Walpole finished his reply with the words: "A patriot, Sir—why, patriots spring up like mushrooms. I could raise fifty of them within the four-and-twenty hours. I have raised many of them in one night. It is but refusing to gratify an unreasonable or insolent demand and up starts a patriot". Though he could be ironical and even eloquent on occasions, yet his eloquence was made for use. He had a melodious voice and little gesture, was ready and vigorous in reply, caught the humour of the House, made people think they understood him when they did not. Chatham, who had fiercely attacked him in early life, said afterwards: "Sir Robert Walpole thought well of me and died in peace with me. He was a truly English Minister." Lord Morley, Walpole's biographer, sums him up thus: "The world will never place him in the highest rank among those who have governed men, for in the world's final estimate, character goes farther than act, imagination than utility, and its leaders strike us as much by what they were as by what they did."

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After Walpole came Compton, afterwards Earl Wilmington. Much need not here be said about him. One incident, however, which occurred when he was the Speaker of the House of Commons, may be mentioned. A member

who was being talked down complained that he had a right to be heard. "No, Sir," replied the Speaker, "you have a right to speak, but the House has the right to judge whether it will hear you". He is also credited with a remark about the Duke of Newcastle, that he always lost half an hour in the morning, which he was running after for the rest of the day without being able to overtake it."

After him come the brothers, Thomas Pelham and the Duke of Newcastle. Then the Dukes, Devonshire, Grafton and Portland. In twenty-six years, from 1757 to 1783, out of nine Prime Ministers, four were Dukes. In the last hundred years only one has filled that place. Portland was twice Prime Minister—the second time in his seventeenth year, failing rapidly in strength and past much work. He was no speaker. He possessed in an eminent degree the talent of dead silence. Lord Fitzmaurice says that he had the singular distinction of being twice Premier, first as the leader of the narrowest section of the Whig party and afterwards as chief of the most Tory of Tory administrations.

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We come next to one of the most fascinating figures in English political history. The family of the Pitts is the most distinguished in English politics. They emerged from a modest origin. Yet they produced two Prime Ministers, nominated two more, Cavendish and Grafton; they introduced a third pair, the Grenvilles; they left a legacy behind in Addington, Jenkinson, Canning and Robinson. William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, began life in Parliament, with much of the effrontery which the last generation saw with bewildered admiration in Lord Randolph Churchill. Just as the latter attacked Mr. Gladstone because he was the most eminent leader of the day, so Pitt chose Walpole as the first target of his oratorical onslaughts. On Walpole's fall, Cateret became his victim, then the Pelhams. He had however deeply alienated the King; and it was said at the time that as Chatham knelt before George II when being sworn a Privy Councillor, the king shed tears. The period of Pitt's glory was 1757; the next four years were signalised by some of the most glorious victories by sea and on land, and some of the most splendid Colonial acquisitions in the history of Great Britain. His fame in Europe rose to the highest pitch. Frederic the Great writing of him in 1761, said: "England

has been a long time in labour, but she has at last brought forth a man." This apotheosis, however, did not continue long. George III succeeded to the throne, intrigues began against Pitt, he was outvoted in the Cabinet, and in 1761, on the question of the Spanish War, he resigned with his brother-in-law Temple. By 1766, however, when all other administrators had failed, he was sent for again and became Prime Minister and Lord of the Privy Seal. He was also raised to the peerage as Earl Chatham. This was the turning-point of his fortunes. His title robbed him of his popularity. "There is," writes Burke to Rockingham in 1766, "still a little twilight of popularity round the great peer, but it fades away every moment." Throughout the years of the disputes with America, Chatham supported the cause of liberty. He said in a memorable passage, "It is not repealing a piece of parchment that can restore America; you must repeal her fears and resentments". His health now broke, much of the prestige of the Great Commoner was gone. Occasionally, however, people came to him as to a Delphic oracle. His attendances in Parliament became rare. When he did come up, the ministers shivered. When he drove away, they breathed again. In 1773 Lord North begged the King to ask Chatham to form a ministry for the third time. But the obstinate monarch wrote: "I do not object to your addressing yourself to Lord Chatham, but you must acquaint him that I shall never address myself to him but through you". This, of course would not suit Chatham and North continued in office. On April 7, 1778 a motion was made in the Lords to petition the Crown to withdraw fleets and armies from the revolted provinces of North America. Chatham came down to oppose it. The effort was too much; it brought on a fit during the speech. He was carried home insensible and after a month died. He was given a public funeral in Westminster Abbey.

Dr. Johnson used to say that Walpole was a Minister given by the King to the people, while Chatham was a minister given by the people to the king. Shelburne who was Chatham's political disciple said that he had the eye of a hawk, a small head and a long aquiline nose. It was remarked at court that when he bowed, the tip of his long nose could be seen between his legs. He was an autocrat; he wrote the naval orders for the fleet and the first Lord of the Admiralty

had to sign them with the writing covered up. His under-secretaries were never allowed to sit in his presence. Of his powers as a speaker, contemporary opinion is unanimous. Horace Walpole, the son of his great opponent, says that Mr. Pitt carried with him unpremeditated the strength of thunder and the splendour of lightning. Lord Camelford said that in Parliament he never spoke but to the instant, regardless of whatever contradictions he might afterwards be reduced to, which he carried off with an effrontery without example. There was a style of conscious superiority, a tone, a gesture of manner, which was quite peculiar to him—everything shrunk before it; and even facts, truth and argument were overawed and vanquished by it. The style of conscious superiority, comments Lord Rosebery, peculiar to him, before which everything shrank; the way in which the orator worked himself into wrath, like a lion lashing himself with his own tail; the eye and countenance which would have conveyed his meaning to the deaf;—these are touches which we feel to be accurate, and which seem to explain much of the effect of Pitt's oratory. To quote Lord Rosebery again, Chatham was a political mystic; sometimes sublime, sometimes impossible, and sometimes insane. But he had genius. It was that fitful and undefinable inspiration that gave to his eloquence a piercing and terrible note which no other English eloquence has touched; that made him the idol of his countrymen, though they could scarcely be said to have seen his face or heard his voice or read his speeches; that made him a watchword among those distant insurgents whose wish for independence he yet ardently opposed; that made each remotest soldier and bluejacket feel when he was in office that there was a man in Downing Street and a man whose eye penetrated everywhere; that made his name at once an inspiration and a dread; that cowed the tumultuous Commons at his frown.

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We turn now to his son, the second William of that name. He became Chancellor of the Exchequer at the age of twenty-three and Prime Minister at the age of twenty-five. It was, however, said of him that he was never young. He entered the House of Commons, says Lord Rosebery, as an heir enters his house. It was his mistress, his stud, his dice-box, his game-preserve; it was his ambition, his library his creed. At the age of 25 he rose to the highest

position in the state and retained it with glory for an unbroken period of seventeen years. Writing in October, 1784, Gibbon said: "A youth of five and twenty who raises himself to the Government of an Empire by the power of genius and the reputation of virtue is a circumstance unparalleled in history". And there was genuine respect mixed with banter in the well-known couplet.

"A sight to make surrounding nations stare—
A kingdom trusted to a school boy's care"

Pitt possessed in an eminent degree the self-confidence which had made his father say: "I am sure that I can save my country and nobody else can," and which made himself say later, "I place much reliance on my colleagues; I place still greater reliance on myself". Alone, unaided, opposed by parties at home and abroad, this young statesman fought against Napoleon.

The three main passions of his political career were peace, retrenchment and reform. The irony of circumstance made it impossible for Pitt to devote much time or energy to any of these three. After seventeen continuous years of office, he resigned on the Catholic Question and was succeeded by Addington. As a doggerel of the time said:

Pitt is to Addington

As is London to Paddington.

Addington soon realised, however, that he could not carry on the administration, and Pitt's second ministry of a hundred days came into existence. Napoleon, Fox, Erskine, Wilberforce, even the King were ranged against him. He himself was in broken health. His last speech was delivered in Guildhall. The victory of Trafalgar had been known. His health was drunk as the saviour of Europe. The full text of that speech is: "Europe is not to be saved by any single man. England has saved herself by her exertions and will, as I trust, save Europe by her example". The news of Austerlitz shook him,—was probably the immediate cause of his death. "Roll up that map", he said, pointing to the map of Europe, "it will not be wanted these ten years". He died on January 23, 1806, his last words being "O my country! How I leave my country." Parliament decided on a state funeral and a public monument at Westminster. A month after his death Pitt was laid in the Abbey by his father's side, amid a splendid pomp of public grief. "The statue of the father", said Wilberforce with fine feeling, "seemed to look

with consternation at the vault that was opening to receive his favourite son".

Pitt was a great speaker. His action in speaking was vehement and ungraceful; he was described as sawing the air with windmill arms, and yet in an assembly which contained the best representatives of English Eloquence, in the company of Burke, Fox, Sheridan, Wilberforce, Windham, his superiority was unchallenged. Fox was verbose by his repetitions, and Pitt by his amplifications. Fox once confessed that although he himself was never in want of words, Pitt was never without the best words possible.

Wilberforce, speaking in the House of Commons, long after Pitt's death, said, "I am no worshipper of Mr. Pitt; but if I know anything of that great man, I am sure of this, that every other consideration was absorbed in one great ruling passion—the love of his country". And Lord Rosebery well sums up this great servant of England: "From the dead eighteenth century his figure still faces us with a majesty of loneliness and courage. There may have been men both abler and greater than he; though it is not easy to cite them; but in all history there is no more patriotic spirit, none more intrepid and none more pure".

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We have next the two Grenvilles, George and William. The latter led the Ministry of all Talents of which Fox said with his characteristic levity, "we are three in a bed". Within the space of fifty years, says Macaulay, three first lords of the Treasury, three Secretaries of State, two keepers of the Privy Seal, and four First Lords of the Admiralty were appointed from among the sons and grandsons of the Countess Temple—a record hardly surpassed by any English family. Then there were Bate and North. Bate suffered from an undeserved unpopularity, though it is only fair to admit that his elevation was undeserved also. The secret of Lord North's success and popularity was his unflinching good humour. He was much inclined to somnolence or to the appearance of it on the Treasury Bench. On one occasion an opponent who was belabouring him with invective was so enraged at this that he exclaimed, "Even now, in the midst of these perils, the noble Lord is asleep". Without opening his eyes, North said wearily, "I wish to God I was". Gibbon, who was no sycophant, dedicated one volume of his History to North in the following noble words: "Were I ambitious of any other patron than the public,

I would inscribe this work to a statesman, who in a long, a stormy, and at length an unfortunate administration, had many political opponents, almost without a personal enemy; who has retained, in his fall from power, many faithful and disinterested friends; and who, under the pressure of severe infirmity, enjoys the lively vigour of his mind and the felicity of his incomparable temper. Lord North will permit me to express the feelings of friendship in the language of truth, but even truth and friendship should be silent, if he still dispensed the favours of the Crown".

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Rockingham is chiefly remembered now as the early patron of Burke, who on Rockingham's death wrote his epitaph, describing him as "a man worthy to be held in remembrance, because he did not live for himself. Reserved in profession, sure in performance, he laid the foundation of a solid confidence".

Of Shelburne, who has been referred to above, it was said that before he was an ensign he thought himself fit to be a general, and to be a leading minister before he ever saw a public office. On his becoming Premier Burke who never trusted him called him "a Borgia, a Catiline, a serpent with two heads". Boswell once asked Johnson if Shelburne was not a factiousman. "Oh yes, Sir," replied Johnson, "as factious a fellow as could be found; one who was for sacking us all into the mob". "How, then Sir," said Boswell, "did he get into favour with the king"? "Because, Sir", said Johnson, "I suppose he promised the King to do whatever the King pleased". Disraeli, however, calls him one of the suppressed characters of English history, and the ablest and most accomplished statesman of the eighteenth century. He can scarcely be called a success. The problem is stated thus by another modern Prime Minister: "How is it that a noble of high lineage and fortune, of great talents and of an intelligence superior to his talents, who was a distinguished soldier before he was twenty-four; who was a Cabinet Minister at twenty-five, and a Secretary of State at twenty-nine, who was Prime Minister at forty-five; and who, to pass beyond dignities, was far beyond his age in enlightenment; a Free Trader, the friend of men like Franklin and Bentham and Morellet, the leader of men like Dunning and Barré; who, if not the friend, had at least the courage to be the admirer of the successful rebel Washington, with

whom he had to sign peace;—how was it that this man, so rarely gifted and with opportunities so splendid, should only have touched power to see it vanish for ever from his grasp, and to spend the remainder of his life under universal detestation and distrust"? His son several times refused the office of Prime Minister, and his grandson, the present Marquis of Lansdowne, has had the refusal of a Dukedom.

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Addington, who succeeded Pitt, was nicknamed "*the Doctor*", as his father had been a medical practitioner. He had been a great success as a Speaker, and he made a great mistake in accepting office. Canning used to say Addington was like the small-pox—everyone was obliged to have him once in their lives. Perceval, who was one of the most popular politicians of the day, was shot dead by a lunatic in the lobby of the House of Commons, before he was even fifty. On Goderich, Mr. Robinson, later the Earl of Ripon, Hazlitt pronounced a panegyric; that perhaps is his sole title to fame. He was dubbed 'prosperity Robinson', and Disraeli called him a transient and embarrassed phantom.

We come now to Liverpool. He was plain Mr. Jenkinson to begin with. He soon acquired so much political prestige that George III on several occasions pressed him in vain to accept the office of Prime Minister; and it was not until 1812 that he accepted it, but he had so carefully and wisely chosen his time that he continued to hold that office for 15 years, till 1827. It was about 1812 when Liverpool (who was originally known as Jenkinson) dined once with the famous Madame de Staël, that in course of conversation, she asked him: "What has become of that very stupid man, Mr. Jenkinson"?

The next Premier was Wellington. With a name richly treasured by the army, he entered politics. The world-victor's victor, whom Victoria's poet-laureate called 'great in council and great in war', was only 45 at Waterloo. By the time he accepted the Premiership, he had become an institution. But with his stubborn sense of loyalty to the throne he became Prime Minister, though he resigned in 1831 on the question of the Reforms. Immediately after his resignation he had to pass through a period of unpopularity, hardly less widespread and deep than his erstwhile glory. He was hanged in effigy; the windows of his house were broken by the mob. His watchword, throughout was,

"The Queen's Government must be supported"

The Duke was no speaker. Of his abilities as a soldier there is no question; yet he was a lover of peace. "A great country," he used to say, "ought not to make little wars". Another of his sayings was—in reference to diplomacy, "I have no time to do what is not right"—another variation of Wotton's famous definition of a diplomat. In addition to being a Duke, Prime Minister, Commander-in-Chief, Foreign Secretary of State, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, he was a prince in the Netherlands, a duke in France, Spain and Portugal, a marshal in seven European countries, and a Knight of 24 orders of Chivalry.

"O Civic Muse, to such a name,
To such a name, for ages long,
To such a name,
Preserve a broad approach of fame,
And ever-echoing avenues of song".

Canning was Pitt's political heir. He had started with Whig proclivities, but soon became Pitt's follower, thus giving rise to the following attack on him:

"The turning of coats so common has grown
That no one thinks now to attack it;
But never yet has an instance been known
Of a school boy turning his jacket".

He was a successful Foreign Secretary, but as Premier he had numerous obstacles, not the least serious of these being his failing health. He died in harness in 1827 after only a few months of office, four months to be exact. "Endowed with perhaps as great natural gifts and as keen an ambition as any Prime Minister, he held that office for the shortest time of them all".

Sir Robert Peel in 1805, at the age of 21, became under-secretary of State. With a brilliant double-first in classics and mathematics, at Oxford, like Gladstone after him, he began his career with high hopes. He rose from one office to another, till in 1828 he was appointed by Wellington Home Secretary and Leader of the Commons. It was then that he said, "How are we to get on with the thing? I have no small talk and Peel has no manners". That was unfair. Peel was doubtless shy and reserved; but the haughty exterior concealed a warm heart. He became Premier first in 1834. When in 1839 Melbourne resigned on the Jamaica question, and the Queen sent for Peel, the latter insisted on her dismissing her ladies of the Bedchamber, who

all belonged to political families of the opposite camp. The young Queen was obstinate and the negotiations came to nothing. But in 1841, on Melbourne's defeat on a direct 'no confidence' motion, Peel became Premier for a second time and his relations with the Queen soon became cordial. In 1846 he resigned on his defeat on the Irish Coercion Bill. His final words on the occasion were. "It may be that I shall leave a name sometimes remembered with expressions of goodwill in the abodes of those whose lot it is to labour and to earn their daily bread by the sweat of their brow, when they shall recruit their strength with abundant and untaxed food, the sweeter because it is no longer leavened with a sense of injustice".

Peel was not at the start a promising speaker. Disraeli, who pursued him with unrelenting vigilance while alive, said that what he really was, and what posterity will acknowledge him to be is the greatest member of Parliament that ever lived. Once when O'Connor had remarked in the House of Commons that he did not care whether the Queen or the Devil was on the throne, Peel drily replied, "when the honourable gentleman sees the sovereign of his choice on the throne of these realms, I hope he will enjoy and I am sure he will deserve the confidence of the Crown".

To Hallam, to the father of Gladstone, to Sir Moses Montefiore he offered baronetcies. To Wordsworth and Tennyson and Owen he gave pensions. Death prevented a similar favour to the wit Thomas Hood. "Dear Sir", wrote Hood, "we are not to meet in the flesh", and adds with pathetic pleasantry, "it is death that steps my pen, you see, not a pension".

His speeches, says Lord Rosebery, represent the best and most potent style of speaking of those days: grave, dignified, weighty, with the roll of phrase which conceals so many defects, and which in an argument acts as a permanent saving clause. There are no alarming flights, and no shivering falls; no torrents or cascades, but an ample flow, clear and strong and abiding. The same brilliant politician ends his fine estimate of Peel by saying, "For then, and now, and for all time, above and beyond that Government and the perished passions of the time, there looms the great figure of the great minister, with feet perhaps of clay as well as iron, but with a heart at least of silver, and a head of fine gold."

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Lord Grey and Lord John Russell were the last of the Whig Prime Ministers. The former will be remembered as the Minister who was responsible for the Reform Bill of 1831. They were followed by Lords Melbourne and Palmerstone. Lord Melbourne's wife, Lady Caroline Lamb had become infatuated with Byron and Melbourne's domestic life was far from happy. He began official life at the age of forty-eight, as Irish Secretary. When his name was proposed to George IV, the King said: "William Lamb—William Lamb; put him anywhere you like". He was twice Prime Minister, in 1834 for six months and again in 1835, for six years. His remarks used to be shrewd and cynical. "Most letters answer themselves." "What does he want now"? he asked about an importunate peer, "is it a garter for the other leg"? But with all his assumed carelessness, his patriotism was firm. When the young Queen was anxious for Prince Albert to be made King Consort, Melbourne bluntly told her: "For God's sake, let's have no more of it, ma'am; for if you once get the English into the way of making Kings, you will get them into the way of unmaking them." "You'd better try to do no good, and then you'll get into no scrapes", was one of his dictums. Mr. Lytton Strachey thus describes Melbourne: "The man of the world who had been the friend of Byron and the Regent, the talker whose paradoxes had held Holland House enthralled, the cynic whose ribaldries had enlivened so many deep potations, the lover whose soft words had captivated such beauty and such passion and such wit, might now be seen, evening after evening, talking with infinite politeness to a school girl, bolt upright, amid the silence and rigidity of Court Etiquette Bound to succeed and to succeed easily, Melbourne was gifted with so fine a nature that success became him. His mind at once supple and copious, his temperament at once calm and sensitive, enabled him not merely to work but to live with perfect facility and with the grace of strength".

Lord Palmerston, to whom we come next had an exceedingly distinguished career. In 1809, when only twenty-five years old, he was offered the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, but with a modesty rare in a youth, he declined the offer and became Secretary for War. He was one of the greatest Foreign Ministers that England ever had. He did not care much for the rules of Cabinet Unity. Victoria frequently complained that letters were often sent to foreign monarchs

in her name, without her knowledge of their contents. "When he became Prime Minister", says Lord Morley, "Palmerston was 71; he had been nearly forty years in office; he had worked at the Admiralty, War department, Foreign Office, Home Office; he had served under ten Prime Ministers—Portland, Perceval, Liverpool, Canning, Goderich, Wellington, Grey, Melbourne, Russell, Aberdeen In every art of parliamentary sleight of hand he was an expert, and he suited the temper of the times". Mr. Gladstone declared Lord Palmerston's handwriting to be one of the two most perfect things he had ever known. G. W. Russell says that Palmerston's style was not only devoid of ornaments and rhetorical device, but it was slipshod and untidy in the last degree. He eked out his sentences with 'Hum' and 'Hah', he cleared his throat, and flourished his pocket handkerchief, and sucked his orange; he rounded his periods with "You know what I mean", and "all that kind of thing", and seemed actually to revel in an anticlimax such as this: "I think the honourable member's proposal an outrageous violation of constitutional propriety, a daring departure from traditional policy, and in short a great mistake".

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Of Aberdeen and Derby, there is not much to be said here, except that the former was Peel's most trusted lieutenant and that the latter drafted the Queen's Indian Proclamation of 1858. It is now one of the most striking personalities of the last century to whom we come. How was it that a Jew from an undistinguished family, who early incurred the wraths of Peel and O'Connell, who was not shown even the courtesy extended to members of parliament making their maiden speech, whose dress violated all the canons of convention, whose gestures were absurdly theatrical, who was distrusted by his own party and hated by his opponents, rose yet to the highest position in the state, was twice Prime Minister, was the favourite minister of the Queen and the saviour of the Tory party? Lord Morley speaks of his real size and spaciousness of character; Mr. Buckle, his biographer, describes him as a grand and magnificent figure, towering above his contemporaries; Froude says the House of Commons chose him as their best; and Mr. T. P. O'Connor insists that his sole absorbing thought was himself, and asks in conclusion, "which shall posterity most wonder at

—the audacity of the impostor, or the blindness of the dupe”?

“We were none of us fools”, said one of his early contemporaries, “and each man talked his best; but we all agreed that the cleverest fellow in the party was the Young Jew in the green velvet trousers”. Disraeli was a great phrase-maker. Phrases like ‘organised hypocrisy; plundering and blundering; tea-kettle precedents; mass in masquerade; the key of India is London; historical conscience; the power of spontaneous aversion’—these phrases live. He had a great mastery over sarcasm. Thus, of Lowe he said, “He is a learned man, though he despises history; but what is more remarkable than his learning is that power of spontaneous aversion which particularises him”. Referring to Halifax he said, “Petulance is not sarcasm and insolence is not invective”. Gladstone he described as a “sophisticated rhetorician inebriated with the exuberance of his own verbosity”. Of Gladstone’s first ministry he said, “Her Majesty’s Ministers have lived in a blaze of apology”.

As a speaker he was not probably very great. He did not possess the commanding personality and penetrating gaze of Chatham, the stateliness and dignity of Pitt, the generous and moving force of Fox; he lacked also the sonorous periods of Canning, the thundering invective of Brougham, the moral fervour of Gladstone. He was deficient in the power of swaying the mind of the audience as he chose; the charm of figure or the attraction of personality were not his. And yet towards the closing years of his life, all England with a mute observance hung on his utterances. He justified his boyish boast that when he should raise his voice in the House of Commons, a dropped pin might be heard, and his speeches are literature of a high order. And then what shall we say of the minor arts of the rhetorician, of irony; of a sense of humour, as when in the Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford he gravely asked the assembled dons, ‘The question is this, is man an ape or an angel? I am on the side of the angels’; of repartee, in which he was as great as Gladstone of whom it was said by Aberdeen that he was terrible on the rebound; of pungent sarcasm; of exaggerated politeness; of freezing indifference?

Late in life, Disraeli said to Mathew Arnold, “You have heard me called a flatterer, and it is true. Every man likes flattery, and when you come to Royalty you should lay it on with a

trowel.” His decline was rapid. He had reached the highest pinnacle of success, but his health began to fail. A visitor at his home about this time found him gazing into the fire, and murmuring, “Dreams, dreams.” Was he thinking of his recent bereavements, or the short transitory tenure of worldly fame which as the great Florentine says is like the breath of wind that blows now one way and now another way, and changes name as it changes quarter? Forty years after his departure from the scene of his fevered activities, when the Primrose League is dead and anti-Disraelism has disappeared, let us remember the words of his great life-long rival who commended Disraeli’s strength of will, his long-sighted persistency of purpose, his remarkable powers of self-government, his great parliamentary courage.

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Of Mr. Gladstone a great deal has been written. He entered Parliament at the age of twenty-three and won from Macaulay the well-known and oft-repeated designation of ‘the rising hope of the stern and unbending Tories.’ He was one of the most successful Chancellors of the Exchequer and he was said to have made dry figures illuminating. He had the unique distinction also of being four times Prime Minister. As early as 1839 Macaulay wrote a sketch of Gladstone which faithfully represents what he was then and continued to be for many years. “His mind,” he said, “is of a large grasp, nor is he deficient in dialectical skill. But he does not give his intellect free play. There is no want of light, but a great want of what Bacon would have called dry light..... His rhetoric, though often good of its kind, darkens and perplexes the logic which it should illustrate. Half his acuteness and diligence, with a barren imagination and a scanty vocabulary, would have saved him from almost half his mistakes. He has one gift most dangerous to a speculator—a vast command of a kind of knowledge, grave and majestic but of vague and uncertain import.” Gladstone’s biographer describes his brilliancy, charm and power; the endless surprises; his dualism or more than dualism; his subtlety of mental progress; his striking unlikeliness to other national leaders. He was a spirit of action, affairs, excitement; he was supreme in the details of national finance; master of the parliamentary arts.

Lord Randolph Churchill did him an injustice by calling him an old man in a hurry; what

hurried Gladstone was his keen and high sense of public duty. It was said of him that he so lived and wrought that he had kept the soul of England alive. He was a powerful speaker, though his speeches have been condemned as sentiment rather than politics, as sophistry rather than sound reason, as illusory enchantment, not solid and subsisting truth. But what lent weight to his utterances was the consciousness of the people that "it was the orator of concrete detail, of inductive instances, of energetic object..... So he bore his hearers through long chains of strenuous periods, calling up by the marvellous transformations of his mien a strange succession of images—as if he were now a keen hunter, now some eager bird of prey, now a charioteer of fiery steeds kept well in hand, and now and again they seemed to hear the pity or dark wrath of a prophet, with the mighty rushing wind and the fire running along the ground."

In 1897, at the age of ninety, after about sixty-five years of active political life, Gladstone died. On May 28, the coffin, preceded by the two Houses of Parliament, and escorted by the chief magnates of the realm, was carried from Westminster Hall to Westminster Abbey. The Heir-Apparent to the throne, the Prime Minister, and the Leader of the House of Commons were among the pall-bearers.

His voice is silent in your Council-hall
For ever; and, whatever tempests lour,
For ever silent, even if they broke
In thunder, silent; yet remember all
He spoke among you, and the man who spoke;
Who never sold the truth to save the hour,
Nor paltered with Eternal God for power.

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hurried Gladstone was his keen and high sense of public duty. It was said of him that he so lived and wrought that he had kept the soul of England alive. He was a powerful speaker, though his speeches have been condemned as sentiment rather than politics, as sophistry rather than sound reason, as illusory enchantment, not solid and subsisting truth. But what lent weight to his utterances was the consciousness of the people that "it was the orator of concrete detail, of inductive instances, of energetic object So he bore his hearers through long chains of strenuous periods, calling up by the marvellous transformations of his mien a strange succession of images—as if he were now a keen hunter, now some eager bird of prey, now a charioteer of fiery steeds kept well in hand, and now and again they seemed to hear the pity or dark wrath of a prophet, with the mighty rushing wind and the fire running along the ground."

In 1897, at the age of ninety, after about sixty-five years of active political life, Gladstone died. On May 28, the coffin, preceded by the two Houses of Parliament, and escorted by the chief magnates of the realm, was carried from Westminster Hall to Westminster Abbey. The Heir-Apparent to the throne, the Prime Minister, and the Leader of the House of Commons were among the pall-bearers.

His voice is silent in your Council-hall
For ever; and, whatever tempests lour,
For ever silent; even if they broke
In thunder, silent; yet remember all
He spoke among you, and the man who spoke;
Who never sold the truth to save the hour,
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us could have done, I think, but when the charge is over, and some have fallen and some are in hospital, the drummer would be rather out of place in a hospital, unless his drumsticks were taken from him. I think there is some truth in that if you give it consideration (Hear, hear.) I suppose you have heard the story which rather illustrates it. It is a very old one. A Highland soldier was in hospital. He was in the last stages of exhaustion. His nurse deeply sympathized with him. As she bent over him, he whispered 'If I could only hear the pipes.' The nurse had a warm heart. Without getting permission, she brought a piper into the room who played his entrancing music. The patient fully recovered. Every other patient in the hospital died.'

Now we come to Mr. Bonar Law. He became the Leader of the Conservatives in 1912 because Mr. Walter Long and Mr. Austen Chamberlain could not decide which of them should be the leader and so a third man was chosen who was, to use a vulgarism, a dark horse. In the midst of the Coal Crisis of that year, the House, grave and perplexed, was in a sombre mood. Then, describes A. G. G. "suddenly there rolled over the packed benches a thunder of delighted cheering. It swept the Liberal ranks; it swept the Tories. Labour and Irish were caught in the wave. The note was new and perplexing. It was not merely its unanimity; it seemed charged with emotions outside the drama of politics. It was as though the House had suddenly seen a vision. I looked down, Mr. Balfour was emerging from behind the speaker's chair and passing along the front opposition Bench to a seat beside—Mr. Bonar Law. It was his first appearance since his abdication of the leadership. And in the shout that welcomed him there was not merely the joy of the House at the return to the stage of the well-graced actor; there was also its comment on the successor. It was a merciless, a scornful comment on the one side; a comment of humiliation and apology on the other."

Mr. Bonar Law has been described as a good second. But as Prime Minister he showed qualities of fluency, orderly progression, businesslike exactness, and an unaffected sincerity. His early indiscretions made a member of Mr. Asquith's Cabinet say: "We dig our graves afresh every week; but Mr. Bonar Law fills it up before we can get into it." These indiscretions almost completely disappeared with mellowing

years, and though marked by no brilliance, his term of office has by no means been unsuccessful. Every one will regret the reasons that brought about his resignation after one of the shortest ministeries in English history.

Of the new Prime Minister, much cannot, for obvious reasons, be said here. His rise has been phenomenal and is partly due to the secession of Mr. Austen Chamberlain and Lord Birkenhead and to Lord Curzon being in the Upper House. It is to the lasting credit of the Marquess Curzon that he should have agreed to serve under his younger colleague. "T.P." in a recent sketch thus describes Mr. Baldwin: "You cannot imagine him in a passion either of temper or of words. He has not a particle of the love of the limelight or of the command of picturesque language which makes for dramatic scenes and presents one as the centre of enthusiastic plaudits from an intoxicated crowd." It is a point more curious than important that a large number of these Prime Ministers have had some connection with India. Pitt's grandfather had been Governor of Madras; Shelburne's grandson was Viceroy of India; Pitt himself introduced an India Bill; George Canning was appointed President of the Board of Control and six years later accepted the Governor-Generalship of India, but his appointment as Foreign Secretary stood in the way. His son was the first Indian Viceroy. Goderich was appointed by Peel, President of India Board and his son the Marquis of Ripon was an Indian Viceroy. Wellington served in India as Sir Aurther Wellesley and his brother the Marquis of Wellesley was Governor-General. Sir Robert Peel's grandson is the present Secretary of State for India. During Liverpool's long administration, Palmerston was offered one of the Governorships, with the eventual promise of the Viceroyalty; once again in 1827 the post was offered to him. The Earl of Derby drafted Victoria's Proclamation. In his second ministry, Disraeli announced the Queen's title of Empress of India. Lord Salisbury in 1865 became Secretary of State for India and again in 1874. Gladstone's son was a successful businessman in Calcutta, Mr. Lloyd George's daughter is in India.

Between them these Prime Ministers have led fifty-four ministeries one (Gladstone) being four times, two (Derby and Salisbury) three times,

and nine twice at the head of affairs. Of these thirty-eight, six have been Scotsmen, three Irishmen, one Welsh and one of foreign extraction. The letters P or G begin either the names or the titles of half of their number. Seventeen were at Eton, five at Harrow, four at Westminster, one at Winchester, one at Charterhouse and one at St. Paul's. Seventeen went to Oxford, fourteen to Cambridge and one to Edinburgh. Only eight had any other profession than that of politics. Four fought a duel. Three had been Speakers of the House of Commons. Several have seriously diminished their fortunes by their tenure of office—Walpole, Newcastle, Portland, Perceval, Russell and Mr. Asquith. A few have had their debts posthumously paid by Parliament. These are some of the interesting facts that we glean from a rapid survey over the careers of the Prime Ministers.

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Men in great place, says Bacon, are thrice servants—servants of the sovereign, servants of fame, and servants of business; and he accords them the first degree of honour among subjects, as *participes curarum*, those upon whom princes do discharge the greatest weight of their affairs. With this Milton agrees. "Whosoever in a

state", he says, "knows how wisely to form the manners of men and to rule them at home and in war with excellent institutes, him in the first place, above others, I should esteem worthy of all honour".

Mr. Bigham had a difficult, but exceedingly interesting task to perform, and it is due to him to say that he has performed it very well. His book does not pretend to be a historical or learned work; it is intended for that insignificant, but all-powerful person, 'the general reader'. The general reader will go through the pages of this book with his curiosity sharpened and he may be sure of learning a great many things attractively expressed. Even forgotten worthies like Lataret and Robinson acquire, in the deft hands of Mr. Bigham, an interest which the model history text-books fail to arouse. There are occasionally lapses in the book, slight evidences of haste, but the whole volume is written with singular detachment from party prejudice and with a sole view to truth; all this must have involved considerable study and industry. The author deserves to be warmly congratulated on the success which has attended his efforts.

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INDIAN MUSIC.

By MR. M. S. RAMASWAMI AIYER, B.A., B.L., L.T.

II*

Origin and Function of Music.

1. Ornament precedes utility. So, in Music, rhythm precedes tune whereof the former is an ornament. The clapping of hands and the stamping of feet in marking rhythm exemplify the first element of response to music; and the large family of drums, cymbals, and bells in Europe as well as *mridangam*, *tabla*, *dholak*, *kinjra*, *jāra*, *moresing* and *sorabath* in India—is

but an illustration of the same principle. Untutored ears are quicker to perceive rhythmical accentuation than variations of tune. Hence the ordinary theatrical music based on rhythm is more popular, and catches the street-Arab imagination better, than the classical music based on tune.

2. The origin of music lies deeper. Prose talk, Prose chant, Verse chant and Lyrical song were never distinct from, but ever tended to shade with, one another. Nay, human speech passed into all the four states between which the only line of demarcation was the degree of

*Part I appeared in our April issue.

emotion. In war, some set phrases were singled out from common talk; in funerals, some other phrases rose into prominence; in hunting, the hunter's emotion took a poetical form which they chanted; and in story-telling, the meaningless chorus asserted itself; and also in love-making, metaphors came to be freely employed. From these small beginnings, there emerged a distinct stage when orations or highly emotional speeches came to be delivered. These orations will be found, on careful examination, to have grown out of simple talking,—ordinary speech which has a rise and fall in pitch; which distinguishes by intonation questions from answers; touches emphatic words with a peculiar accent; and forms thus a phase of music which may be roughly written down in notes. The more emotional a language is, the more musical it becomes. Compare, for instance, the emotional language of Andradesa with the monotonous one of the Nilgiri Hills. If even simple talking has its own rise and fall in pitch, the emotional speech of a trained orator is invariably accompanied by exalted tones and cadences.

3. "Just as," observed Herbert Spencer,[†] "from the orations expressed in the metaphorical and allegorical style natural to them, there sprang Epic Poetry, out of which Lyric Poetry was afterwards developed; so, from the exalted tones and cadences in which orations were delivered, there came the Chant or Recitative Music, from which Lyrical Music has since grown up. The parallelism lies not only in genesis but also in results. For, lyrical poetry differs from epic poetry, just as lyrical music differs from recitative music. Each still further intensifies the natural language of emotions. Lyrical poetry is more metaphorical, more hyperbolic, more elliptical, and adds rhythm of lines to the rhythm of feet. So lyrical music is louder, more sonorous, more extreme in its intervals, and adds the rhythm of phrases to the rhythm of bars. And the known fact, that out of epic poetry stronger passions developed lyrical poetry, strengthens the inference that they similarly developed lyrical music out of recitative."

4. This theory of Herbert Spencer had been already anticipated by our ancestors, inasmuch as they classified Music into two broad divisions, viz., Margi and Desi. Text-Book writers have defined "Margi" to be what was sought for by

Brahma and practised by Bharatha and "Desi" to be what varies according to the tastes of the people of various countries, tending to the gratification of the sense of hearing. Again, Margi is said to be भवभञ्जन 'Destroyer of Births' and Desi जनरञ्जन 'that which pleases the people'. The former represents the old style, while the latter, the new style. But wherein lies the vital point of difference between the two styles of singing? Mathanga answers: Margi is Nibadha (set in and bound by words) and Desi is Anibadha (free from words). This exactly is the difference between Recitative Music and Lyrical Music.

5. Sâmagânam is Margi or Recitative Music. The whole of Ramayanam was sung by Kusa and Lava so excellently that all the ascetics who heard the music were seized with surprise and, their eyes flooded with tears, exclaimed:

अहो गीतस्य माधुर्यं श्रुत्वा नां च विशेषतः

"Ah! what charming music! What sweet verses!" What kind of music could it have been but the same Margi or Recitative Music? Have you at any time heard 'Ramayana Sastri's' expounding to their eager audience the whole poem or a part thereof, in a subdued chant? That, again, is Recitative Music. Have you noted that Harikatha Performers first make speeches, then slowly take their audience to vrithas (verses) and then to avatharikas (introductory) which would imperceptibly develop into full-fledged songs? That exactly is the way in which music grew stage by stage.

6. I shall not be far from being true, if I state that the fundamental basis of music lies in the God-given power of talking,* and that the origin of music lies in the power of talking coming in contact with the unfolding of Emotion, centred in the heart of man. The stages along which talking developed into singing are: Talking, Speech, Emotional speech, Recitative Music and Lyrical Music. This Lyrical Music developed itself, on the introduction of reformed scales, by leaps and bounds, into a full-blown Musical system of the modern times.

7. The function of music is manifold. If properly handled, it is not incapable of even superhuman achievements. Did not, with sweet music, Hanuman† melt the rocks and Muthuswami Dikshithar‡ force the clouds to

*For, it is a truism that whoever can talk can sing.

†Hanuman sang Raga Gundakriya.

‡Dikshithar sang Amrithavarshini.

†In his *Origin and Function of Music*.

And Music's power obey''?

मङ्गला यत् गायन्ति तत् तिष्ठामि नारद ॥

music; the enraged cobra forgets its instinct on hearing the music of the charmer; and the beasts of the forests, living upon the grass and wandering about the forest, give up their lives on listening to the music of the hunter." Bharthruhari, like Shakespeare, vented his indignation on unmusical beings thus:

"An unmusical man is a veritable beast *minus* tail and horns."^a

Sir T. Muthuswamier observed that the influence of music was considerable and that, even in moments of despondency, its power would raise the drooping spirits. Finally, my esteemed friend Mr. T. Lakshmana Pillay described the power of music in his own characteristic way: "What is the language in which the sprightly bird, forlorn on the sighing bough, communicated its charming love to its mate on the opposite bough! It is Music. Music is part of the charm of the ocean and of the grandeur of the thunder-clap. It is the medium whereby starving beggar often enlists the sympathy of many a stone-hearted donor. It is the balsam which soothes the arduous workman's spirit. The rower, the ploughman, the bandyman, the carrier, the dollyman, the shepherd,—all fly to this mother of charms for stimulation and relief of the monotony of their labour."

10. Anecdotes to illustrate the varied effect of music are only too many. First, as regards its medicinal effect, Martinus Capella assures us that fevers were removed by songs. Plutarch says that Thelates, the Cretan, delivered the Lacedaemonians from pestilence by the sweetness of his lyre. Mr. Bianchini certifies he has witnessed many instances wherein music has been applied with great effect in cases of acute and chronic diseases. Dr. Cox relates a case of the power of music on insanity, where great benefit was obtained in the cure of a soldier by the music of a fife. Burton, in his *Anatomy of Melancholy*, says no remedy is so powerful for melancholy as music and merry company. Hence Farinelli? (1705-1782), who cured King Philip of Spain of his melancholy, was retained by the king at the highest salary ever paid to a musician, viz., 50,000 francs a year. Plato remarks that the effect of music on the mind is like that of the air on the body. In the History of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris for 1707, a remarkable case is related. A famous

musician was seized with fever, accompanied with alarming paroxysms. On the seventh day he fell into a delirium and shrieked. Then, one of those natural instincts, which are commonly said to prompt animals in distress to seek for those herbs that are proper for their case, made him desirous of hearing a small concert in his chamber. No sooner had the sweet music touched him than his countenance assumed an air of sweetness and serenity, his eyes became calm and his convulsions ceased entirely. He shed tears of joy and was free from the fever during the time the music lasted. But at the end of the concert he lapsed into his former state. So the music had to be repeated for ten days till he was completely cured. Even a layman like Sir William Jones observes in his *Musical Modes of the Hindoos*: "After food, when the operations of digestion and absorption give so much employment to the vessels that a temporary state of mental repose must be found, especially in hot climates, essential to health it seems reasonable to believe that a few agreeable airs, either heard or played without effort, must have all the good effects of sleep and put the soul in tune for any subsequent exertion." Hence it was that Sir Thomas More prescribed, in his *Utopia*,^b music as an appendix to every meal; and Epictetus called a table without music a manger. Hence again it is that our Indian Princes have, from time immemorial, been treated to music, at the time of—or immediately after—meals.

11. Secondly, as regards the effect of music on action, an old officer who served under the Duke of Marlborough was so timid as to show the utmost reluctance to an engagement, until he heard the drums and trumpets when his spirits were raised to such a degree that he became very ardent to be engaged with the enemy. Tyrtens, the Spartan poet, by his music sung to the accompaniment of flutes, so inflamed the courage of his countrymen that they achieved a great victory over the Messinians to whom they had submitted in several previous conflicts. Timotheus, by touching his lyre with his flying fingers, ravished the ears of Alexander so as to make him 'assume the god, affect to nod and seem to shake the very spheres'. The late Mr. Varadachari, a very good graduate musician, told me that he had been once waylaid by a gang of highway robbers, from whose hands he gracefully extricated himself by feasting their

* साहित्यसंगीत कलाविहीनः, मानवशुः पुच्छविषाणह्वीनः

^a Cf. *Etude*

ears with a good set of Nandana's Kirthanams. I cannot leave this portion of the subject without referring to Govinda Marar's music. When, before Thiagaraja, Marar quickened the degree, "the hearers forgot they were on the earth. Some went in trance and some went to dance. Some felt transported to the region of mystery and other perceived the moral value of their lives raised. Some, again, felt the thrill of battle and others thought they were initiated into the serenity of meditation. While thus their ears fed on rich ambrosia, tears flowed down their cheeks."*

12. Thirdly, as regards the effect of music on animals. A Captain of the regiment of Navarre was once confined into a prison-house for having spoken too freely of Louvois, the French Minister. The Captain begged leave of the Governor to send for his lute to soften his confinement. After four days' playing he was greatly astonished to see the mice come out of their holes and the spiders descend from their webs and form a circle around him, as if to listen to his music with greater attention. He dropped his lute and they ran away. He played it again and they appeared. Every day they increased in number till they reached 100. A cat was let in. But even the cat was all attention to music. Sir John Hawkins confirms the truth of this story. It is a well-attested fact that, when a house is infested with snakes, musicians are sent for who, by playing on a flageolet, find out their hiding places and charm them to destruction. If a milkmaid sings when milking, the cow—they say—would yield one-fifth more quantity of milk than usual. The minstrel Saga was once sailing with some merchants of Broach. "Sing a song, please," said a merchant. The minstrel replied: "I shall have no objection to sing; but I fear the fish will be so excited that our vessel may be wrecked." All the merchants exclaimed: "Fish! no mortal's song can disturb them; sing on." Whereupon the minstrel tuned his lute and sang; when lo! the fish became all maddened: and one monster jumped into the boat and broke it in twain. Again, two wild antelopes, it is said, used often to come to the place where Sirja-ud-daulah entertained himself with concerts, till they were mercilessly shot down by that wilder Nabob. Further again, when a celebrated lutanist, Bulbul, was playing to a large company in a grove near Shiraz, some

nightingales tried to vie with the musician, sometimes warbling on the trees, sometimes fluttering from branch to branch, as if they wished to approach the instruments whence the melody proceeded, and at length dropped on the ground in a kind of ecstasy, from which they were soon raised by a change of the mode.

13. Fourthly, as regards the effect of music on religion. Music and religion are so intertwined with each other that you cannot accept the one and reject the other. Starve music and forthwith goes religion to rot. Starve religion and forthwith goes music to rot. Starve both and forthwith man degenerates into despicable two-legged thing and a lump of flesh fit only to be burnt. Thiagaraja put a weighty question in his admirable snatch, *Mokshamugalada*: "Can there be 'moksha' or salvation for an unmusical being?" Here, no less a personage than Yangavalkya backed up Thiagaraja by giving a ruling, in his *Smṛithi*, on the point thus:

वीणावादनतः पुनः श्रुतिं जातिं विशारदः ।

तालजज्ञाप्रयासेन मोक्षमार्गं गच्छति ॥ †

In another snatch, '*Sangithashāsthrāgnanam*,' Thiagaraja gave us a rationale for his query, viz., "the knowledge of the science of music yields the joy of Sarupya."

14. But what is Sarupya? As four important milestones of salvation, our sacred works have marked Salokya, Samipya, Sarupya, and Sayujya. The smaller souls, Jivatmas, after a very long and even tiresome course of slow evolution, acquire ability to have a happy glimpse of the Great Soul, Paramatma, though from a distance. This is the first stage, called Salokya. By a further process of evolution they are able to approach nearer to the Great Soul, till at last they find themselves side by side with Him. This is the second stage called Samipya. By a still further process of evolution, they learn to shed their peculiar shapes and angularities and assume the same 'rupa' or form as that of the Great Soul. This is the third stage called Sarupya. Because of the sameness of rupa, now reached, the Jivatmas and the Parmatma find it very easy to merge in, or unite with, each other, as fire with fire, or air with air, or water with water. When they thus do effect the union, the Jivatmas are deemed

*See my *Life of Thiagaraja*.

†Whoever knows the secrets of Vīṇa play, whoever is an adept in the matter of Sṛutis, and whoever is well-versed in Tālā; easily does he get into the way of Moksha.

to have attained the fourth and last sage, called Sayujya.*

15. Now, a question arises as to what is the 'rupa' or form of the Great Soul which the smaller souls must assume before merging in it. Our philosophy begins with a premise that God is sound and He is Nada. Compare—

- (1) The Vedic Authority—"शब्दनिष्ठं जगत्."
- (2) The Biblical Authority—"In the beginning was the Word: and the Word was with God; and the Word was God."
- (3) Thiagaraja's Chitharanjani song—
"नादतनुमनिष्ठं."
- (4) Tagore's Gitanjali—"O! God! I know that only as a singer I come before thy presence."
- (5) Sri Sankaracharyar's Sivanandalahari
"साक्ष्यं तव पूजने शिवमहादेवे संकीर्तने"
- (6) Sarangadev's Sangitharatnakara
"वन्देनाद तनुं तमुद्गुर जगद्गीतं मुदे शंकरम्"

16. Hence the smaller souls which are to mix themselves with the Great Soul to attain salvation must, as a Condition Precedent, assume the same form of Sound as that of the Great Soul. In other words, music is a necessary and indispensable *sine qua non* to every blessed individual smaller soul which must therefore possess or acquire a reasonable degree of susceptibility thereto. All need not sing but shall hear singing. Otherwise there is no salvation. Hence it was that Thiagaraja instinctively sang Mokshamugalada. Ragasudharasa speaks of music as capable of giving its votary all the fruits of Yaga, Yoga, Thiaga and Bhoga. "Anandasagaramu" blackmarks all unmusical beings as so many burdens to the earth. And 'Eudukupeddala' lays down a curriculum of studies and includes Music therein.†

17. The place and function of music in a well-ordered system of education has now to be considered. "Education in music," said Plato, "is of the greatest importance, because the measure and harmony enter in the strongest manner into the inward part of the soul. The

man who has been here educated, as he ought, perceives in the quickest manner whatever workmanship is defective and whatever execution is unhandsome or whatever productions are of that kind; and being disgusted in a proper manner, he will praise what is beautiful, rejoicing in it and receiving it into his soul, be nourished by it and become a worthy and good man. Education in music is for the sake of such things as these." You may perhaps know that music was, among the Greeks and ancient Indians, quite the first means of education, as it ought to be. The reason a great poet has given: "Just as water can enable a seed only to grow but not to change its own nature: so Vidya can only develop the character, good or bad, as it finds, but not to change its nature."‡ Here, 'Vidya' is used in the narrowest sense of instruction. Evidently the poet wants to emphasise the truth that character is more important than instruction. What is character but well-regulated Emotion? And what is music but an excellent regulator of Emotion? Indeed the end and aim of music is the Discipline of Emotion. What ruins life? What mars happiness? What destroys manliness? What sullies womanhood? The common answer is 'Ill-regulated Emotion.' Take, then, Music as the great organ of emotional discipline, of emotional culture, and in fact of character-development. Hence it is that music ought to be the first and foremost subject of teaching in a well-arranged curriculum of studies.

18. Mr. H. B. Krishna Rao comes to the same conclusion in another way. "Man comes out of his mother's womb," he writes in his *Psychology of Music*, "with the sound-language: and he cries for milk, for sleep and for comfort. As months elapse, the baby learns to express its feelings and thoughts by means of the sign-language. As months further elapse, it learns to employ the word-language. It should be noted that the 'sound-language' originates from instinct, the 'sign-language' from instinct and reason, and the 'word-language' mainly from reason. The course of education, which is but a passage from instinct to reason, must be so adjusted as to develop the three kinds of the above-mentioned 'language,' in the order in which they manifest

*Kalpura-Dipradana or Camphor-burning is intended to illustrate, and daily bring home to the mind of the masses, the vital truth of this ancient theory. The camphor is the Jivatma and the agni is Paramatma. When both meet, the camphor sheds its own form and becomes one with agni; and then both disappear.

†See my *Life of Thiagaraja*

‡ सहजं माधुवासाधु शीलं विद्या विवर्धयेत् ।

अश्वमा पथते वीजं तद्गुणा न विकुर्वते ॥

themselves in the growth of a child." The sound-language (music) wherewith the baby enters the world must be the medium of instruction in the early part of its life. Then, the sign-language, the chief feature whereof is the graceful movement of all the limbs in all possible directions, ought to follow in its manifold divisions of dancing, drawing, swimming, games, athletics, kindergarten methods of teaching without the encumbrance of books, in which may be included even manual labour and vocational training. It is again this truth Dr. Rabindranath Tagore wants to inculcate, amidst other things, in his *Post Office*, wherein the poet wants every one of us to act the part of a postman and deliver God's message to every one of our fellowmen and vindicate His ways to man. The prosperous father, Madhav, says: "It would have been my saving, if I should have been *learned*." The spotless son, Amal, replies: "No: I don't want to be *learned*; I won't. I would rather go about and *see everything that there is*." Here the poet wants to emphasise the importance of the *sign-language* over and above the *word-language*, which, aiming at training the intellect, must be the last of the three means of instruction that should be utilised.

19. The first two branches, *viz.*, music and vocational training develop a sound body, wherein a sound mind, cultivated by intellectual studies, finds a very comfortable home. Specialisation in a particular branch may follow later on. But it is suggested that, for the majority of students, a happy co-ordination of all the three branches—such as it was in Nalanda—is commendable. "Ten thousand students," wrote Heouen Tsang, "studied in the University of Nalanda in Behar and received *gratis* education in Grammar, Rhetoric, Logic, Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy, Kalais, and (mark!) Music".

20. Herbert Spencer drives his readers to the self-same conclusion. The educational mania having, for its catchword, enlightenment, information and instruction, tends—according to him—to emphasise the erroneous identification of mind with intellect. This vitiates the purpose of Art and undervalues the emotional aspect in mind. The poet's office is misrepresented to be the communication of ideas, not the arousing of emotions. So the Editor of the *Studio* remarked that even a picture must *teach* something and there is no use in its raising

a pleasurable emotion. Music too is now coming to be more and more regarded as an intellectual exercise. The avowed theory of Wagner was that the purpose of music was to teach and he held certain conceptions of life and considered his operas as vehicles for those conceptions and as agents for propagating them. Music critics often applaud 'scientific' performances as being meritorious, not in respect of the emotions they aroused, but as appealing to the cultured intelligence of the audience. These errors are due to the ignorance of the constitution of the mind. In music, the intellect is the minister and the emotions are the things ministered to. By educating the intellect and neglecting the Emotions, you educate the servant and keep the master an ignoramus. Hence the importance of the discipline of Emotions as well as their disciplinarian, Music.

21. It is thus as clear as broad daylight that music should be the very first and foremost subject of instruction in a well-ordered system of education and that gymnastics and vocational training the next. Last of all comes the intellectual studies based upon books. Don't you see that the order in the modern system of education in India is turned upside down. Intellectual studies form the be-all and end-all of your educational career. Gymnastics are resorted to with a step-motherly affection only to satisfy the Inspector. Vocational training is now in the region of discussion. But music has been consigned to the limbo of oblivion. The result is that the progress of the students is exactly like that of rats in a revolving cage, moving and moving and yet remaining in the same place.

22. You may perhaps confront me with the usual stock-argument that the State-interference in matters like this is mischievous and that the development of music must be left to take its chance. So the English left their music and theatre to take their chances. See now with what a deep pathos Mathew Arnold exclaimed: "Instead of devising a better plan of public organisation for the English theatre, the English gladly took refuge in their favourite doctrines of the mischief of State-interference, of the blessedness of leaving every man free to do as he likes, of the impertinence of presuming to check any man's natural taste for the bathos and pressing him to relish the sublime. The people left the

English theatre to take its chance. Its present impotence is the result."

23. Hence, my advice to you regarding Indian Music is the same as that of Mathew Arnold regarding the English theatre: "Believe

that the State, the nation in its collective and corporate character, does well to concern itself about an influence so important to national life and manners."

(to be continued)

A PILGRIM AND A MISSION.

By MRS. INA SALOME DELO.

What may well be termed a challenge to the world workers for sobriety was the recent world's alcoholic convention held in Brussels, Belgium. Their avowed intention is to wage such a war in behalf of their evil cause that the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Law in America will be overthrown. They realize that the Land of the Free is now the leader of the world in the great cause of Prohibition and that a failure of this policy will wreck the hopes of those now laboring for a dry world.

This challenge was met and answered by that great convention of the World League Against Alcoholism, held in the city of Toronto, Canada, November 24—29, 1922. Delegates from sixty-six nations; representatives from each of the forty-eight states of our Union and a great multitude of visitors brought together such a vast assemblage that the greatest hall in Toronto would not contain it, overflow meetings being held in various parts of the city daily. Flags of fifty nations floating from the balcony railings of Massey Hall was an inspiring sight; and the daily roll call of nations formed a dramatic incident of this unparalleled meeting. Here indeed was a League of Nations for righteousness and sobriety, the like of which has never before been witnessed, the significance of whose deliberations no one can foretell.

The mingling in a spirit of hearty good fellowship of these one thousand, one hundred and eleven delegates and thousands of visitors, presaged the fulfilment of the prophecy:

"If I knew you and you knew me—
If both of us could plainly see,

And with an inner light divine
The meaning of your heart and mine,
I'm sure that we would differ less
And clasp our hands in friendliness;
Our thoughts would pleasantly agree
If I knew you and you knew me!"

That the thoughts of these world-wide delegates did "pleasantly agree" gave evidence that no longer is any part of the world living in isolation. Not only is the world being bound together by the Seven Wonders of Modern Times, but hearts of men and women the world around are beating more in unison to-day than ever before. It has been aptly said: "Our important organizations are international. Our commerce is international. Our science and art and music are international. COMMERCIALIZED VICE IS INTERNATIONAL."

The *American Issue*, official organ of the Anti-Saloon League of America, points out that "No Nation, this day and age, liveth unto itself. Just as state-wide prohibition became a necessity in order to properly enforce village, township and county prohibition; and just as National Prohibition was essential to protect the states in the enforcement of their state-wide Prohibition Laws; so to-day successful and complete enforcement of National Prohibition in America is dependent upon the co-operation of other nations."

It was to outline plans for an aggressive campaign against the world-wide vice of intemperance, that many of these delegates journeyed from the far places of the earth. One such was Mr. Tarini Prasad Sinha, author, lecturer and

associate of Mr. "Pussyfoot" Johnson, who represented in the capacity of its General Secretary, the National League Against the Drug and Drink Traffic in India.

Mr. Sinha was one of the prominent speakers at the Toronto Convention giving two addresses, one dealing with the problem of strong drink and the other with the opium question. Addressing the great assemblage with fearlessness yet with humility, he prefaced his compelling speech with these words: "Knowing that I stand before you to represent the struggle of my people in all its phases against the growing evil of alcohol and opium, I stand in the fear of God and with a sense of duty to acquaint you with the wrong that is deliberately being committed toward my people for the return that it brings in money, ignoring the shame, poverty, misery and degradation that always follow the path the drug and drink traffics have trodden and that thousands are treading every day in India."

While the organization which Mr. Sinha represented is among the youngest of the two hundred and eighty temperance organizations in India, it bids fair to become the great temperance organization of the world, partly because of its breadth of aim and also because of the personalities behind it. Speaking of this organization, its representative said: "We stand by those who are engaged in any phase of the temperance work; we defend those who are attacked by any aspect of the liquor and opium interests and we are the colleagues of every one of those noble bands of men and women who work or speak or think for the temperance cause in India, in so far as their temperance activities are concerned."

Lack of harmony between organizations working for the same results always retards success; and the elimination of all intolerance toward other bodies engaged in the work of temperance, puts this organization at once in the forefront of the battle line. Mr. Sinha very beautifully and graphically told the great audience how the beloved poet of India, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, who heads the National League as its President, expresses in the following poem the spirit and aspirations of his people as they go about this work of regeneration and of love:

"This is my prayer to Thee, my Lord—
strike, strike at the root of penury in my heart.

Give me the strength rightly to bear my joys
and sorrows.

Give me the strength to make my love fruitful
in service.

Give me the strength never to disown the
poor or bend my knee before insolent might.

Give me the strength to raise my mind high
above daily trifles and

Give me the strength to surrender my
strength to thy will of Love."

Conspicuous for his earnestness no less than by his strong Nationalistic spirit portrayed both by speech and dress, featured daily by the press, Mr. Sinha became at once a familiar and impressive figure to convention crowds. Not only did he seem to represent the country of India but he symbolized all the peoples of those dependencies of Great Britain who are being weakened and destroyed through the drug and drink traffics under the seal and sanction of the Imperial Government. The price to the Government of India of the degradation of the Hindu people through these traffics, now reaches the gigantic figure of seventy-five millions of dollars annually; and since England is now said to have the wettest Parliament since 1905, it is not to be expected that her policy regarding the liquor traffic in her dependencies will be conspicuous by any improvement.

The world recognizes that those countries of the Far East desiring self-determination are fast making history. "It can no longer be said that Asia, where more than one-half of the human race lives, is the 'Changeless East,' for to-day Asia has become a continent of Ceaseless Change", writes one authoritatively. Nor may we longer regard as true that sentiment,

"We look to the East for the dawning things,
For the light of a new-made sun;

But we look to the West, the crimson West,

For the things that are done, are done."

To-day things "are doing" in the Far East.

The American people are gratified to know that the cornerstone of the New India is the abolishment of King Alcohol. Attending the colleges and universities of this country there are now over seven thousand students from the Orient and other parts of the world, coming in close contact with the Intercollegiate Prohibition Association of America. Studying this subject closely as they are, it will be seen that these university and college graduates will exert a mighty influence in their respective countries toward Prohibition.

Mr. Sinha correctly points out that an evil to be resisted must be destroyed. It has remained for the Government of India to present to the world the curious spectacle of an enlightened nation deliberately manufacturing narcotics destructive to the mental, physical and spiritual welfare of all humankind. We refer to the plant owned and operated by the Government situated at Glezipur, India. We find in an official report for the year 1920 as given by Miss LaMotte in the *Atlantic Monthly* for July, 1922, in her article entitled "America and the Opium Trade," that the difficulty of making alkaloids in the tropics has been overcome and one thousand, two hundred and sixty pounds of narcotics were manufactured in the year 1920. The Government of India apologizes for this small output as follows: "This is a very small beginning but will be developed. The question of finding other markets for our alkaloids is under consideration. One hundred and twenty-five pounds of morphia and sixteen pounds of codiene were sold in India and realized 21,761 rupees."

Allowing one-fourth of a grain, which is a little more than the average medical dose, for each person, we find that in these combined sales of morphia and codiene in India, 3,048,000 people could have been helped on their way to a drug addict's life, all for the sum of 21,761 rupees. Viewing these figures from another angle, we might say that the value of the health, life and happiness to the Government of India of each of these 3,048,000 subject people, is represented by one-fifteenth of a rupee; or, in American money, the sum of two cents, the price of a postage stamp!

During the spring of 1922, the Geneva Committee of the League of Nations, under whose jurisdiction is the opium question, met for discussion. We are grieved to state that America was not represented by a delegate. At this time we are told that "The Government of India succeeded in modifying that clause on opium which restricted all the nations to the production of only that amount of opium for 'scientific and medical purposes' to 'medical and legitimate' purposes." This means at least a present victory for the Indian Government.

Dealing with this subject exhaustively before the Toronto Convention, Mr. Sinha assumed as a liberal estimate the annual use for medical purposes of four tons of opium and pointed out

that it is the immense over-production of 1273 tons which is debauching the world to-day.

India with her 17,000 licensed drug shops, the subsidizing of the poppy crop and now the public plant for the making of narcotics, all under Government control, presents to the temperance world much food for earnest thought and concerted action. "As soon as we are freed from the slavery of alcohol and opium," said the speaker, "we can lay our hand to the sources of wealth that lie underneath, nay, on the surface of the soil." Very fully he outlined the many and varied resources and industries of his country, among which are metallurgy, wood-work, ivories, brassware and artistry of all kinds. By contrast he drew a pathetic picture of the working man in India, showing how his productive capacity is being reduced year after year. "His constant companions are hunger and thirst, debt and degradation, sorrow, suffering and sickness, unclean clothes and unsanitary homes."

That a grim determination characterizes this movement of the Hindu people against drugs and drink, is apparent by the volunteers arising to fill the places of the thousands now behind prison bars for seeking the elimination of the drink shops. History is thus repeated, as through the ages great principles standing for the abolishment of evil have endured and triumphed only by the sacrifice of lives and untold suffering.

This delegate from India, accompanied by the District Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League of Illinois has travelled over a large part of our country during his brief sojourn, speaking before colleges, universities, high schools and community gatherings. The thousands who have heard him were inspired by his earnest words; they have been benefited by his spirit of devoted service and given a clearer understanding of what the rest of the world needs and expects of us.

The Houston (Texas) *Evening Post* finds in Mr. Sinha the "Baden-Powell of India," calling attention to his work in organizing the first Boy Scouts in that country. This publication also writes feelingly of his activities in the World War and of his later identification with the movement to "Volsteadize" the world. His visit to this country was timely to view our efforts at law enforcement and to see what has already been accomplished through Prohibition.

As an instance of his observations, covering

a period of nineteen days in the great city of New York whose population approximates six millions of people composed of many nationalities, Mr. Sinha has to say: "With a deliberate day and night search of all the ugliest places of New York, the Bowery, China Town, the slums, the fashionable clubs and the high society places—a diligent search of all these places in nineteen days, brought into our view only thirteen drunk men and not a single one of these thirteen was helplessly drunk."

He has been in close touch and consultation with the officers of the Anti-Saloon League of America, and with Ernest H. Cherrington, LL.D., Litt.D., General Secretary of the World League Against Alcoholism, as well as with others prominent in authority in this country working to make effective the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Law.

While there are many things in our laws and in our American life worthy of criticism, this kindly critic observes with regard to the Prohibitory Law: "I see that for the first time in the history of human evolution there is a nation which, at the pinnacle of its success, where invariably in the past there has begun a decline, has conceived of an ideal, and it is that which gratifies me more than anything else."

It is apparent that the value of time, so keenly felt by the ancient philosophers, as well

as by all makers of history, is also vividly felt by Mr. Sinha. Without doubt we can say that one of the important outstanding characteristics of this versatile world citizen, is a broad spirit of "tolerance for everything that is right, a sympathy with every one who is honestly striving to do what he thinks to be right, and a good will which will help every one who is thus striving, to do the right." Though young as we measure life, he has already filled his years with faithful endeavour to help and to make happy the lives of the people of his native land.

It is evident that the forces for Intemperance are making the fight of the centuries, but the great Toronto Convention was an eye-opener to the world. It has brought to every corner of the globe fresh courage for greater achievement looking toward world prohibition. "Never in twenty christian centuries, as to-day, has that prayer, "Give us this day our daily bread," been sent to Heaven with such fervor and despair by the starving millions,—starving amid the fields which were once the granaries of the world," writes the *Herald and Examiner* of Chicago. The abolishment of the liquor traffic from the face of the earth will help to answer this prayer, will save life, make happy the now myriads of unhappy homes and will render every nation prosperous.

THE LAUSANNE CONFERENCE.

By PROF. S. KESAVA IYENGAR, M.A.

I

The Black Sea and the Straits, the Sea of Marmora and the Aegean, the Near and the Middle East—these are the localities whose fates and fortunes are being watched hour after hour by the entire human species—uncivilised and civilised. Somebody said that the Himalayas are the human equator of the world: it would be truer to say that the region between the Crimea and Cairo is the human centre of the

globe as well as the territorial centre of the old world.

Russia, Roumania, Yugo-Slavia, Servia, Bulgaria, Turkey and Greece are the States that are connected economically and politically with the Black Sea, and therefore with the Straits—as without the Straits access into or out of the Black Sea is impossible by water. Turkey (in Asia Minor), Iraq and Hedjaz are the States interested strategically and economically in

Mosul: the interests of the latter two are being represented by the Mandatory Power, Great Britain. The disputes and contests among these States are more complicated by minorities and foreigners in Turkey, demanding independence (for example, the Assyro-Chaldeans), special concessions like freedom for movement, liberty of languages and religion and internal autonomy (for example, the Armenians), and immunity from the ordinary administrative authority in Turkey in regard to military, financial, economic and judicial matters (claimed by the Allies on behalf of foreigners in Turkey).

The Treaty of Sevres proved an abortive child, and the virility of the Angora Government set up a Sovereign Turkey. The spoilt child Greece became shamefaced, and Great Britain came to feel herself too much entangled in the Near and Middle East muddle. These were the happenings which brought forth the Lausanne Conference.

The First Lausanne Conference began on November 20, 1922, and Delegates were present there of Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan; the U. S. A.; Russia, Roumania, Yugo-Slavia, Servia, Bulgaria, Turkey and Greece; Hedjaz and Iraq; Assyro-Chaldeans and Armenians; and Egypt. The Conference divided itself into three Commissions: the first Commission to deal with Territorial and Military questions including the Straits, the second with the question of Foreigners in Turkey including Minorities, and the third with the Financial and Economic questions, Ports, Railways and Sanitation. The main issues before the Conference were:

- (1) Western Thrace, and Bulgarian access to the Aegean;
- (2) Freedom of access into and out of the Black Sea for other Powers and the Riparian States respectively;
- (3) Turkey's claim for the islands near the Anatolian Coast;
- (4) Treatment awardable to Minorities and foreigners in Turkey;
- (5) The adjustment and the distribution of the Ottoman Debt, and determination of Reparations dues from Turkey to the Allies, from Greece to Turkey; and
- (6) Turkey's claim for Mosul.

II.

It was in 1227 A. D. that Ertoghrl arrived

from Central Asia with his 400 followers. The Seljuk Sultan Allauddin assigned them lands near Eskishahr and Angora. The decay of the Seljuk Dynasty created a vacancy fitted to be filled up only by the followers of Othman, Ertoghrl's son. Before 1453 when Mohamed II occupied Constantinople, the Ottomans extended their sway over Asia Minor and over South Eastern Europe across the Black Sea and the Aegean. In 1389, the Battle of Kossovo established Turkish regime over a large area of European soil. In 1453, Constantinople was occupied, and an Empire more theocratic than the Christian Byzantine Empire was established. The Turkish Navy was largely reinforced and Turkish mastery over the Eastern Mediterranean was ensured. From 1453 to 1774, the Ottoman Empire was at its height. In that year, she lost the Crimea to Russia, and thus began the dismantling process. 1774 to 1920, the European Powers co-operated in hewing the Ottoman Empire down to bits to be swallowed up by neighbouring Christian States. Yet, the commercial rivalry and suspicion among themselves made them not only allow but encourage Ottoman rule in Constantinople and over the Straits.

On November 1, 1922, "the Ottoman Empire" gave place to "The Turkish National State", Sovereign Powers were vested in the Nation, the Khilafat was shorn of its temporal powers which were assumed by the Grand National Assembly, and the Sultan in Constantinople decamped soon after, scenting danger. A full appreciation of these changes is very necessary to understand the demands of Turkey at Lausanne. So long, the Ottoman polity was not a Unitary State, and the maintenance of a Muslim Theocracy over a mixed population necessitated the grant of autonomy and self-government to many communities, religious bodies, trading corporations, and municipalities. (This was more so in Moorish Spain). Certain rights were given to Western foreigners in Turkey, entitling them to have their own postal System, and Judicial System, and certain other special privileges. The Treaties which gave them such privileges were called Capitulations. But to-day, Turkey stands as a National Unitary State, religion playing no part in politics, and the ship of State being under the leadership of men of light and leading: the burning ambition of Turkey is to be as modernized a State as any other: no other proof than the relegation of the

Kalifa to his religious duties is necessary. Therefore, the Turks say, and say rightly, that the need for Capitulations and special privileges is gone. A full living Sovereignty of the Turkish State cannot reconcile itself to Capitulations, and a non-religious State cannot countenance privileges based on religion, privileges claimed by foreigners but denied to nationals.

The other essential points on which Turkey is insisting—incompatibility of foreign control of the Straits with Sovereign Constantinople, freedom for Turkey to organise her army, navy and defence as she thinks best, an impartial settlement of Reparations and Debts between Allied Powers and herself—all these emanate from this same resuscitation of Turkey as a modern democratic national State.

III.

Even when the Conference began, Turkey claimed the privilege of presiding over one of the Commissions, like Great Britain, France and Italy; but the question was not pressed on Marquiss Curzon arguing that only the inviting Powers had the right to preside. The Turks had a ready army of 20,000 and a Soviet backing, and so were all through conscious of their equality with other Powers; at the same time, Ismet Pasha revealed a real desire to establish peace on permanent lines and contributed not a little to agreements on many points. Yet, he was not sparing in his protests. "The Turks did not wish to be treated as inferior to the neighbouring States, and resented what they considered the hurried manner in which the Allies wished to close the discussions." The Allies were equally anxious for peace and concessions to Turkey were made when unavoidable.

Bulgaria claimed a 60 Kilometer demilitarised zone between Bulgaria and Turkey down to the Aegean, to be administered by an International Commission presided over by a League of Nations Nominee. The Turks proposed the cession of Karagatch to Turkey and a plebiscite in Western Thrace, the demilitarization of the zone on both sides of the Maritza, the Sovereignty of Turkey being safeguarded. Regarding her frontiers, she claimed the 1913 line.

The final agreement arrived at was that a 30 Kilometer zone on each side of the Maritza should be demilitarized right down to the Aegean. The zone would apparently cover

the whole of the East Thracian frontier from the Aegean to the Black Sea. Turkey's demand for Western Thrace was rejected, and Karagatch was decided to continue to be in the demilitarized zone. (Greece is yet holding Karagatch). But, a small railway station was settled to be given over to the Turks near Adrianople, so that there might be railway facilities for Turks in Adrianople. The demilitarized zone was to be administered by an International Commission with headquarters at Dedeagatch, and the Port and the connecting railway were to be controlled by the Commission, to consist of representatives of Great Britain, France, Italy, Bulgaria, Turkey, Yugo-Slavia, and Roumania.

The most vital subject dealt with was that of the Straits. The following were the details on which the Conference had to agree:—

- (1) The establishment of a demilitarized zone along the Straits, and its extent;
- (2) The appointment of an International Commission to be in charge of the demilitarized zone and control of movements of vessels;
- (3) Turkey's rights in the demilitarized zone and on the International Commission;
- (4) Turkey's rights to fortify the Sea of Marmora and Constantinople;
- (5) Rights of merchant vessels to pass through the Straits in peace and war;
- (6) Should Turkey be allowed to own a Fleet, and to navigate the Straits?
- (7) Rights of other Powers to send their warships through the Straits and into the Black Sea; and
- (8) Rights of other Powers to station their warships in the Straits and in the Black Sea.

(1), (2) & (3). The Allies demanded a broad demilitarized zone all along the Straits, to be administered by an International Commission presided over by a permanent Turkish Delegate. It is noteworthy to remember that the Treaty of Sevres of 1920 proposed to make Constantinople a subject city, that the Angora-France agreement of 1921 sustained the hopes of the Young Turks, and that in his interview with General Sir Charles Townshend on July 27, 1922, Mustapha Kemal Pasha agreed to the presidency of the Commission to be vested in a non-interested power like Denmark. However, the Turks demanded at the opening of the Lausanne Con-

ference that Turkey should be the sole custodian and guardian of the Straits. The Turkish Delegates pointed out that Turkey had been the Mistress of the Straits for five centuries, and if she had not interfered with the free movement of ships for purposes of trade throughout that period, there was no reason why she should be placed under special restrictions now. Regarding the movement of warships and air-craft vessels, the setting up of any International Commission would certainly interfere with her Sovereignty. "The Turks would be content with the indispensable technical control in war time, and objected to the demilitarization of the Bosphorus." The discussions resulted in Turkey accepting the Allied proposals in outline and the Allies accepting the Turkish proposals in the settlement of substantial details. The demilitarized zone was to be reduced in extent, Turkey was to be given the right to convey arms and armies across the demilitarized zone, and she was also to be allowed the right to organise her own system of observation and communication therein. That is, Turkey was to have all liberty even in the demilitarized zone, except that of fighting there—the International Commission to be there with a Turkish President.

4. Originally, the Allies did not agree to it, but later yielded. Turkey was allowed the right to fortify the Sea of Marmora and Constantinople in view of the necessity to secure the safety and sovereignty of the Turkish capital.

5. This was a point on which Turkey never raised any objection, and merchant ships were promised free passage through the Straits except when Turkey was at war, in which case she would exercise the right of search into neutral vessels, and naturally, of prohibiting enemy vessels.

6. The Allies yielded here also to the Turkish demand. Turkey was awarded the liberty to own an adequate Fleet (probably, the size and tonnage of the fleet was to be determined by herself, because the Allies made no mention of them), and to navigate the Straits.

7 & 8. Russia and Turkey opposed at the outset the proposal of allowing warships through the Straits and into the Black Sea. M. Tchicherin (Russia) proposed that "the Black Sea should be closed to all vessels other than those of Riparian States, and the Straits should be closed to all warships and military air-craft other than Turkish." "The ideal solution was to end all naval armaments. The Russian aim

was to place an obstacle between the navies." Later, a modified proposal of M. Tchicherin provided that Turkey should have the right even of mine-laying in the Straits during war time, and that the International Commission to be set up at the Dardanelles should include a German Delegate.

Ismet Pasha (Turkey), after negotiations, conceded as far as to admit military forces entering the Black Sea, but not more than one vessel for each nation (other than Turkey). The other conditions attached by him were that no air-ship should be maintained in the Black Sea, and that warships should not remain in the Straits and in the Black Sea beyond a specified time-limit. Lastly, Turkey should have the right in war time to prevent belligerent warships from sailing through the Straits until other belligerent warships there had departed. The Allies practically yielded on all these points, but no mention was made about the prohibition of airships in the Black Sea. Within restrictions in regard to number and tonnage and in regard to period of stay in the Straits and in the Black Sea, even warships were agreed to be allowed access through the Straits and into the Black Sea, when Turkey was a neutral for all Powers, and when Turkey was a belligerent for neutral Powers.

Turkey demanded that the islands near the Anatolian Coast which had been taken by Greece in 1913, specially Tenedos, Imbros and Samothrace should be returned to her. Ismet Pasha proposed that islands other than those to be handed back to the Turks should be placed under an international Commission. The latter idea was never seriously discussed, and the former claim was handled by a Committee of Experts belonging to both sides and ultimately dropped.

IV.

There are more Minorities in the Near and Middle East than Majorities. The main issues discussed under this head were as follows:—

- (1) On what principle Minorities should be recognised—on religion, language or race, or all together;
- (2) The question of exchanging populations—Turks now resident in Greece to go over to Turkey, and Greeks in Constantinople and other Turkish localities to repatriate to Greece; and
- (3) The grant of definite rights to Minorities.

ties living in consolidated blocks, like a National Home for the Armenians, autonomy for the Armenians, and independence to the Assyro-Chaldeans.

(1) The Commission on Minorities failed to arrive at any terms agreeable to all parties. Turkey was willing to recognise Minorities on the basis of language and religion but not on that of race. The Allies demanded all three conditions to be respected.

(2) Turkey was at the beginning persistent on the expulsion of Greeks from Constantinople but on the moral pressure of Mr. Child (U. S. A.), agreed to allow 200,000 out of 400,000 Greeks to continue in Constantinople provided Greece compensated repatriating Turks for all property left behind by them. She also extended the time *ad infinitum* for the evacuation of Anatolia by Christians, which had been originally fixed at one month.

3. Turkey was willing to grant a certain degree of autonomy to the Armenians, but refused to fix up a National Home for them. She repudiated the demand of the Assyro-Chaldeans for independence. Lord Curzon tried his best to secure a Home for the Armenians, but at last had to allow them to be looked after by Turkey. Russia offered to settle the Turkish Armenians within her own territories, and some of them actually left for Russia.

V.

The very reasonable stand of Turkey on the crucial point of Capitulations was the prime cause for the failure of the First Lausanne Conference. Lord Curzon and the Allies refused to consider any *real* modification of the humiliating Capitulations, but at the last moment "the Allies whittled down the Judicial Capitulations until they were almost unrecognisable. The Allied proposal was that a foreign jurist should hold a watching brief in cases where foreigners were concerned, but the Turks' counter-proposals reduced their utility to vanishing point." The Code Napoleon has been adopted with slight modifications by the Turkish Government for settlement of civil litigation, and their criminal laws have been much improved. Above all, the zeal of Mustapha Kemal Pasha and Dr. Riza Nur for rejuvenating Turkey as a civilised State should have been sufficient ground for the Allies to allow Turkey an elemental constituent of Sovereignty—freedom from Capitulations. The economic clauses of the Draft Treaty insisted

on Turkey recognising and carrying out all the contracts and concessions of the late Constantinople Government. This was also rejected by Ismet Pasha.

The Allies proposed that the Angora Government should respect all the obligations of the late Government in Turkey. Angora gave a blank refusal at first but later consented to respect debts due by the late Turkish Government to private individuals (as distinguished from debts due to Governments and other public bodies). She was also prepared to consider the other portion of the debt provided the countries severed from the Turkish Empire recently were made to bear the burdens proportionately with retrospective effect. The final agreement was to the effect that the Ottoman Debt should be recognised as it stood on November 1, 1914, and that Turkey should pay her portion out of it, the rest being paid by other parts of the late Turkish Empire. On a second point, the cost of occupation incurred by the Allies in Constantinople, Turkey gave a denial. 15 million Turkish Gold Pounds were fixed up as War Damages to be paid by Turkey to the Allies, at 5 per cent. interest and 1 per cent. sinking fund—*i.e.*, in 37 instalments of 90,000 Pounds each. Turkey was denied any Reparations from Greece.

The keenest controversy prevailed about Mosul. The population is a mixed one consisting, according to British figures, of 8 per cent. Turks, 54 per cent. Kurds, 25 per cent. Arabs and 13 per cent. others. Economically, the oil deposits of Mosul are among the richest in the world, and whatever might be the professions of the participating Powers, not one of them would like to lose the chance of securing the deposits if possible. Strategically. Turkey pleaded that her frontier would be defenceless against the Wahabis from the Euphrates and against the Iraq Kingdom if Mosul was not retained by her. Historically and traditionally, she declared, Mosul belonged to her, and so must Mosul continue to be hers. The Allies pleaded that the percentage of Turks in Mosul was only 8 and that therefore Turkey could not rightly claim Mosul for herself. To which argument Turkey replied that the Kurds were not different from themselves, and that therefore their percentage was not 8 but 62. Whoever may win the mastery, one thing is a fact—Mosul requires a strong hand to control. "The people who within the last ten years have spurned the Turks and acclaimed the English,

whom in turn they have been induced by a political gang to spurn in favour of an Arab Government, of whom it seems they are now tiring and would demand in the absence of any practicable alternative the return of the Turks" such are the people living in Mosul. "The Kurds would obey none and plunder all."

Emir Zaid, King Feisul's brother, was put up in Mosul, and Great Britain prepared for defending Mosul against a probable attack by Turkey. "It appears that Ismet Pasha accepted Marquis Curzon's offer at the final discussion that, provided League arbitration for Mosul was retained in the Treaty, investigations should be delayed for a year conditionally on the 'status quo' being maintained and the Vilayet not disturbed."

Side by side with all this happening in Lausanne, Irwin Untermyer landed in Britain with 40 descendants of Abdul Hamid, laying a legal claim for oil property in Mosul worth about 1000 million Dollars.

The Greek Patriarch in Constantinople was asked by the Turks to quit unless the office was made purely a religious one. A general amnesty to all military and general offenders during the war was agreed to with certain exceptions. Turkey agreed to enter the League of Nations.

VI.

On January 30, 1923, the Draft Treaty was presented by the Allied Representatives to Ismet Pasha, attempts were made till February 5, to persuade him to sign the Treaty, but in spite of all small concessions which Lord Curzon was willing to offer, the Turks refused to sign. As mentioned above, the main cause for such rejection was the Allies' retention of the Judicial and Economic clauses of the Capitulations in substance, in the Draft Treaty.

There were some other causes too. The Allies' Representatives put into the Draft Treaty a number of clauses never consented to by the Turks during the Conference. For example, the army at Constantinople maintainable by the Turks was fixed at 12,000. Even the Allied Representatives themselves should admit that, granting that Reuter's telegrams about official reports of the Conference were complete and correct, not a word was said in the discussions about any limitation of the Turkish army in Constantinople.

The immediate cause, though minor, for the Turkish stand seems to have been the attitude

of France towards Turkey. Ever since the war came to an end, the relations between France and Turkey have all through been as amicable as possible, and to a large extent, the rising demands of Turkey should be attributed to the moral support of France. Involved beyond disentanglement in the Rhineland, M. Poincare appears to have feared a reopening of war conditions in the Near East—a contingency for which France at that very moment had neither heart nor resource. So, we find M. Poincare first telegraphing Mustapha Kemal to accept the Draft Treaty, and on his indignant refusal, again telegraphing him to the effect that Turkey could always rest assured about French support and that France was prepared for resumption of negotiations if the First Lausanne Conference failed. This "rift in the Allied lute" was really fortunate for Turkey.

The First Conference at Lausanne cannot yet be said to have been in vain. On the most intricate issue, that of the Straits, all the parties agreed upon an acceptable arrangement—so acceptable that the question has been taken as practically settled, by the second Conference. The question of Mosul was threshed out, though the second Conference took up the question again for final agreement.

VII.

The Turkish Ultimatum to Great Britain and the mining of Smyrna, the French Ultimatum to Turkey on the manouvring of Turkish Troops on the Syrian frontier, the British Ultimatum to Russia, and the Turkish ordering off of Russian men-of-war—all these have co-operated in exposing the extreme inadvisability of the Allies relying upon Allied joint action against a common foe. Joint action has failed in the West (Rhineland): it is sure to fail in the Near and Middle East if it comes to a question of action. So, very probably, the Allies, understanding the real position, have changed their attitude since February 5, and this probably explains the comparative readiness with which the demands of the Turks have almost all been accepted by them in the second meeting at Lausanne.

VIII.

The Second Lausanne Conference began its sittings on April 23, 1923, and must be rightly considered as an adjourned session of the earlier Conference rather than as a separate in-

dependent Conference. The High Commissioners at Constantinople represent the Great Powers and Ismet Pasha is at the head of the Angora Mission. Russia was not invited, but on Ismet Pasha's suggestion, Russia was asked to participate in the Conference provided she was prepared to reconsider her decision with regard to the Straits' Settlement arrived at by the First Conference. The Soviet Representative at Rome was sent to Lausanne as a consequence and he notified the Secretary-General of the Conference that he was prepared to modify the Soviet attitude with regard to the question of the Straits. With the disgraceful murder of M. Vorowsky, the Straits question seems to have been closed, though the Bolshevik agent at Berne is at Lausanne in place of M. Vorowsky.

The Turks stuck to their old position, the Allies contented themselves by referring many issues to expert Committees. Some minor questions have been postponed for later consideration and many deadlocks seem to have been avoided.

On the Thracian frontier, no agreement has as yet been arrived at, though the First Conference had agreed to demilitarize the Maritza and 30 Kilometers on each side of it. On the settlement of the Turkish frontier towards Iraq, reports state that Turkey has agreed to submit the question (*including Mosul*) to decision by League of Nations, if no decision be arrived at as between Great Britain and Turkey within six months (an earlier agreement was for twelve months) after signature of peace. The demand of Ismet Pasha for the evacuation of Constantinople by Allied Troops has been agreed to be complied with as soon as the Treaty is signed.

On Financial matters, the Turkish plea for freedom from liability to redeem Turkish Paper Currency current in Mesopotamia, Palestine and Syria has not been agreed to by the Allies. The Ottoman Debt has been agreed to be reduced by the amount secured on the Cyprus and the Egyptian Tributes; and a Committee of Experts has been appointed to go into the question of distributing the Ottoman Debt among all the Territories of the late Turkish Empire. The Turks insist upon payment of Reparations by Greece, but M. Venezelos pleads inability and promises some "moral satisfaction". The Turkish indemnity to the Allies fixed up at 15 million Turkish Gold Pounds (reduced at the last moment to 12 million by Lord Curzon) apparently holds good.

The Capitulations have been agreed to be abolished. The Allied representatives appear to have agreed to give full liberty to Turkey, on economic matters, "as far as practicable". Turkey has on the other hand undertaken to respect existing interests of foreigners in Turkey. In addition, she has agreed to allow all foreign schools and hospitals which were in existence before the end of October 1914, provided they undertake no propaganda. On the Judicial treatment of foreigners in Turkey, there was some strong feeling on both sides; yet, Turkey has been offered full liberty.

IX.

The final signature of the Treaty of Lausanne is a question of days. Towering personalities like Lord Curzon, Mr. Child and M. Tchicherin are not there, yet, the work done by them in the First Conference has been of no small help towards the solid results that have by now been achieved by the Second Conference. The Allies have had time to clearly understand the re-birth of Turkey as a New Power and the reasonableness of her claims both from her own point of view and from the points of view of the individual interests of the Allied Powers. Great Britain has planned a practical withdrawal from Iraq within four years, and the settlement of the Turk Iraq frontier thus loses the importance once attached to the question by Great Britain. Turkey has probably come to realise by now that too much reliance on French friendship may not go very far in mending matters.

The latest telegrams received show Turkish persistence on securing Reparations from Greece, and the big Powers seem to consider this as an issue between Turkey and Greece, having no direct bearing on the settlement of a general Treaty. The chances of a Turko-Greek rupture are very small, and thus the success of the Lausanne Conference may be taken as a foregone conclusion. Ismet Pasha demands the exclusion of 150 Muslims from Turkey (of course including the ex-Sultan of Turkey), but Sir Horace Rumbold is dwelling on the advantages of a general amnesty without exceptions.

The relations between Turkey and Indian Muslims lie outside the province of this article. But one word may be said: after some doubt and hesitation, the Indian Muslims did well in befriending the Turkish National Government. The Khilafat is a pan-Muslim problem and the

forthcoming pan-Islamic Conference may be left to consider the details of the Reformation wrought by the Angora National Assembly last November. The two lacs of Rupees sent by the Central Khilafat Committee, microscopic as it was in volume, should have been of special significance and a fresh source of inspiration to that Turkish Hero Mustapha Kemal.

The Revival of Turkey is only a phase of the Revolt of the East. Japan repudiated Capitulations imposed upon her, some 25 years ago, and foreigners there to-day are none the worse for it. Russia revolted into chaos. Egypt has

recently, and permanently, established her claim to full national status by declaring a fullfledged democracy. Iraq and Hedjaz are on a fair way towards freedom. India, Persia and China are struggling. And in these cases, the two alternatives before Great Britain are either to pursue a narrowly selfish, die-hard Imperialistic policy and earn disrepute and failure (she had inclined that way during the Lloyd Georgian era) or to eternalise her claim to be the "nursery of freedom" by a sincere and sympathetic attitude towards the rising nations. The atmosphere is hopeful.

BRAHMANISM AND BUDDHISM.*

By PROF. A. A. MACDONELL, M.A., Ph.D., LL.D.

Having, ever since I entered the University, devoted my life down to the present, to the study of Sanskrit literature and of the religious and moral ideas embodied in it, I propose to describe the two chief religions of India, Hinduism and Buddhism, together with some general introductory remarks on the other main religions of the world, and a more detailed account of Zoroastrianism, which, in my opinion, ought to be studied in close connection with the Indian religions on account of its near relationship to them and its value in illustrating them.

All the leading religions have arisen in the East: in this sense the Latin motto of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain, 'Ex Oriente Lux' ('Light comes from the Orient') is applicable to them. The two oldest of them, the Egyptian and the Assyrian, ceased to exist in antiquity, but have left records that enable us to know their character in some detail. The eight that survive are either national or world-religions, the literary records of which go back either to the time when they arose or were founded, or at any rate to near that time. All

these ten religions have been produced by three of the great divisions of mankind; by the Chinese, the Aryans, and the Semites. The Chinese originated one of them; Confucianism, which has remained the chief system of that people for 2,500 years and is professed by about 300,000,000 adherents. The Aryans produced four. One of these, Zoroastrianism, the ancient religion of Persia, which in various respects is very closely allied to the faith of the Vedic Aryans, was almost entirely expelled more than a thousand years ago, by Islam, from its original home, where only a small remnant, some 10,000 fire-worshippers remain, while the rest, having long ago fled from persecution to Western India, there preserve under the name of Parsis, as a prosperous community of some 100,000 souls, the religion and the learning of their ancient country. Though Zoroastrianism thus narrowly escaped being exterminated by Mahomedanism, it was in early times the religion of the great Persian Empire. From it was developed the worship of the sun-god Mithras (the Vedic Mitra). This, introduced to Rome in the first century B. C., began to be spread very widely throughout the Roman Empire, before the end of the first Christian century, by the

* An address delivered at Lahore.

army, the slave population, and traders, as the worship of the 'Sun god, the unconquered Mithra.' Thus by the end of the third century A. D., it bade fair to become a world religion. At the beginning of the 4th century several Roman Emperors were votaries of Mithraism, but after the adoption of Christianity by Constantine, who became Emperor in 326 and made Christianity the official religion of the State Mithraism declined and disappeared from Rome by the end of the 4th century.

The other three Aryan religions arose in India. The oldest of them, Hinduism, if taken to include its earlier form, has had a continued existence and development of more than 3,000 years in the land of its birth, where it has about 240,000,000 adherents at the present time. Jainism, its earliest offshoot, has existed in India for about 2,500 years, but is at the present day a sect with less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ million followers. A second offshoot, which came into being very soon after, disappeared from its native land many centuries ago, but by way of compensation spread to the north, east and south of India, to Tibet, Mongolia, China, Corea, Japan to Burma, Siam, Indo-China and Ceylon, becoming a world-religion of eastern Asia with about 120,000,000 adherents.

From the Semitic race issued, besides the two extinct religions, the three great faiths that still survive. Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. The sacred book of Judaism is the old Testament written in the Hebrew language. The religion of a small people, it was expelled 1850 years ago from its native land, Palestine, by the Romans, in consequence of the capture of Jerusalem by the Emperor Titus in the year 70 A. D. It has, during all the centuries that have elapsed since then, been preserved by the Jewish race, who number about 14,000,000 dispersed as exiles over nearly all the countries of the earth. This people has before it the unique prospect of carrying back, in considerable numbers, its ancient religion to its original home.

While Judaism has remained a national religion with a small number of followers, its two offshoots, Islam and Christianity, have become world-religions, one having overspread the greater part of Western and Central Asia and extending across northern Africa as far as Morocco, while the other has overflowed the whole of the continents of Europe, America and Australia. Islam, the latest of the world

religions, was founded by Muhammad in the 7th century of our era in Arabia, its sacred book being the Quran, written in Arabic, and its adherents at the present day numbering about 175,000,000.

Christianity was founded by Jesus Christ in the first century of our era in Palestine. Its sacred book is the New Testament, which is written in Greek, and its adherents number about 555,000,000.

I think it will be interesting at this point to pause in order to summarise the history of the migrations and the present position of the five great religions now prevailing in the world.

1. Christianity has in the main disappeared from Asia, where it arose, but has become the religion of three other continents and of parts of the fifth; it is also at the same time the religion of the Western branch of the Aryans and of a progressive civilization. Thus a Semitic faith has become the religion of the Western Aryans, of the white race.

2. On the other hand, an Aryan religion, Buddhism, after an existence of more than 1000 years in its native land, India, finally disappeared from it, but having spread eastward and supplanting the primitive beliefs of those regions, became predominantly the religion of non-Aryan peoples, the yellow races.

3. Thirdly, the Semitic religion of Arabia, while it has remained the faith of the country in which it arose, has mainly displaced the primitive religion called Shamanism, of the greater part of another and backward division of the human race, the Turanians, whose original home was in Central Asia in the region of the Altai mountains, and who gradually occupied the central band of Asiatic territory, which extends from the confines of China to the eastern Mediterranean, as well as the north of Asia and the extreme north of Europe. The most important of the five branches of this race are the Mongols and the Turks. The latter became the most enthusiastic converts to Islam, and as the chief propagators of that faith, have been called, 'the sword of Islam.' This religion has thus become conspicuously the religion of the Turkish Empire. Islam also displaced the advanced Aryan religion of the Persians as well as the Aryan faith of about one-fifth of the population of India.

4. & 5. The remaining two faiths, though great national religions, have never spread beyond their own countries, but have remained

there from the beginning, the one, Confucianism, practically unchanged, the other, Hinduism, modified between the period when it arose in its earliest form, and the present day.

It is not difficult to explain how these two religions did not pass beyond the confines of their own countries. Confucianism is deeply rooted in specifically Chinese custom, which had already been long consolidated, when Confucianism appeared, and which carefully avoided all contact with the outside world, as is typified by the building of the Chinese wall in the second century B. C.

Hinduism has always remained a national religion only, because the caste system has interposed an insurmountable barrier to its spread beyond the confines of India. Jainism could never have extended beyond India because of the extreme character of its asceticism and of some of its doctrines.

Three of these religions have become world religions; but only one of them deserves this character in the fullest sense. Buddhism is a noble religion that ignores the boundaries of nationality; but it has the racial defect of being anti-social, as its highest ideal is withdrawal from the world instead of facing it with courage and overcoming its evils. Islam disregards nationality, but only to the extent of the area covered by itself; it is even hostile to what is outside that area. It is only Christianity which is capable of adapting itself to the service of mankind without any restrictions. After this general survey of the religions of the world, let us turn to the Aryan religion most closely related to those of India.

II.

In Confucianism we have a system of morality which is almost entirely separated from religion: in the ancient religion of Persia, founded by Zarathustra and represented by the Avesta and Pahlevi books, we also meet a system of morality, but one of a totally different kind, of morality which is entirely bound up with and based on religion, which is in the fullest sense a religion of morality. The ancient religion of Persia is in origin more closely allied to that of the Vedas than to any other Aryan religion; but the reform of Zarathustra fundamentally changed its character. Had that reform not taken place, the old Persian would have hardly differed from the old Indian religion.

As it is, these two have a great many special points in common. But if we compare Zoroastrianism and Brahmanism generally we find that in the former the moral interest predominates as compared with the sacrificial and philosophical interests of the latter. This moral interest is an outcome of the practical and political character of the Persians, but its religious colouring is due to the peculiarity of the religious system of the Avesta. That system is, as you know, a dualistic one, consisting in the antagonism of two opposing spirits, the pure and good Ahura Mazda (later contracted to Ormazd by what in Sanskrit would be a kind of Prakritization) and the impure and evil Angra Mainyu (later contracted to Ahriman). This dualism is already to be found in the 'gathas,' the oldest part of the Avesta, which part originated perhaps in the time of the Prophet himself. It is said that when the two Spirits originally met, they created as the first things Life and Death, and as the final end, Hell for the Wicked and Heaven for the righteous. Life and Death appear as two real empires, the one the dominion of Ormazd, the other that of Ahriman. The two empires not being divided into the material and the spiritual, the two powers rule together in nature, in natural as well as spiritual phenomena, as life and death, good and evil. The aim of Ormazd's empire is to further life, with a view to which his angels, the Amesha Spentas, the 'Immortal Holy ones' act, while the chief of the evil spirits is spoken of as "full of death." As moral forces the two principles may be described as Purity and Impurity, the former representing all the vital forces of the world, the latter all the forces of death. The duty of man is to uphold the forces of the good, and his moral righteousness consists in this activity. Purity, holiness, righteousness are here identical conceptions; they are all included in 'asha,' the fundamental idea of the religion of Zoroaster, meaning 'truth' and 'right,' and corresponding exactly both phonetically and in sense to the Vedic 'rita,' the 'moral law' (from the primary sense of natural order). Later this sense is expressed in India by 'dharma.' It is virtually identical with what is called Tao 'the order of the Universe,' the 'right way' in China, it would be in the spirit of all three religions to say: 'asha,' 'rita,' 'tao' is the basis of religion. Personified 'asha' is the angel asa 'Vahista' the 'best righteousness' (which in Sanskrit transliteration would be 'rita

vasishtta') : this is also the name of Paradise (in modern Persian 'Bahisht,' the 'sumum bonum').

This conception of righteousness represents what is the final aim of religion : the regeneration of the world, the realization of the good, the removal of all the impurity of evil and death.

The dualistic doctrine of the Avestic gathas is represented in a mythological form in the Pahlavi book called Bundahis. The evil spirit is here represented as endeavouring to destroy what the good spirit created. Though he is overcome, his evil work is allowed to be continued in the world for a period. The purpose of this is to make clear how bad the evil is, and as a contrast to inculcate that good deeds and a good life represent the only right in the world. This period is to last for 6000 years, the duration of the actual world, after the expiry of which the processes of the final victory of Ormazd begin. The world period is thus a time of struggle between the powers of good and evil. The later Avesta (Vendidad) represents the beginning of the conflict as a twofold creation, in which Ahriman always creates something evil to counterbalance every good thing created by Ormazd. In this way nature becomes twofold, good things and creatures always mingling with the evil and wicked.

The world of spirits is divided into good and evil, as well as the world of men : Ahriman being the chief not only of evil spirits, but of human unbelievers as well. The great problem of life is ; shall Ormazd or Ahriman prevail, and how is the cause of Ormazd to be furthered ? The answer is only by means of religion, by belief in Ormazd and his cause. Belief must be not only theoretical, but practical. The believer must struggle for his cause, endeavouring to realise the good, both in nature and in human life. The important point to notice here is that the good spirit and his followers struggle in combination against the powers of evil, and that the final victory depends on the collaboration of God and men. This is the only religion in which the work of man is a condition of the victory of God over evil. Hence the religion of Zoroaster is in a unique sense a religion of morality. The struggle for the good is the duty required by the religion, and this duty can be fulfilled by moral action only.

Now what is the morality of the Avesta ? It is certainly not pure morality in the modern

sense. For it involves not only man's action towards his fellowmen, but also action concerned with superstition inherited from a more primitive period. The duties of man here largely consist in the immediate fight with the evil spirits, especially in sacrifice and ritual. For the priesthood the performance of the cult is nothing but a fight against the evil spirits, and a system of purifications to expel the evil spirits, pervading nature and human life. Against these the pure elements, especially fire, are effective. The sacred fire is always kept burning as particularly potent in the capacity of a purifier. This conception is quite analogous to that in Indian religion, of the god of Fire, Agni, who is specifically called the Purifier, Pavaka, and who drives away the demons, or Rakshusas, from the sacrifice.

In ordinary life a great many observances were in use for warding off evil spirits. Among these, cleanings were of great importance, because evil was regarded as a form of impurity, and these cleanings were also believed to have the power of expelling evil spirits. Water, for example, had a real anti-demoniac efficacy. This, again, is analogous to the Vedic idea that water washed away sin like a material substance. Again, after an illness all the bed-clothes have to be cleansed with extreme care in order to drive away the indwelling evil spirit. They did not know in those days that these demons were of an excessively minute order in the form of the germs of diseases. Every sickness and the natural state of organic life were understood to belong to the great realm of death and devils. Many of the observances which, according to Persian ideas, were effective only as expelling the indwelling evil spirits, have a hygienic value. Ceremonial purification in fact often has a health promoting result. According to the Zoroastrian view, every dead thing belonged to Ahriman, being both impure and causing impurity. Ritual cleansings were necessary after touching a dead dog, a dead human being, or any other dead body which when alive belonged to the realm of purity.

The customs of mourning, further imply throughout, the expulsion of evil spirits, requiring the purification of the house, the family, and the district where the evil spirit of death has dwelt. As is well known, the Parsis at the present day bring the dead bodies of men and of dogs to the 'Towers of Silence,' where they are exposed to vultures and other carrion birds in

order that the pure elements of earth, fire or water should not be polluted by burial, cremation, or throwing into rivers. All such observances are but the moralization of very ancient superstitions concerning evil spirits derived from the conceptions of uncivilized man. Quite similar ideas can be traced in Indian religion.

A minute comparison of the points in these and other respects which the ancient religions of Persia and India have in common would constitute a valuable study in the history of early Indian religion.

In the system of the Avesta everything suggestive of low vitality or injurious to life is regarded as the work of evil spirits. Hence unfruitfulness, cold, destructive heat, blight, weeds, noxious insects, harmful substances, and so forth have to be energetically combated by man. This moral fight against evil leads to the advancement of civilization, which in Zoroaster's time was of a pastoral and agricultural order. Hence it was the duty of the pious man to treat his cattle well and not to slay them for useless sacrifices. This care for cattle resulted in the sacred character of the cow, doubtless owing to the special utility of this animal. This veneration of the cow is evidently a very old conception, going back at any rate to the Indo-Aryan period, because it appears in the Vedic religion, and subsequently in an accentuated form. In the later Avesta frequent mention is also made of agricultural duties; here we learn that the cultivation of fields, cutting of canals, the construction of roads and bridges, the building of houses, and the manufacture of agricultural implements are all important duties of the faithful. The weeding of the fields, the destruction of injurious insects and beasts are, we read, meritorious deeds, tending to efface the boundaries of Ahriman's dominion. The duties of an agricultural life constitute the religious ideals of the Persians, and the sacred texts continually furnish examples from agriculture used to illustrate the holy life. Thus Ahura Mazda is represented as saying that the earth enjoys the best fortune in those regions where the believer grows most corn, and fruit: where he waters the dry soil and drains the damp; for that soil is not blessed which lies long uncultivated, waiting for a husbandman; but to him who works the soil with both arms will the earth yield riches. With this desire for cultivation goes the tendency to lay stress on

its religious meritoriousness and its holy power. Thus in the Vendidad we read: 'who sows corn sows holiness:' and again; 'when the barley is arranged for threshing, the demons begin to sweat for fear: when the mill is arranged for crushing, the demons begin to sweat for fear; when the mill is arranged for grinding the barley, the demons lose their sense', and so forth.

The standard of morality in the Avesta is the principle of utility: no useless action could here be regarded as moral. The conception of utility, however, often assumes an ideal character and reaches a high ethical level. Thus the productive activity of man is always highly esteemed, and nothing tending to curtail vitality in any direction is approved. We therefore never find any element of asceticism in the Zoroastrian religion. On the contrary it is the duty of every man to be healthy and vigorous so that he works effectively in the cause of righteousness. He is expected to marry and become the father of strong children; every act that could diminish the fertility of man is strictly forbidden. At the same time chastity was a necessary duty, and every sexual aberration was severely punished. In the later conflicts (after the 3rd cent. A.D.) with the Manichaeans in Persia, the Zoroastrian priests carried on a controversy specially directed against the various forms of asceticism such as celibacy, fasting, self-flagellation, and other form of the mortification of the flesh. This is a clear indication how strongly the religion of Zoroaster was opposed to every form of asceticism. It is one of the very few religions in which this aspect of religion is absent.

The daily life of the priests was of course much taken up with the ritual matters of cleansing and exorcism; but these rites included many moral and educational elements, as the insistence on the duty of men to cleanse themselves from every defilement due to the devils, by the doing of useful works. It was the office of the priests to oversee and govern these multifarious exercises; it was in short their special task to uphold morality and educate the people in good works. In this system of straining the conception of sin as an inward state of mind is virtually absent as an element of the Avestan religion, sin being simply a transgression of the law. The deepest guilt from the religious point of view is unbelief, or in the extreme case, worship of the spirits. By the fulfilment of all duties every pious man

or woman was regarded as able to produce a great store of merit for gaining the bliss of heaven, and a very holy person might be able to accumulate more than was needed for his own salvation. This surplus of merit is stored up in heaven as a kind of treasure to be distributed among the souls that are not sufficiently provided for. This belief is somewhat analogous to the Hindu view of "Dharma" according to which religious merit is stored up in heaven, but in this case it is gradually used up by the producer himself—not transferred to others. There is a trace of this belief in stored up merit in the Rigveda.

In this system there is a Final Judgment, in which good works decide. There are, however, two stages of judgment known even as early as the Gathas, the oldest part of the Avesta. The one is a scrutiny of individual souls; the other is a trial of mankind as a whole.

The individual judgment takes place before the tribunal of Mithra, where the souls are weighed in the balance of the spirits, without bias regarding the righteous or the wicked. Even the acquitted soul is punished for its evil deeds by the Angel Asha: it may then cross the Bridge of Judgment, called Chinvat, which leads to heaven. The guilty, on the other hand, fall from this bridge into the gulf of hell below.

The Final Judgment takes place on the last Day, when the bodily resurrection comes to pass and the souls, blessed and wicked alike, are joined to their bodies. This judgment is an immense ordeal: resurrected mankind will be required to pass through the molten metal which will then, overflow the whole earth. The fire will burn very fiercely for the wicked but very mildly for the good. It will in all cases destroy every remnant of impurity leaving man as well as the entire earth in that complete state of purity and holiness which was its original state before Ahriman introduced his defilements. The last judgment has much of the character of a natural process of cleansing with the purifying agency of fire. But in the individual judgment the formal element of a legal procedure appears: we have here the principle of merciless retribution, for the god Mithra has merely the duty of superintending the procedure while the supreme god Ahura Mazda has no part to play in it at all, the idea of mercy being absolutely excluded from the accomplishment of human destiny. Retribution is here as inevitable as in the

Indian doctrine of Karma; but is inexorable judgment as compared with inexorable fate.

The religious community has, however the power in Zoroastrianism of releasing men from the consequences of their guilt by means of the confession of sin made at the moment of death, and by the sacramental means of putting the holy juice of Haoma into the ear of the dying man. But such dispensations are possible only in virtue of the surplus of good works at the disposal of the community as a whole.

Now as regards the general level of ancient Persian morality, it was not merely external and mechanical, for righteousness came to be understood not only as outward purity and practical deeds, but as the true realization of right conduct in life. If we analyse their moral system in detail, we find that from the personal point of view the duties held in greatest regard were self-control, temperance, economy, the keeping of early hours, industry, assiduity in practical affairs: and the social virtues considered necessary to the life of the community are truthfulness, faithfulness, uprightness, justice, generosity and harmony. These virtues are also demanded as qualities that ought to be inherent in the highest type of Persian manhood. In the Pahlavi books there is a list of thirty three duties, which represent a very refined moral outlook, combined, however, with a remnant of primitive social custom. In the Vendidad the system of penalties, which apply in the moral law of the Avesta as taught by the priests, is codified. We see here how the conception of morality in the Avesta is essentially a juristic one. It is conformity to the law. Religion in the Avesta is called law; and the Persian could not distinguish between the two ideas of law and religion. It is much the same with the conception of "dharma" in ancient India, and with the 'Law' in Judaism. The moral system of Zoroastrianism was not based on man's love for his neighbour. The monotonous and somewhat mechanical opposition of good and evil left little room for the consideration of the intermediate stages of real life, or for the emotions of disinterestedness in the moral outlook of the ancient Persians.

There was little chance of the sphere of morality extending in Avastic times to international relations. For at that time and long after the Persians were in constant conflict on their borders with the alien race of Turanians, whose predatory nomadic manner of life was

necessarily repugnant to an advanced people like the Persians with their agricultural civilization and alien religion, and who in the eyes of the latter would be unbelievers. In any case, there is no reason to believe that the ancient Persians were less isolated from or less hostile to the neighbouring peoples than were other nations of antiquity.

III.

Let us now turn to the religion of ancient India, which as I have said is more closely akin to that of ancient Persia than any other. For it, as well as the ancient Persian religion, is descended from the one faith of the Indo-Iranian branch of the Aryan race, at the time when they still lived as one people in a part of what is now Persia, before the Indians branched off to migrate into India by the north-west. Had this prehistoric religion, in its separate development in Bactria, not been dislocated by the reform of Zoroaster, the old Persian religion would have been as like that of the 'Rigveda,' as the language of the 'Avesta' is like that of the 'Rigveda'; specialists know that whole verses of the Avesta can be turned word for word into Vedic, by the simple application of phonetic laws, so as to produce lines which are not only correct in form but in poetic spirit. This applies still more to single words 'Hindustan' became stock for 'Sendhustana,' the land of the Indus. This Vedic religion is not only the oldest of the Aryan religions but is also the only Aryan religion which in its later form of Hinduism, is still the prevailing religion in its original home. This Vedic religion is peculiarly important as a branch of study. It is not only the earliest body of religious beliefs preserved in a literary guise, but also presents a more primitive phase of religious thought than is recorded in any other literature. It can, moreover, be followed downwards step by step through all the various stages of its development. It is finally the source of the religion of the modern Hindus, which can thus be historically traced backwards throughout a period of no less than 3,500 years. No other religion therefore furnishes such invaluable material for the study of the historical evolution of religious thought. As a natural result of its high value as a training ground to the investigator of religions, the study of Vedic religion gave birth, in the latter half of the

19th century to the science of Comparative Religion. Lectures on Comparative Religion are therefore peculiarly appropriate in the country which is the home of the Veda and especially in that part of India where the hymns of Veda were actually composed. I may mention by the way, that last Thursday I went up a high church tower at Ambala at 6 o'clock in the morning to realize what the Ancient Rishis saw when they composed their beautiful hymns to the goodness of Dawn. The study of the Vedas further led to the production, under the editorship of MaxMuller, of that monumental collection, in 50 volumes, of translation of all the most important 'Sacred books of the East', a mine of material for the comparative investigation of early religions. There you will find a translation of the Avesta though of only a very small parts of the Book. Perhaps the most valuable feature of comparative Religion is, that it enables us to ascertain, by scientific method, what the various religions have in common, thus leading to enlightenment, the removal of prejudice, and ultimately to the advancement of civilization. Another valuable feature of this science is that it acts as a check on wild 'a priori' speculations about the age and growth of various religions and mythological conceptions. It has, in fact, much the same value as comparative philology (which by the way originated from the study of Sanskrit) has in controlling extravagant etymologies. Without the Vedic evidence we should not know, for instance, what was the original nature of the Greek gods, whom we meet with only at a late anthropomorphic stage of development. That evidence, however, shows that man, at least of the Greek gods, must have been personifications of natural phenomena; the evidence of Greek mythology alone could not prove this. It also shows us, along with the corroborative evidence of comparative philology, what lay behind Indo-Aryan religion, and what religious material they brought with them from the antecedent period of national existence. In this way only do we know that before the Indo-Aryans entered India from the north-west, they formed with the Persians a single Indo-Iranian people, who had many ritual practices as well as religious and mythological notions in common, which represented an earlier phase of thought. Thus we know that, in that pre-historical period, they performed sacrifice, that they already had various kinds of priests, that

they had conception of cosmic and ritual order, of natural and moral law, *rita-sa-ha*, that they already had a sacred drink, *soma-haoma*, the intoxicating juice of the Soma plant offered as the main oblation, pressed between the stones purified by a sieve, mixed with milk, described as the lord of plants, as growing on the mountains, and as brought down to men by an eagle or eagles. Their highest gods were called *asprahur* conceived as mighty kings, drawn through the air on their war chariots by swift steeds, in character benevolent and almost entirely free from guile and immoral traits. They also had a fire cult. They worshipped a sun-god 'Mitra-Mithra,' invoked the waters (*Apah apo*); the wind (*vayu varu*) a deity called the 'son of waters' (*apam napat-apam napat*) a divine being connected with Soma ('*Gandhara Gandarewva*); '*Indra Vatravian*,' the demon-slaying god Indra, who appears in the '*Avesta*' in the somewhat altered capacity of a demon Indra and a genius of victory *Verethragna* (a change doubtless caused by the mythological dislocation produced by Zarathustra's religious reform); a ruler of the dead: the Vedic *Yama*, son of *Vivasant-Yima*, son of *Vivahvant*, ruler of Paradise. They also had a highly ethical god, represented by the Vedic *Varuna* and the *avestic Ahura Mazda*, the 'wise spirit,' who are parallel in character, though not in name. We could find the affinity in the domain of mythology much greater between Veda and Avesta, had not the religious reform of Zarathustra which of course took place after the separation of the Persian and Indian branches, brought out a very considerable displacement and transformation of mythological conceptions in the Iranian religion. If we possessed Avestan literature dating from before the reform, the approximation would thus evidently have been much greater.

Comparative mythology further indicates that the Veda derives a heritage from the far older Indo-European period, when the remote ancestors of the various branches of the Indo-European still formed one single people. But the information we can here gather is much scantier and less certain. We know, however, at least that they already believed in celestial gods *Skt. devas*, *Lith. devas*, *Lat. deus*: from 'div' 'heaven'; and that one of them was the personification of heaven, Vedic 'dyaus' and the phonetically equivalent *Zeus 'dyaus'*. The latter, the chief of the Olympian gods of Greece,

is much more anthropomorphic, more like a human being than *Dyaus*, who is however, at least thought of as a father. For in the *Rigveda* he is addressed as *Dyaus pitar*, 'O Father Heaven,' as also in Greek and Latin *Jupiter*. The earth is, moreover, called a mother: this is the case both in the *Rigveda* and in the Greek religion. The two are often invoked together in the hymns of the *Rigveda* in the dual as *Dyava-prthivi*. This idea of Heaven and Earth being universal parents probably goes back to a still remote antiquity. For it is familiar to the mythology of China, and of New Zealand, and may be traced in that of Egypt. It was possibly a universal belief of primitive man. The practice of magical rites and the worship of inanimate objects, which still survive in the Veda, probably come down from an equally remote stage in the mental development of mankind. Some elements, however, especially those which do not appear in the earliest period, such as the adoration of serpents, phallus-worship, and the belief in transmigration, the Indo-Aryans may have borrowed from the aborigines of India with whom they came in contact; for India is the land of snakes; phallus worshippers are spoken of as unbelievers; while the transmigration belief cannot be traced in any of the Vedic *Samhitas*, and is not known in the other Indo-European religions.

After thus tracing the pre-historic background of Indian religion I may now proceed to describe the nature of the Vedic gods and of man's relation to them, as throwing light on the moral conceptions of the age. The Vedic religion was polytheistic, the worship of many gods, who were largely personifications of the powers of nature, such as Sun, Wind, Fire. I may here remark that all early religions passed through the polyistic stage. The number of the gods is stated in the *Rigveda* to be thirty-three; but we find not more than about twenty of these ordinarily invoked. They are conceived as human in appearance, each having one head and two arms. The anthropomorphic character is always more developed in the deities that date from a pre-Indian period, such as *Indra* and *Varuna*. Their home is heaven, where exhilarated by their favourite drink, *Soma*, they live a life of bliss. Their most characteristic attribute is power; they regulate the order of nature ('*rita*') and vanquish the powers of evil. They rule over all creatures;

no man can thwart their ordinances, and the fulfilment of desires is dependent on them. They are also benevolent, bestowing prosperity on mankind, the only one in whom injurious traits appear being Rudra. They are 'true' and not 'deceitful.' They are friends and protectors of the honest and righteous, but punish guilt and sin. They are thus moral. But their morality of course only reflects the ethical standard of an early stage of civilization. The best representative is Varuna, who as a moral governor stands far above the other gods. Omniscient, he is the upholder of physical and moral order. Sin, which is the infringement of his ordinances, arouses his wrath, and is severely punished by him. He binds sinners with his fetters. A hater and punisher of falsehood, he is merciful to the penitent. He releases men not only from the sins they themselves commit, but from those committed by their fathers. He spares the suppliant who daily infringes his laws, and is gracious to those who have broken his ordinances by thoughtlessness. There is no hymn addressed to Varuna which does not contain a prayer for forgiveness of guilt. The element of a divine mercy, you see, thus finds a place in the Vedic religion, but as you remember, was completely excluded in the Avestic system owing to the juristic character of that religion. Though Varuna is the most moral of the gods, his alliance with righteousness is not such as to prevent him from employing craft against the hostile and deceitful man. On the whole, moral elevation is less prominent in the character of the gods than greatness and power. Various features of the earth's surface, besides artificial objects, are found defined in the *Rigveda*. This is also the case in Chinese and in ancient Greek religion. Mountains are in the *Rigveda* often addressed as divinities, and various rivers, the Sindhu (Indus) the Vipas (Bias), the Sutudri (Sutlej), and especially the Sarasvati, are invoked in several hymns. Plants, the sacrificial post, the pressing stones, and weapons are addressed in other hymns. The powers of evil are represented by demons, the aerial foes of the gods, who fight against them. The combat is regularly between a single god and a single demon; generally between Indra and Vrtra. Later, in the period of Brahmanas, the fight is regularly between the gods as a whole, and the demons, now called Asuras, as a whole. This mythological conflict was, as you remember, moralized in the religion of the

'Avesta,' as a conflict between the principle of the good, as Ahura Mazda, and that of evil as Angra Mainyu. There are besides many lower or terrestrial demons, generally called Rakshasas, the enemies of men.

The relation of the worshipper to the gods in the *Rigveda* is generally speaking one of dependence on their will. Prayers and sacrifices are offered to win their favour to deprecate their anger. The expectation of something in return for the offering is often evident, the prevailing tone of many a hymn being 'I give to thee that thou mayst give to me'. The benefits sought are not always material ones, the forgiveness of the gods being often implored. The sacrifice offered to them consists in milk, butter, grain, or the flesh of sheep, goats, and cattle. It is conveyed to them in heaven by the god of fire, or they come down in their cars to receive it on a bed of grass prepared for their reception.

The idea is, moreover, frequently expressed in the *Rigveda* that hymns, sacrifices, and especially offerings of Soma increase the strength and valour of the gods. This idea tended to raise the influence of the priests and to encourage their sacerdotal pretensions which gradually went on growing during the Vedic age. Thus we find the statement in the "White Yajurveda" that the Brahman who possesses correct knowledge has the gods in his power. By the time of the Brahmanas the sacrifice had come to be regarded as all-powerful, controlling not only the gods, but the very processes of nature, such as sunrise. The gods were no longer addressed in hymns as new and spontaneous utterances, but with spells applied along with an elaborate ritual for the purpose of compelling the gods to comply with the wishes of the worshipper. The appeal was no longer of the nature of a prayer, but consisted of formulas of a mechanical and magical order. The moral attitude of men towards the divine powers had by this time very greatly deteriorated: religion had, as Andrew Lang wittily expressed it, fallen into its sacerdotage.

Let us now turn to the moral side of the Vedic religion as manifested in the relation of man to his neighbour. We do not of course find any systematic account of the moral ideas of the age in the Vedas but a fairly complete picture can nevertheless be pieced together from the incidental references and allusions contained in the hymns. There is sufficient evidence of this

kind to show that marriage was an established institution, apparently of a more permanent order than it was among some of the other branches of the Aryan race even in later times. Monogamy was the ordinary practice, as can be seen by various allusions in the wedding hymn of the *Rigveda*. The position of women was, moreover, one of much greater freedom than in later times. There was no such thing as the seclusion of women, which came about in India with the Mahomedan invasion some two thousand years later. It is, however, clear that the number of wives was not restricted to one in Vedic times, because co-wives (*sa-patni*) are frequently mentioned, and the "*Rigveda*" itself contains spells to enable a woman to gain her husband's affections in preference to her rival wives. The family was evidently the foundation of society. Parental affection and filial piety are often referred to, as for instance in the very first hymn of the "*Rigveda*": 'Be easy of access to us, O Agni, as a father is to his son'; or as in a funeral hymn Earth is besought to cover up the deceased as a mother her son with the end of her garment. There is no evidence to show that daughters were ever married before the age of puberty had arrived. Some are even spoken of as "age-ing at home", which indicates that marriage was not regarded as a necessity. The birth of daughters is deprecated in the *Atharvaveda*, but abundance of sons is constantly prayed for in the Vedic period, while lack of sons is regarded as on the same level as poverty, adoption being considered a mere makeshift. The wife holds a more honoured position in the *Rigvedic* period than in that of the Brahmins, for she shares with her husband in the offering of sacrifice.

The standard of sexual morality must have been comparatively high, for adultery and rape were considered serious crimes, and illegitimate births were concealed.

The commonest crime seems to have been robbery, generally in the form of cattle-lifting, and practised during darkness.

In several respects the religion and morality of the Vedic period still lacked features which are conspicuous in later Brahmanism. Thus the sacredness of life was as yet by no means prominent. At a period when the Indo-Aryans were spreading through the country war-like conquest and enemies were constantly being slain, respect for human life could not have been great. Again,

there is some reason to believe that the primitive custom of widow-burning had not died out but was restricted to the warrior caste; while much later it was a universal practice in India. Moreover, later Brahmanism, as represented by the code of Manu, the *Mahabharata*, and many other productions of what is called classical Sanskrit, shows two momentous changes that revolutionised the religions and social system of the Indo-Aryans, the doctrine of *karma* and transmigration on the one hand, and the system of caste on the other. These two together have given to Indian civilisation its special stamp for 2500 years. In the Vedas, though reference is made to the joys of heaven and to the tortures of hell, thus indicating in a general way that good deeds are rewarded and evil deeds punished, there is no allusion to the doctrine of rebirth. The Upanishads, however, the latest phase of the Brahmins, mention the rebirth of virtuous men as Brahmins and others of high position, and of wicked men as dogs, swine, or Chandalas. The idea of *karma*, or retributory action, and *karma-vipaka* or ripening of acts in future births, pervades the six systems of philosophy and the earliest lawbooks of the *Dharmasutra* class. A result of the combined doctrine of transmigration and *karma* is, it is true, to reconcile men to their fate as the just retribution for deeds done in a previous life, but on the other hand it paralyses action, drives to asceticism, and makes action self-regarding, since it becomes the aim of every man to win salvation for himself individually, by acquiring the right knowledge. There is consequently little scope for the development of other-regarding virtues, as each individual is intent on gaining his own salvation. Thus it is that none of the six philosophical systems includes a section on morality. What the *Dharmasutras* say about moral duties is of a narrow type, because they state only the special duties of men as determined by their rebirth in a particular caste, especially the Brahmin caste; they also discuss the obligations of Brahmin ascetics who by keeping the five vows of non-injury to living beings, of abstention from theft, of truthfulness, of continence, of liberality, and by the practice of various austerities and by concentration of mind, endeavour to obtain full deliverance from the bonds of *karma*, and to reach final emancipation by absorption in the supreme soul. Several of the duties in this list are self-regarding. The doctrine of *ahimsa* or non-injury to

living beings, spread considerably during this period, not so much perhaps owing to the growth of other-regarding morality, as from the fear

that relatives might be embodied in the particular creature that was being injured.
(to be concluded.)

HONI SOIT.

A VERY TRUE HISTORY OF WHAT ONCE BEFELL THE GOOD PEOPLE OF ESELTAL.

Vitasque in vulnere perunt.

Virg. Georg. I, IV, 238.

* * * * *

And more pinch-spotted! make them
Than pard or cat o' mountain . . .

The Tempest.

PART I.

In the Air.

Ariel—Your mandates to the very letter
I've carried out. They 're no whit better.
I've done with them. 'Tis a lost game.
'Tis hopeless. They are just the same.

Zephon—Say not that word. Let's not despair,
But to it again, and dare, and dare
I've yet one trump card left with me.
Let's work upon their vanity.
We've tried the heart—seems out of place.
There's one last chance—Let's try the face
Pinch 'em, and spot 'em beyond hope
Of water, bleaching salt, or soap

Belial (aside)—The clodpates! how they rattle on
Gives one the jerks to think upon.
The heart—why, it is only leather—
The face—but index of the weather.
That way you won't extract the thorn:
Must catch them soon as they are born.

PART II.

Eselal.

This horrid tale—this tale of woe—
It happened—well—some time ago.

But never ask that silly question—when?—
In India time's not made for men.
O happy land, where everything may lie o'er
Thou hast no history, no date, no clio.

Thou goest not by hand of clock,
Thou goest by thine own weather-cock.
For day, or week, or month, or year, alas!
Carest less than Friar Bacon's head of brass.

O Eselal, O Eselal,
Ah! is there on this mighty ball
Another bit of earth, or air,
Another which one might compare
With Eselal?

I doubt it. Hence I vainly ask—Is there
Another place like Eselal?
For there it was this thing befell,
Which seemed so like a miracle,
A thing so strange, so strange a thing,
Though much against my will I'm yet
constrained to sing;

For it caused such a scare,
And commotion, and stir,
And opened the eyeballs of every one there,
And for a whole year
Put things out of gear,
Made some swear through anger, and others
through fear,

And turned the town
All upside down,
And made all the people there white,
black, and brown,
To utter strange adjectives, or a bad noun,
And knocked out the shine
Of things once fine,
And made people's hair stand on end like
mere twine,

Or 'like quills on the fretful porpentine'.
 For truly it was a horrible thing,
 Almost beyond imagining,
 And such that one shudders to say, or to sing.
 For Eseltal, as all will say,
 Was once a place where anyone would like
 to stay :
 The air was dry, the skies were blue,
 The people not too many, nor too few ;
 There winter never was too cold,
 Nor summer hot, but you could hold ;
 And everyone was nice, and good, and made
 things go,
 And every year the monsoon made the
 river flow ;
 And then upon the river they would row,
 and fish,
 And picnic on its bank, as oft as one
 could wish ;
 The great man did not think himself
 too great,
 The poor was not despised for what he ate,
 Or for the white drill coat upon his back,
 Nor feared to call his brother Tom, or Jack,
 And everyone met everyone
 On footing of a mother's son,
 Nor feared that plumb down he'd be let
 By parting with a cigarette ;
 And all would give, and all would take a joke—
 For all were honest Anglo-Indian folk.
 And it was here,
 If anywhere,
 One might have said with any hope of certainty :
 Somewhat like this, I ween,
 Things must have been
 In ancient Temple, or in ancient Arcady.
 * * * * *
 But now the good old days were long gone by,
 The good old people too—for all must die—
 Ah how they die—the good—and slip
 their traces,
 And never come again the old familiar faces :
 Gone, and forgot, and fallen, in Nature's lap—
 Their like comes not again 'to fill the gap.'
 Goes too with them that social atmosphere,
 Like phantom hovering round the slow
 drawn bier--
 o how much more is covered by the spade
 Than the black coffin there with wreathes
 o'erlaid.
 And so with Eseltal it grew, and grew,
 And change succeeded change, still new,
 and new,

And both in fashion, and in population,
 Became a real, live, and first class station.
 In place of the old fiddles there was now
 the band,
 Of the old evening parties now the club,
 or stand,
 Of the old durzis now the milliner's shop
 Which rigged out Eseltal from toe to top ;
 And everyone who could afford the cash
 Plazed out in radiance now, and cut a dash,
 And those who cared not what, but how it looks,
 Ran headlong into all the Bania's books.
 Thus while the outward parts rose
 high, and higher,
 The inward went down lower in the mire ;
 And pride, and envy, jealousy, and hate,
 Waiting like wolves, now found an
 open gate,
 And rent them all asunder into knots,
 and cliques,
 And raised up viewless walls harder than
 walls of bricks :
 The pride of color, or superior clay,
 The pride of purse, of pudding, place,
 or pay,
 The pride of tailoring, and dress,
 and silk,
 The pride some suck in with their
 mother's milk,
 The pride that battens on another's pain,
 The pride that makes e'en poverty a stain,
 The pride that will not own itself as such,
 The pride that makes humility its crutch,
 The pride that centres wholly in the skin,
 And wisely—for there's little else within,
 The pride that never will be put aside,
 Because it falsely calls itself a proper pride,
 The pride that turns another's good to ill,
 The pride whose only reason is the de'l,
 The pride that turns nose up, and sniffs
 the air,
 And looks round with a most, most
 vacant stare,
 The pride that isolates, and keeps aloof,
 Through fear that it might show the
 cloven hoof,
 The pride so rotten that they say it stinks,
 The blockhead's pride who neither feels,
 nor thinks,
 The pride that rises from so small a thing,
 A fancy waistcoat, or a diamond ring,
 The pride that rolls itself up in its shroud,
 And mealy mouthed calls all others proud,

Grew sharper and sharper each time at
the tip;

With biscuit, or bun, and a sip in between,
To keep that fine delicate instrument clean,
Like a shuttle it went of a sewing machine,

As many a time they had done before,
And hoped to do as many more.

And so they gossipped merrily
The space of two full cups of tea—
But Ah! to-day there was a bird
That said: You'll never drink the third.

For suddenly

Mrs. Jelliby

Starts up as if she was bit by a flea.

And lo! Mrs. Jelliby opens her eyes

Wider, and wider with blank surprise:

It can't be mosquitos, it cannot be flies.

And what thing in these days comes down
from the skies?

And she flips with the end of her

handkerchief lace
At the spot that she sees on Miss Rattlebill's
face

But a fly it is not and flip how she may
The spot that she sees there will not go away.

And then Mrs. Jelliby said: O my—

O dear me—what shall I?—and wanted
to cry—

Run, my dear, run to your looking glass, do,
Just look at your face—What's happened
to you?

Miss Rattlebill flew,

Mrs. Jelliby too,

And there in the looking glass both looking in,
They see a black spot on Miss Rattlebill's chin.

And they wash, and they rub,

And they scrape, and they scrub,

And empty the basin, and empty the tub,

And try soaps Vinolia, and old Cuticura,

And salts volatile, and strong acids pure, or

Diluted—But no—

The spot on Miss Rattlebill's chin would n't go.
For the spot that was there on Miss

Rattlebill's chin

Was not on the top, but under the skin,

Oh! what shall I do—at all—at all?—

Lamented Miss Rattlebill, pale as that wall—

And tonight is the night of the fancy dress ball.

When lo! there on both Mrs. Jelliby's cheeks
She sees and she turns as green as leeks.

For there on each plum pudding cheek she sees
A spot as big as a two anna piece.

* * * * *

That afternoon,

In the month of June,

Oldish Miss Rattlebill, young Mrs. Jelliby,
Drank two, but never the third cup of tea.

And that was the night of the fancy dress ball;
And Eseltal turned out there—but not all—

And the room was bright, and the band did play,
And they danced, and they danced, and they
danced away;

And slander, and gossip, and talk big,

and small,

Went round, and round at that fancy dress ball,

And things which once heard could not be

forgotten,

Although those same were most false,

and rotten;

But never before did the things that were said
So great consternation, and fearfulness spread;

Not a one who spoke ill of another, or thought,
But bore on his face an indelible spot.

And every ill word, and ill thought in that place
Was brought home again by the skin of the face.

On some there was one;

But spotless was none,

On some there were two, or three, or four,

On some as many as twenty, and more;

While those whom slander was

specially vile,

Who slandered, and backbit beneath a smile,

Were spotted all over so thick on the skin,

You could not find place to stick in a pin,

Like the belly of pedigreed dog, and black,

"Like the water snake's belly on the

toad's back";

And straddling there, a picture of woe,

They wandered dejected, and black as a sloe;

In men, and women, and children, and all,

Gentlemen, ladies, big and small,

Or ever a word did leave their lip

Of slander intended to bite or to nip,

Or an evil wish,

Making fowl of one, of another fish,

A he, or a she,

Who wanted to be

The one only blackbird in the whole dish—

At once, like a shot,

On the heel of the thought,

Ere the last word was finished—in every case

There came out a spot on the skin of the face.

And they looked in the mirrors hung on the wall,

And some 'gan to whimper, and others to bawl,

What is 'Literature'?—And we may as well ask "What is 'Life'?" For, is not Literature the very essence of life itself? In whatever region of life we roam we will find the working of a hand that has shaped the contours and colours of all human figures there. Come to Religion, and Literature is the main cause that inspires the devotee.

'Lives of great men all remind (him)

(He) can make (his life) sublime'.

It impels his soaring spirit. It gives him a cleansing wash in the waters of flowing wisdom. Behold him flying on the wings of Old Thought and a vista of clean spiritualism opens up before him. He feels as if the whole Greatness of the dead world had come out of its sepulchral abode, had begun to live with him, and had raised him up from the low turmoil of blindly busy humanity.

Come to Morality, all the niceties, all the great medium of Literature. You talk face to face with the greatest genius of past ages. The greatest moralist of olden times parades before you on its vast platform.

It is a large collection of gramophone records. Should misfortune render you sad you have only to put a cheering record and switch on, and you listen to a calm analysis of the transitoriness of life's misery. It will tell you, men have been overcoming troubles and in their sermons you will find solace.

Like unto its charming sister Poetry it is a melodious singer of the cadence of life, whose

repertoire is inexhaustible. Choose whatever strain you will and life will stand in its reality before you.

It comes as a magic wand putting to flight all sadness. Literature is a soothing balm; every drop of it carries that which is the true essence extracted out of human playfulness in the domain of thought. Should social entanglements perplex a man, give him a dose of this juice, and behold how he revives.

It is 'wealth used in the production of more wealth'. It is the capital of human society. Its wealth of ideas supplies one great impetus to human action. It puts before man the vast extent of the possibilities of the human mind, exhibits its naked greatness and depth of thought in this large mirror.

Thus it produces an ideally beautiful image which points the path to eternal bliss. It invigorates life. Mankind finds inspiration in it, and herein also beholds itself vividly expressed. Literature is a constant companion of man in his long journey of life. It saves him from the peril of pitfalls. It puts before him the various methods in which men have been finding their way clear out of the tangled brushwood of the troubles and intricacies of life. It is a great guide that helps us in tracing the footprints left by the immensity of human glory on the 'sands of time'. In short, it supports life, it gives life to life, it is the eternal mainspring that glistens with gems of truths about life.

V. D.

THE KHWAJA.

I was living on the Srinagar Road, in the city of the Khwaja. Regularly four times a week he came to dispose of his second-hand books. The clock of time had not counted upon his thirtieth summer, but he looked prematurely old. A felt cap, never brushed, dust-laden, moth-eaten, from which waved forth his naughty pigtail, an ill-fitting, unbuttoned, almost torn coat at the mercy of every gust of wind giving a glimpse of his thread-bare, sweated, drenched

shirt, and a shabby worn-out Dhoti that must have never seen the washerman's face since the day of its birth, were the sole accoutrements of that bloodless bony figure, encased in a flimsy skin, with the legend 'poverty' blazoned on him. A fair sprinkling of grey in his hair, wrinkles, deep-furrowed on his narrow-forehead, and pox-marked, pinched face, made him look ill at ease. His eyes lacked lustre. His deep-sunken temples, blackish-yellow teeth and ashen

lips gave him a haggard look. His voice gasped as if there was a lump in the throat. He loved to chew the tobacco-leaf with lime, and spat out profusely. His stooped back made his body double which was strangely pitchforked on his ridiculously thin, undeveloped legs. Each passing care, each cankering anxiety gnawing the vitals of his heart left its never-to-be-erased impress upon his ugly and unassuming countenance, which told a tale of its own. He had a chin beard in the French fashion. Time, the grizzly-bearded conjuror, is fond of playing pranks with man—cruel, relentless destiny! He was defrauded in his youth of the sweet pabulum of our schools and colleges which he regretted. To compensate for the loss, he made it his business to keep himself ever in touch with these temples of learning. His soul communed with the stars while walking. He inhaled knowledge and wisdom at every step he took. He remained ever lost in the labyrinths of mental aberration. Barefooted in summer and winter, he trudged his weary way from day to day with a huge pack of all sorts of books on his forward-projecting back and a formidable bundle of artistically-bound, illustrated, fat folios in hand. He provided a fascinating study even to a casual observer. Early disappointments had dashed to pieces his rosy illusions, his edifice of moonshine, and one striking fact about him seemed to be that his cramped body was daily collapsing beneath the dead-weight of the incomprehensible sorrow of the world that rested heavy on his rounded shoulders. His ghastly pale, glassy look made his whole being so phantasmagorical, so unreal, so shadowy that in him one felt a shadow tired of the nether-land dusks secretly stealing into light for a few moments, only to creep back into the ghostly region of the shadows unperceived. His philosophic calm was amazing.

His business politeness bordered on gentility. He loved the glittering coin, but he loved his books still more, and sometimes it was a terrible wrench for him to part with his cherished manuscripts. Never an unkind word escaped his lips. Sometimes, a guileless smile flitted across the corners of his lips, but I never heard him burst into peals of trilling laughter. The rough use of the world had dried the very fountain of life within him, but he was humble as the dust of the wayside which lets everybody tread on it. The great wrong that society had done him resulted in the irreparable loss of his

powers to feel. He hung like a tear-drop on life's gossamer-thread.

The naughty little urchins in the street took him for a bedlam beggar—a screw-loose, and felt a devilish delight in making their raids on him. But his toleration of juvenile impertinance was a little more than admirable. When in the right frame of mind, he entertained them with songs and stories and pictures.

This tall, gaunt, horribly pale figure, who was slightly touched in the wits, won my sympathy all at once. My heart more than once melted into tears at the sight of him. I often watched him coming, from my study window with a sense of secret satisfaction. I admired his patience and perseverance in playing his none-too-lucrative trade. How often did my heart sink within me at the very thought that even a passing puff of wind might put out the fitful flickering flame from the worn-out vessel! I used to commend him to the patronage of friends. Gradually my kindness won him over, and he received me as his confidant. His drooping spirits revived a little and he yearned to give vent to his repressed suffering. He mumbled out to me the secret tale of his woes.

I missed him for a week, and wondered what could have happened to him. On enquiry, I learnt that my old friend had been fished by a pale, emaciated young man, who had just opened a stall of second-hand books in the neighbourhood. I knew this man at College, so I felt shocked at this strange partnership. His evil soul flashed out of his small, slag-grey, snake-like eyes. I had a horror, indescribable, of his snubbed nose and compressed lips wreathed in wily smiles. There was something repulsive in his appearance, tone and manner. His past had been questionable. There was honey at the tip of his tongue, but black poison within. He terribly hood-winked the poor man and deceitfully took possession of his treasure, which he had purchased with his very life-blood, to establish his own shop, and then turned him out to beg in the streets. This proved too much for my man. This cold, calculating, marble-hearted Shylock, this semi-civilized, man-eating Caliban, this green-eyed monster of ingratitude, drove my man mad and broke his already shattered heart into bits. I saw this husk of being peacefully passing away the other day, talking of his treasured books to the very last.

THE BOOKS OF THE QUARTER.

MODERN INDIAN ARTISTS

Modern Indian Artists: K. N. Mazumdar
by O. C. Gangoly (*Rupam* Office, Calcutta, 1923)
Rs. 16/-.

The close of the 19th century witnessed the beginning of the Indian renaissance and the claims of Western superiority, which had been tacitly and generally accepted by the mid-Victorian products of English education in India, began to be disputed. The partition of Bengal focussed the growing consciousness on a definite issue and crystallised a movement, which was till then simmering, into organised shape. It was but fitting that the re-action should have been the strongest in Bengal for she had been longest under western influences. The sources of inspiration in this revival were not altogether Indian. Europeans like Havell and Nivedita also played an important rôle by their sympathetic studies of the art and institutions of this country.

Not very long ago, the outside world probably concurred in the view of Sir George Birdwood that "sculpture and painting are unknown as fine arts in India." The beautiful figure of Buddha from Java [plate LII] V. Smith's *History of Fine Art in India*] could only elicit the criticism from this savant that the senseless similitude, by its immemorial fixed pose, is nothing more than an uninspired brazen image, vacuously squinting down its nose to its thumbs, knees, and toes. A boiled suet-pudding would serve equally well as a symbol of passionate purity and serenity of soul.' Since then there has been complete revolution in the outlook particularly of Europeans on the subject of Indian art. There has been a genuine attempt to understand and encourage the Indian point of view in the realm of art and art-symbolism. It was fortunate that the artistic re-action was headed by a man of genius—Abanindra Nath Tagore who was able to organise a band of disciples under his guidance and impart to his school definite characteristics.

It is but fitting that the first of the sump-

tuous volumes on Modern Indian Artists should be dedicated to him. Mr. O. C. Gangoly, the talented editor of the *Rupam* and the author of *South Indian Bronzes* is to be congratulated on the production of this delightful volume on the art of Kshitindranath Mazumdar. Mr. Gangoly set up a new standard of journalistic production by his beautiful quarterly—the *Rupam* and he has introduced a new standard of book-production and printing by his series of Modern Indian artists. The re-productions—5 in colour and 21 in monochrome, are altogether adequate and delightful. The Introduction of 41 pages exhibits the mellow wisdom and fine discernment of Mr. Gangoly and helps us to understand the guiding motives of this new school of revivalists.

Dr. Coomarswami wrote more than a decade ago; "The subjects chosen by the Calcutta painters, are taken from Indian history, romance, and epic, and from the mythology and religious literature and legends, as well as from the life of the people around them. Their significance lies in their distinctive 'Indianness'. They are, however, by no means free from European and Japanese influence. The work is full of refinement and subtlety in colour, and of a deep love of all things Indian; but, contrasted with the Ajanta and Mughal and Rajput paintings which have in part inspired it, it is frequently lacking in strength. The work should be considered as a promise rather than a fulfilment. So regarded, it has very great significance for the future of Indian Art." This criticism still holds good. Generally speaking the Bengali school of artists is eclectic in its ideas and methods. It is claimed for Mazumdar that his ideas have been "forged in the workshop of his own imagination and it will be difficult to point out in any of his types except those depicting Hindu images any similarity to the archaic types of Hindu or Buddhist images." This is perhaps true, but it must be remembered that all art is in a sense conventional and symbolic. The only condition is that the conventions and symbols used by the artist must be intelligible to his audience. Let me quote the words of Stella Kramrisch, perhaps the most eloquent of critics of Indian

art: 'The mere existence of a work of art is of no importance as long as it does not suggest a certain meaning to the spectator. The reality of art consists in its significance. A true work of art is the materialisation of an inner experience visualised by a display of forms and colours. The symbolism of the relation of dimensions and of colours, is immediately suggestive and does not need any explanation of its meaning.' The medium or the vehicle through which the artist expresses his meaning is after all a matter of secondary importance. The intellectual quality or the idea which is sought to be expressed or visualised is what chiefly matters. It is easy to discard the old conventions but infinitely difficult to originate new ones, intelligible with equal ease to the society to which the art embodying them is addressed. After all there is not much merit in novelty *per se* either of ideas or of symbols or of technique. It is sometimes forgotten by young enthusiasts who strive after originality as such that the artist just like the poet has to use a language familiar to his audience. Nobody will quarrel with the proposition that "it is from the head of the artist that pictures are to come." The point however to be emphasized is that the production of the artist will be intelligible just as poetry without any elaborate or esoteric commentary or even without the use of exegetical labels. This does not mean that every artistic creation, to be artistic, should be capable of discharging the full burden of its meaning and intellectual content to all and sundry devoid of artistic training or insight. Our university-educated people often talk as if no preliminary training or novitiate was necessary for critical appreciation of the creations of music and plastic arts. What they demand is a certain quality of prettiness and plausible verisimilitude.

I am here tempted to quote the sapient words of Abul Fazl. "I have to notice that the observing of the figures of objects and the making of likenesses of them, which are often looked upon as an idle occupation, are, for a well-regulated mind, a source of wisdom, and an antidote against the poison of ignorance. Bigoted followers of the letter of the Law are hostile to the art of painting; but their eyes now see the truth...One day at a private party of friends, His Majesty, who had conferred on

several the pleasure of drawing near him, remarked: 'There are many that hate painting; but such men I dislike. It appears to me as if a painter had quite peculiar means of recognizing God; for a painter in sketching anything that has life, and in devising its limbs, one after the other, must come to feel that he cannot bestow individuality upon his work, and is thus forced to think of God, the Giver of life, and will thus increase in knowledge.' "†

The strength of the Bengali school lies in the exquisite sense of refinement and peace which generally pervades their productions. Mazumdar is eminently successful with his feminine figures. They all move with their exquisite draperies in a dreamland of undefined grace and serenity. All his women are modelled on a common standard of feminine beauty. They all have the langourous pose, drooping eyes, with an expression half-serious, half-thoughtful, tapering fingers and beautiful feet. His Yamuna, Ganga, Radha, Shakuntala and the Gopis have all these characteristic features.

Like most of his school Mazumdar has gone to the epics, the Purans and folklore for the choice of his subjects. Mazumdar is never flippant. He is deeply religious, almost devotional in his treatment of the various episodes from the Purans. His *Rasliila* (Plate 17) is altogether a delightful composition remarkable both for its feeling and emotional quality as well as for technical achievement. There is always an atmosphere of ease, langour, and refinement in all his creations. It is only now and then that he succeeds in suggesting throbbing vitality and buoyancy of movement. Asitkumar Halder's treatment of the same subject, (Plate II, *Rupam* January 1922), is perhaps a superior creation to Mazumdar's beautiful picture chiefly perhaps on account of its suggestion of free and easy movement and the abandon of the figures to the passionate notes of the reed-pipe. Mazumdar is perhaps most successful in depicting movement in his picture called the 'Samkirtana' (Plate XVIII) where Chaitanya is dancing in the company of his disciples to the rhythmic beat of the drum. The high aesthetic quality of a work like this is obvious even without knowing anything about the life and work of Chaitanya. The beauty of

the picture is independent of the traditional associations connected with the name of the principal actor in the drama. Devotional frenzy and the ecstasy of self-forgetfulness are vividly suggested and one at once feels that the artist is merely visualizing his own emotions while reciting before his mind's eye, the moving episodes and vicissitudes of the life of *Gaurāṅga*. There are no less than six pictures relating to the life of Chaitanya, the finest of them being the frontispiece entitled Chaitanya and the peacock. Mazumdar is probably a Vaishnava and a follower of the school of Chaitanya; for it is not difficult to see that Chaitanya has provided him with the most fruitful of his inspirations. Like Burne-Jones, Mazumdar conceives his supermen as fine, tall, slim-majestic-looking people with rounded limbs and dreamy eyes.

I should imagine that Mazumdar was serious by nature. If he is successful in his delineations of Chaitanya, he cannot be said to have succeeded in his treatment of Krishna and his sporting Gopis. Mazumdar's Krishna irresistibly suggests the modern worldwide Goswamis of Mathura who have a very pleasant time as heads of the various flourishing temples, look rather sleek and well-fed in appearance and dress in the same style of dhoti and wear the same long hair as the Krishna of Mazumdar's imagination! The Gopi in the *Dānlīla* (Plate XXIII) and the *Rāslīla* (Plate XVII) stand on a different footing as also his Radha in Plate XVI and Plate IX. Mazumdar's women are always charming.

The quality which makes Mazumdar's women appear so languidly beautiful and gracious, vests his male creations with a certain appearance of effeminacy and feebleness. His Chaitanya, Krishna Arjuna and Pururavas do not stand forth as impressive figures suggesting virility either moral or spiritual. The quality of masculinity as well as of movement are not the strong features either of Mazumdar or of his school.

The attempt to recreate the Purāṇic figures is not always conspicuously successful for the living inspiration essential for breathing the spark of life in the creations of form and colour is absent. His Dhruva and Vishnu (Plate XIV) Arjuna and Urvashi (Plate II), *Dān-Līla* (Plate XIX), Pururavas (Plate V) and Manasa-Devī, (Plate IV)—are merely illustrations of the Puranic myths. His Manasâdevī and Sarasvatī (Plates IV and XII) are sculpturesque in their dignity and pose and the latter is perhaps the

finest effort of his sculpturesque paintings. There is imagination and restraint in his statuesque composition of Sarasvatī. As a composition of pure imagination, I like his Thundercloud (Plate VII). There is that inherent sympathy and sense of identity with the surrounding Nature which are characteristic of our entire outlook on the universe. When Shakuntalâ was leaving her beloved forest-hermitage for the capital of her royal husband, she felt a pang which was only possible because of her complete identity with her surroundings both of the vegetable and animal kingdom. The Thunder-cloud depicts a woman, a peacock and those eternal forces of nature in the shapes of clouds and lightning in juxtaposition and one feels that all the three are indissolubly bound with a subtle nexus of harmony and feeling.

Mazumdâr has a delightful sense of vegetation and foliage as of the sinuous folds of feminine draperies. He excels in modelling the hands and feet of his beautiful women on whom he lavishes all the resources of his craftsmanship. He is a keen observer of nature and a lover of natural beauty. With a dash in line and colour here and there he contrives to produce the most pleasing harmony with the minimum of elaboration and effort. The line-drawing exhibited in his delineation of his trees and creepers, leaves and blossoms is full of refinement and beauty. Look for instance at the singularly beautiful forest-garden where Shakuntalâ in the scantiest of clothing is seen watering the plants and flowers she loved so well (Plate XXII). One is immediately reminded by his Shakuntalâ of the famous verse from Meghdûta * summarising the essentials of Indian beauty. Shakuntalâ is stooping a little from the waist and Mazumdâr cannot shake off his artistic heritage imbibed with his mother's milk. 'L'art dans l'Inde sera indien, ou il ne sera pas'. The principal feature of his picture of Pururavas is the drooping willow-like branches which Vikram is passionately grasping. The drooping branches after all embody the essence of that paragon of beauty—the divine Urvashī. The vegetation-effects in 'Râdhâ back from the Jamuna' (Plate X), in the dance of Chaitanya (Plate XI) and in the colloquy of Râdhâ and Krishna (Plate XVI) or in the Ganga (Plate XXIV) and in the Kururavaka flower (Plate XXVI) are all delightful. The spreading roots, the winding lianas and the dense foliage of the

* Verse 52.

tree in flower in the latter picture are particularly pleasing.

The originality of Mazumdar in inventing dresses and draperies for his 'figurative creatures', may at once be admitted. And as I have said above, his draperies invest his women-folk with a certain amount of distinction and grace, and help in producing their characteristic pose of languor and dreaminess. If bold and vigorous movement, firmness of outline and definite characterisation are not the qualities conspicuous in his art or in fact in the art of his school, there is always an atmosphere of refinement and charm in their productions. His colouring is always beautiful and harmonious. "Whether he uses bright and rich tints or muddy and sombre tones his pictures never miss the throbbing life of colour. They always palpitate in rich mellow tones or in pale spiritual greys."

After making all possible allowance for the art of Mazumdar and his colleagues, it must be admitted that Coomarswami's estimate of their achievements cited above, is still substantially true. The joy of life of the Ajanta artists and his singular aptitude for 'intuitive discovery of the beauty in natural movement, unstudied attitude, the spontaneous gesture' and the dramatic movement; the effortless ease, beauty, a definition of line-drawing of the Rajput and Kangra school of artists with their deep sympathy and familiarity with the life and thought of the people amongst whom they lived and worked; the faultless and the magnificently decorative quality, the virile masculinity and vitality of portrayal of the Moghal artists—these qualities are still to be completely assimilated and harmonised in the creation of a new tradition of art which is just beginning to be. In the development of the new school of artists there is just a beginning full of undoubted promise; but the sources of their inspiration are yet too limited and diffused and their methods far too eclectic to let the artist soar and develop this full stature with confidence in this capacity and the future of his craft. Intellectualism has to be combined with the skill and technique of the hereditary artist and craftsman and the familiarity and the sympathy of the common man. Before the tide of artistic revival sets in a strong and majestic current, there has to be accomplished a real and living harmony between the joys of the material world and the insight of the spiritual mind. It is this combination of the material and the spiritual energy

which makes the Ajanta artists such supreme exponents of their age and civilisation, unsurpassed in the artistic history of this country.

To conclude and at some risk of being considered somewhat uncharitable and over-critical, I may be allowed to suggest that in the second edition of the work, translations of quotations from Bengali poetry may be given in the footnotes for the benefit of readers unacquainted with Bengali and that diacritical marks may be judiciously used particularly for words of Sanskrit origin and that the traditional difference between 'V' and 'B' (व and ब) (which is ignored by the Bengalis) be observed. There are a few errors of orthography and punctuation which also need correction. We hope that the pessimism of Mr. Gangoly regarding the artistic demand and development of educated India as shown by his printing only 300 copies of this beautiful work may be found to be unjustified and it may be possible to bring out a larger and cheaper edition. We look forward with lively interest to the further volumes in the series promised on the art of Asitkumar Haldar, Nandalal Bose, Abanindranath Tagore and others. It will be perhaps better if a brief history of the revivalist movement were to be given in the book on Abanindranath Tagore. It will be distinctly advantageous if it be possible to bring out future volumes of the series with somewhat larger reproductions. The beautiful publication of 30 drawings of the school of Jehangir printed under the authority of His Majesty's Stationary office at £0-7-6 a volume may be commended to the notice of our Indian publishers as well as to our ministries of education. Unless books on art are brought reasonably within the reach of the average Indian, it is futile to expect the broadening of general interest.

N. C. MEHTA,
I.C.S.

Money and Commerce.

Money Credit and Commerce. By Alfred Marshall (Macmillan and Co., Ltd., London, 1923) 10s. *net*.

To students of Economics in general, and to alumni of the Cambridge University in particular, a book by Prof. Marshall is an epoch

in itself. The veteran economist, whose eightieth birthday we celebrated only the other day, has published but few books although he has founded a definite school of economic thought and given economic studies a well-defined coherence and conspectiveness. Prof. Marshall's *Economics of Industry* published in 1879 was incorporated in his first volume of the *Principles of Economics* which made its appearance in 1890. This volume forms the classic treatise on theory and has received wide acceptance as the fount of sound knowledge. It is not exaggerated praise to say that every fresh reading of Prof. Marshall's '*Principles*' yields something new and original which never struck the reader in his previous readings; and the writer knows of a well-known economist of international reputation who confessed in his presence that he goes to the *Principles* for inspiration when struggling with complex theoretic problems. A period of nearly thirty years intervened before Dr. Marshall published his second volume of the series *Industry and Trade* which claimed to be a "study of industrial technique, and business organisation, and of their influences on the conditions of various classes and nations." It was a monumental work carried out with all the meticulous care and judgment which we have learned to associate with Prof. Marshall's name. *Industry and Trade* was essentially a book dealing with modern business conditions illustrating in manifold ways the truths of fundamental doctrines of political economy—it did not contain a discussion of the theoretical bases of such fundamentals, which the *Principles* covered in part. Prof. Marshall designed to follow it by "a study of the influences of man's life and work, which are exerted by the resources available for employment; by money and credit; by international trade and by social endeavour. But that task is heavy, and achievement has been slow: therefore it has seemed best to publish without further delay the present volume, which aims at accomplishing one-half of the task."

We welcome whatever Prof. Marshall has decided to give us, but as we glance through the contents of the present volume we can not help feeling that *Money Trade and Commerce* taken as a complete book in itself will not prove satisfying. But there are reasons for not considering the book as a complete treatise, for it is essentially a collection of the author's

evidence given before the Gold and Silver Commission, 1888, and before the Indian Currency Commission, 1899, of the Fiscal Memorandum presented to the Board of Trade in 1908 and of a privately printed paper on Graphical Representations of some Problems of International Trade (1879). Prof. Marshall has not chosen to travel beyond his views expressed in these documents. The course of international trade and commerce, of exchanges and money currencies of the world, of financial credit and speculation has undergone an almost revolutionary change during the last quarter of a century, and those who looked forward with interest to Dr. Marshall's exposition of the change will naturally be disappointed. It may be that the cataclysmic changes of these two decades require the lapse of time to be fully and dispassionately analysed, but they say that the supreme function of an economist is not to be wise after the event but prepare the ground from current available material in order to safeguard the future against catastrophies which have proved harmful in the past. But one can scarcely blame Prof. Marshall for this omission. He is dealing here with fundamentals and not with illustrations, and he can claim with pride that his theses have stood the test of time truly and well. A venerable old age surrounds this veteran thinker and savant, and one feels profound gratitude for the service he has rendered by placing before us a collection of his views on a difficult and intricate subject. *Money Trade and Commerce* will mark an episode in the history of economic thought; one may however add that although it was published in 1923 it rightfully belongs to the beginnings of the twentieth century.

The present volume is divided into four books. A brief introduction dealing with the question of economic nationality in its relation to international values leads us to the opening chapter of Book I on Money. 'Money' is simply treated as a medium of exchange of goods, as giving command over a defined sum of general purchasing power. A discussion of the difficulties in the way of accurate measurement of variations in the purchasing power of money follows. Dr. Marshall adheres to the theory of what may be termed the Labour-Value of Money, and his deductions remain correct as a general rule despite powerful opposition from another group of British

economists. Difficulties in the way of forming Index Numbers are briefly referred to and the author passes on to consider metallic currencies and the demand for them as such by various countries. It is interesting to notice that Prof. Marshall accepts the comprehensive qualifications of the 'Quantity Theory of Money,' which becomes almost a truism if these provisos are reckoned in the doctrine. The author repeats his scheme of currency reform, suggested to the Indian Currency Commission of 1899, and he still believes that the scheme is a practical one. 'Symmetalism' is essentially a variation of Ricardo's famous scheme by the introduction of silver in it—both silver and gold bars of defined weights to be used for purposes of international exportation instead of gold alone. Prof. Marshall is not quite clear how the rates of interchange between gold and silver as commodities should be arrived at. He suggests that the Government should fix its own rates from day to day so as to keep its reserves of the two metals in about the right proportion. One does not feel sanguine that such a fixation of rates, apparently irrespective of the general trend of prices, would at all be effective. It will be an interesting thesis if some able scholar were to devote his attention to combine Dr. Marshall's plan with Prof. Irving Fisher's conception of a 'stable dollar.'

Book II deals with general Business Credit and is very sketchy in outline. The treatment of banks and stock exchanges, as providers of Capital for business growth is not very comprehensive, though essentially accurate. The emphasis is rightly laid on the movements of stock exchange securities in the national and international markets, although the last war has impeded their general circulation as well as restricted the scope of such securities.

Book III on International Trade is more complete and full. The views which the author presents here are based on his Memorandum on Fiscal Policy (1908), and he has not met with any convincing arguments of fact or theory to alter the position which he then adopted in respect of Free Trade vs. Protection. Dr. Marshall remains a staunch Free Trader as far as England is concerned. Dispassionately enough, as would be expected of a classical economist of the authority of Prof. Marshall, the author analyses the incidence and true burden of an Import tariff. After a careful balancing of the advantages and dis-

advantages of fiscal protection for an old manufacturing country like England the author deliberately arrives at the conclusion that an imposition of customs tariff for 'protective' purposes would not yield compensatory benefits to sufficiently outweigh all the evils which would flow from it. As a problem in analytical economics Dr. Marshall's position is unassailable. But conditions and circumstances—both political and economic—are intricate and complex. They defy inventory. The analytical deductions arrived at from a consideration of detached aspects fall short of a comprehensive solution even if we attempt to build up the whole by putting together all the results arrived at piecemeal. Prof. Marshall, for instance, regards India's annual payment of what is erroneously termed the "Home Charges" as payment for the services which a 'good many able young men' exported by England have rendered to her in the past. These young men form a substantial item on India's import list for whom she pays heavily not only during the period of their active service but after their retirement to their native country. The payment is rendered doubly heavy by the prejudice and bias which these young men create in favour of British goods, even when their real costs be proportionately bigger. The British system of administration which they have set up, with its large hierarchy of state-servants and large experiments in state-socialism, is in itself conducive to the creation of an excessive fondness for British methods in industry and finance, leading inevitably to the institution of British commercial Houses with a natural list for 'Home' ideas and 'Home' products. It necessarily results in a definitive grip by Britain over India's financial and economic life. Let a duty be imposed on the *import* of able young men from England; possibly it will be a politically engineered one, but you can not separate fiscal economy from politics. Such a duty will contravene the principles of Free Trade, but who will deny that a judicious exercise of the tariff will result in great advantages to India through a gradual abstention from an indulgence in expensive luxuries? The signs of the times are distinctly favourable. The agitation in favour of the Indianisation of the Services and of the Army, the pressure upon the Government to place its Stores Orders within the country itself, the demand for the abrogation of the British Standard Specifica-

tions as a preliminary requisite for submission of tenders—broadening thus the competition for supplies—all these tend toward one aim, viz., the discouragement to the import of expensive young men from Britain, a luxury which a self-respecting nation should very well do without.

Dr. Marshall's views on the theory of International Trade, expanded and enlarged with the aid of graphical representations are in line with the best economic thought in the West—in fact he was the leader in pointing out the true valuations of the trade between one country and another. In places his analysis becomes too subtle and deep and is in danger of losing touch with the actual facts. But as a general rule his discussion is extremely instructive and fruitful.

In Book IV Prof. Marshall treats lightly of the fluctuations of industry, trade and credit. He does not fully develop the impact of an unstable currency on a country's trade, but the problem of unemployment engages his attention a good deal. He believes that with the development of technique the recurring chances of unemployment are diminished, and technical advancement is therefore of great benefit to mankind.

We observed at the commencement of this notice that Dr. Marshall's present volume was not quite complete, as indeed he himself says in his preface. May we in conclusion express the hope that Prof. Marshall will be spared for many long years to come and thus fulfil his cherished hopes of completing his original trilogy on Economics: a glorious service to human knowledge.

K. C. M.

ESSAYS IN THE LAW.

Essays in the Law. By the Right Hon. Sir Frederic Pollock, Bart, LL.D., D.C.L., K.C., (Macmillan and Co., Limited, London, 1922.)

Review by Justice Sir John A. Bucknill, K. C.

PART II.

(Continued from April Issue.)

The Seventh Essay is designated "The Transformation of Equity" and is, perhaps,

the best of the thirteen. "Equity, *aequitas*, "and equivalents in modern Continental "tongues, have for several centuries been "current terms among jurists and publicists" but whatever words are used, "the general "notion underlying them is that of a doctrine "or authority capable of preventing the hard "ship which otherwise would ensue either from "the literal extension of positive rules to "extreme cases or from the exclusion, also by "a strictly literal construction, of cases that "fall within the true intention of the rule."

There are two distinct aspects under which equity may be realized. In the older form equitable power is exercised by the King or some great officer of State who can dispense with rules at his reasonable discretion: the modern form is "the rational interpretation and "qualification of the rules (of equity) themselves by a dialectic and scientific process."

"The first method works by occasional "interference; the occasions may be frequent "or not, but each interference is still an isolated "act. The second method works, on the contrary, by continuous development "

What really happens is that there gradually grow up regular lines on which the King or his officer is accustomed or expected to move in the exercise of his equitable powers and the lines become in time rigid and "assume "all the features of scientific law" and "Extra-"ordinary jurisdiction ends by being ordinary "jurisdiction."

The processes of law were at first a "substitute for unrestrained vengeance or self help." For a long time there were no regular means at all, and for a much longer time no adequate means, of compelling parties to utilize legal process and hence "early legal "formulas do not necessarily represent the "general sense, at the date of their origin, of "what is just and reasonable" but they "rather "mark an outside limit beyond which vengeance or self help will not be tolerated."

In archaic morality the *just* man is one who knows how and when to forego the uttermost farthing and the *just* ruler is he who "gives "effect to the moral sense of the common-"wealth by relaxing penalties in cases of hard-"ship and by putting forth his pre-eminent "strength against enormous evil-doers." Sir Frederick roundly declares that to this day in Eastern countries "great men and superior

"officials are conceived not as ministers of rule, "but as wielders of a discretion transcending "rule:" but finds an amusing parallel in the Mediterranean countries where "patron and "other saints are besought and expected, some- "times on pain of losing their worshipper's "devotion, to perform a variety of good offices:" Sainte Radegonde of Poitiers having a special reputation for helping students through their examinations!

In England the old form of equity provided by "the King's administration of remedial "justice" predominated during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: the sixteenth was a period of transition and in the seventeenth one finds a full fledged—or should it be full-wigged? —Court of Chancery.

The equitable jurisdiction of mediæval Chancellors was not apparently unpopular and complaints only began to be loud in the sixteenth century: these outcries against what were thought popularly to be arbitrary and uncertain interferences with *legal rights* could be finally met in a civilized country by making it clear that the Court of Chancery "was not a "fountain of unlimited dispensations but as "regular a Court of Judicature as any other."

The great St. German struck the right note in taking the view that the fundamental principle of equity is not occasional and overriding interference but enlightened scientific interpretation "of circumstances in which an excep- "tion against the rules of general positive law "should properly be made." What really happened was that men saw, in the unfettered exercise of discretionary interference by an authority from which there was no appeal, a danger of its abuse for political and perhaps otherwise unworthy ends and would not tolerate such a possibility: the power, created by public opinion, to forbid the "pound of flesh" had grown too great! So your Court of Equity must become not a Court of Conscience with "roving powers of dispensation and "administrative experience" but an ordinary Tribunal "of perfectly judicial character:" and so it has! As an Appendix to this Essay is "A Note on Shylock and Antonio" (published in 1914. *Law Quarterly Review* XXX. p. 175) in part of which in an imaginary dialogue between Shakespeare and "a young gentleman of the Temple or Gray's Inn," Sir Frederick slyly shows that the story of the famous trial was never intended as a portrayal of the course

of justice but merely as "a good scene" and perhaps a tilt at the Star Chamber.

The Eighth Essay "Archaism in Modern Law" is one of extremely advanced scholarship and not mere collection of picturesque and striking survivals in modern days such as the outward garb of the judge or the ring of wedding. "I shall invite you," writes the author, "to spend this hour of professional diversion "among matters of antiquity that have entered "more deeply into the substance of the law"

Sir Frederick asks his hearers to try and conceive themselves living in the days of early Teutonic Law; when Courts were held and judgments given but execution left to be effected by the successful party himself. "In "Wessex, in Alfred's time, the pursuer of a "lawful feud might lay siege to his adversary "and deliver an assault if he held out after "due warning. Law is not yet the active "minister of justice, but rather a formalized "voice of the popular conscience declaring to "each man the point at which he may without "blame use whatever power he has to do him- "self right."

There are no rules of evidence in the modern sense: and no one dares to take the responsibility of forming any opinion, far less giving a decision on a matter of disputable fact. "There is a prescribed way for a party to prove "his case or to clear himself. If the fixed "conditions are once satisfied, the proof is con- clusive." What the author wishes to explain is, put into non-technical phraseology, that there were in those days no means of deciding questions of fact where there might have been (as we should say now) hard-swearing on both sides; there were no trained lawyers and certainly no such thing as cross-examination: and, so, proof and evidence are not regarded as capable of controversy: if a plaintiff swears in right fashion he *must* win: if he does not he *must* lose. In the Qadi's court in Ottoman territory one might see (as late at any rate as 1912) much the same idea: if two Moslem male witnesses of unblemished character swore on the Qoran that a deceased person bequeathed £100 to a certain beneficiary, the case was practically over! No cross-examination was allowed though the Qadi might be persuaded to ask a witness such, to Western lawyers irrelevant, a question as whether he had drunk wine and if an affirmative answer was extracted the witness' testimony was declared useless.

Sir Frederick points out that the remnant of this idea is found in the Scots law of the 17th Century where the "prerogative of proving" was still assigned to one party in "the rules of criminal pleading" and (to quote Hume) "on 'the evidence taken for that party the issue 'must entirely depend.' And even a lawyer of to-day speaks of 'the burden of proof.' So, too, 'trial by Jury, was, in its beginnings, 'only one possible mode of proof, and, like all 'archaic modes of proof it was conclusive. To 'this day (1892) the verdict of a jury cannot 'in strictness be appealed from."

Another archaic form of proof was the "Deed": but this is not of Teutonic but Roman origin. Down to the 13th century "scriptum vel duellum" i.e., "deed or battle" were "the two recognized final modes of determining an issue in the King's Court": and even now with what solemnity is the "Seal" regarded; the personal sign of the individual which "so long as a man kept it carefully he was in no "danger of forged grants"! The second—and a pretty piece of archaism—is the English "Grand Jury" still "an indispensable part of our system" though now almost a social or at any rate a ceremonial function. The learned author thinks that the Grand Jury is now of little use but "would be sorry to lose, without strong reasons, so venerable a link with antiquity. For the Grand Jury may be said to represent, in substance, though hardly by direct succession, that accusation by the common report of the country which in the early Germanic plan of criminal justice was no mere ornament or safeguard, but a mainspring of the machine." At any rate something of the Grand Jury style was going on in England in the time of Aethelred nine hundred years ago! "Let a Court be held in "every Wapentake, and let the twelve eldest "thanes go out, and the reeve with them, and "swear upon the halidome put into their hands "that they shall accuse no innocent man, nor "conceal no guilty!" and the modern charge to the Grand Jury is very much the same: but the connection between the two is, alas, not bridged by any continuous history of usage. The third archaism to which the author refers, is the Petty Jury but it is in a necessary unanimity of its verdict in criminal cases and in its mystic number 12 in which its antiquity resides. Indeed in the ancient Slavonic assemblies decisions were required to be un-

animous and an unlucky dissentient minority could, apparently, be fined or even beaten into acquiescence with the opinion of the majority; and as a last resort could be hurled from a bridge!!

As for the hallowed *twelve* of Germanic lore one has, says Sir Frederick, only to look at "the long hundred of twelve score;" twelve is also the normal number of acres in "the hide" and "a man put to his oath has to clear himself with his twelfth hand, that is, with eleven "other men's oaths to back his own!" At any rate in Christian times we have the twelve Apostles!

The last survival mentioned in this essay is the famous "Statute of Frauds"—with its "part performance" or, at any rate, "something in "earnest to bind the bargain,"—a fairly modern piece of legislation but "throwing us back to "the mediaeval Teutonic doctrine of sale" not intentionally perhaps but designed to "make "reasonable allowance for the existing habits of "English buyers and sellers which had doubtless remained, among country folk, practically unchanged for centuries." And Sir Frederick ends with this sage epilogue: "One "way and another there is a great deal of human "nature about man, and it does not forsake "him when he determines to be rational and a "lawyer"!

The Ninth Essay is entitled "Judicial Records." It is interesting to know that, in England, Judicial Records, for twenty years, lie in the vaults of the Royal Courts whence they pass into the custody of the master of the Rolls at the Record Office where "they are permanently added to a series unrivalled in the "world for their extent, antiquity and continuity." They go back to the year 1200!—and many are hard to read or understand.

Sir Frederick takes in fancy—like Dickens did Scrooge-Henry of Bratton—the Bracton of our books—through the seven centuries of papers and illustrates by an imaginary talk between him and an imaginary guide (who by the way is so clever that one can only imagine it is Sir Frederick himself) the way in which these Rolls show how the forms of Pleadings have twisted but developed; the simplicity of the 13th century, the "stiffening technicalities" of the 14th, the "flamboyant over-subtlety" of the 15th, the "enormous verbosity" of the 16th, the "heap of jargon" of the 18th and the pleasure of the "intelligibility" of the

10th. What, however, the old gentlemen would have said to the mazes of the White Book of the 20th no one can contemplate without preparing himself for some heavy oaths "Par le sanke qe dieu seigna!" or the like!

What would not States whose legal system is founded on Roman Law give for a tithe of these resources in Records from which the English jurist can draw his researches into his own? For though many reports of Roman forensic oratory are extant and familiar, there are, for example, no complete records "of a single action under the formulary system". And, after all, a knowledge of its procedure is an essential in understanding a legal system. "Roads", writes Sir Frederick very wittily, "are for the sake of 'traffic and not traffic for the sake of roads, 'and yet when a road is made the traffic has 'to follow it. So do the conditions of procedure, once established, determine the form 'of substantive legal problems and the lines on 'which they can be solved. The framework of 'procedure supplies the conventions without 'which no art can be practised."

Few, however, to the author's regret, labour at the harvest of knowledge to be reaped in the Record office: but one must, to garner a good crop, be equipped with a good sickle in the shape of "some acquaintance with the language and the materials of our mediaeval law": and to the University of London, to the Faculty of Law of which Sir Frederick was speaking, he expresses the hope that encouragement should be given to the pursuit of such study: but a knowledge of "bestly Latin" and "mediaeval French" must not be regarded as too much to expect! No doubt to so great a scholar as the author such little matters as those or the "niceties of classical Greek" are trifles: but one can at any rate agree heartily with him in thinking that, if these are some of the attainments with which the worker in this branch of research must perforce be equipped, "the suggested requirement would be well fitted to discourage amateur antiquaries from trying to pose as jurists"!

"There is less danger" Sir Frederick thundered in sternest mood to the, by this time surely trembling, Faculty "to legal science "from the frank and shameless ignorance of "the illiterate practitioner than from the sciolism and wild guesswork of the half-trained "amateur Great is the wilderness wherein

"the wild mare maketh her nest, and many "there be that find it. What is more, the lay "people may take those deluded adventurers "for real explorers and discoverers, as like as "not; for most laymen believe all law to be "so absurd that no doctrine in or about it can "be too absurd to be probable"!

With this peroration the Essay practically concludes and one can only imagine that the laymen, if there were any present, of the Faculty of Law of the University of London must have at that valedictory tribute crept away as chastened as their legal colleagues. What the Under-Graduates felt!—well there really is no knowing what Undergraduates feel if you have forgotten what you felt like when you were one and were confronted even with Justinian.

The Tenth Essay—a lecture to Americans in 1903—is on "English Law Reporting". Sir Frederick was well qualified to discourse upon this subject as he had then been editor of the English Law Reports for between eight and nine years. The first point which he stresses is that Law Reporting in England is unofficial and always has been. But in early years many series of Reports were produced by private enterprise though often enjoying a personal authority bestowed by their approval by judges. The multitude of independent Reports gave rise to obvious inconveniences such as for example competing authorized and unauthorized reports in the same Court and in 1865 as the result of much professional discussion, meetings of the Bar and "other matters of inducement.... "the Council of Law Reporting and their "Reports came into existence. That body is "not a Government or official institution. It "has no legal privileges and does not claim "any monopoly.....In fact it is a joint committee of the Inns of Court, the Law Societyand, of late years, the Bar Council". "If England were a German Kingdom", says Sir Frederick, "I should undoubtedly be an "official person, with some such title as "Königlich-Obergerichts-Archivs-Direktor, and "a Geheimrat or Justizrat to boot. As it is, I "am nothing of the kind. My learned colleagues "on the staff of the Law Reports and myself "are not an official hierarchy. We are not "members of the civil service. We have no "insignia, no precedence, no title to be invited "to State functions"..... "We confer freely "and confidentially, as occasion requires with

"the judges, with the counsel engaged in cases
"to be reported and with one another."

The author's criticisms of Indian Reports are very trenchant: he writes "as to the Indian Appeals I have a particular little grievance, 'not remediable except by the Indian courts themselves. The High Courts of Indian Presidencies are independent. Each of them 'has its own fashion, mostly barbarous and 'antiquated, of transcribing Indian proper 'names and words of art. Perhaps the extreme 'case is that of a beautiful Sanskrit compound 'which becomes "Chuckerbutty" in the Anglo- 'Bengalees' dialect, suggesting some grotesque 'personage in Dickens. The practical result 'is that the same name may be written in three 'or four different ways in the documents which 'come before the Judicial Committee and has 'to be indexed accordingly as if it were as many 'different names..... If the Indian Courts 'would agree to adopt any one tolerable and 'consistent plan of transliteration, the Indian 'appeals would cease to present a ridiculous 'appearance to every one even slightly acquaint- 'ed with any of the classical or vernacular 'languages of India". Things are probably a bit better in this respect than when Sir Frederick was speaking twenty years ago: but after all, though, of course, there is no excuse for spelling differently the same name in the same case it must be remembered that the method of phonetic transliteration of Indian nomenclature has been the subject of a good deal of capricious treatment at the hands, presumably, of, primarily, English writers: and almost any one must have observed such simple names as Ali printed "Alley" or "Allee" whilst the Irish policeman who reported on a dispute between "Larksman" and "Idobey" (Hyder Bey) had even less justification than the Indian forage-contractor in the North who addressed the imposing personage—a Colonel it is said—who presides over the Department of Mule-Transport as "Almighty Ass Master"! Then, too, Indian names may, it is presumed, be allowed somewhat to vary: and what can be said for "Smith", "Smyth" "Smythe", "Smit", "Schmit" and Schmidtz"? One feature of the English reporting is that utility to the profession is "the only test" for deciding what cases are to be published. Probably there is too much law reporting in India: at any rate there is quite enough: but it is no easy job either to decide what is worth handing down to posterity

or to edit what often "cannot be accepted as readable English"! Two months is the usual lapse of time, according to the author, between the date of a decision and that of its appearance in the Law Reports: in India it is in some cases a good deal less. But who knows? "Festina lente" and "the more haste, the less speed" are still as good aphorisms as ever, perhaps in politics as well as Law Reporting.

"Lay Fallacies in the Law",—the subject of the Eleventh Essay,—is once more a very scholarly—but rather a discursive production. Its purpose is "to speak of certain false opinions which are suggested, if not asserted, by the language of more than one old-fashioned text book" such as were still in vogue less "than half a century ago" (*i.e.*, in the seventies).

These fallacies are "signs of failure to give attention to 'the peculiar nature of legal science and the proper attributes of legal justice... .. Mistakes of this kind are "not altogether trivial "or harmless. Lawyers know pretty well in a "general way what Courts of Justice are capable "of performing and what not: but the citizen... "will often require the law to perform impossi- "bilities; and when his expectation is disap- "pointed, as it has to be, he will denounce "judges and lawyers as if they were in a wilful "conspiracy to pervert natural justice". Sir Frederick gives several examples and starts by "putting a juristic sickle into the harvest of Ciceronian scholarship"! For, he says, "the most fruitful of all these fallacies, if indeed it be not the common root of them all, is the assumption that the law "of the land purports "to be a general guide for the conduct of life". And this, or much of this, misconception is due to a mistranslation or rather misunderstanding of the unfortunate Cicero—an eloquent orator no doubt but "never esteemed an authority in the Common Law".

Cicero spoke of "Lex" (or "Law") prescribing "what is of good report", *i.e.*, as "covering the field of morals". But "Lex" doesn't mean "Law" in the sense of the text contained in Acts of Legislation but as the "willed design" of the framers of an ordinance: and what Cicero meant was that that design has (or ought to have) as its basis the framers' conviction that "what the ordinance commands is politically and morally right".

And poor Horace—not even a sea-lawyer but certainly a *bon camarade* and man of the world,

besides a sweet singer, has been "even more scurvily" misconstrued when his sarcastic "*Vir bonus est quis? qui consulta patrum qui leges juraque servat,*" is solidly translated as his opinion—a platitude hardly coming from a pretty poet such as Horace—without the antistrophe "*Quid leges sine moribus vanae proficiunt?*" We all know the fellow who "sails close to the wind": but it is the heart which really counts: and, when a new Law reflects the pulse of the people, a popularly elected legislature will pass it soon enough.

Another popular fallacy is that there can be no two views as to the desirability of the introduction of a fresh act of legislation: "lay people suppose that every legal problem is like a simple equation; whereas the problems of the political sciences, not excluding law, not seldom are more like equations of higher degrees in being capable of two or more solutions."

Indian Law-Makers please copy! as the advertisements say! Sir Frederick insists, and no doubt correctly, that the law as administered by respectable Tribunals "can exercise appreciable influence on moral standards" and that "the moral standard assumed by judges and legislators will probably be the standard of the better sort of men and somewhat, though not very much, above the average level of common practice". Sometimes it even goes further. Indeed the Court of Chancery judged trustees by a "standard of infallible omniscience and impeccable vigilance" with the result not that trustees became infallible, but that Parliament intervened to make it possible 'for a man of ordinary prudence to accept a trust'! all of which makes one almost laugh!

And as for the morality of lawyers themselves! well! Sir Frederick, like the good lawyer he is, defends them very nicely: they have known full well from the time of the Eternal City that only "a strict and even austere professional discipline is the price of public confidence".

The last fallacy and "perhaps the greatest" of all the fallacies entertained by lay people "about the law is.....that it is the business of a "court of justice to discover the truth".

Now "its real business", Sir Frederick says "is to pronounce upon the justice of particular claims, and incidentally to test the truth of the assertion of fact made in support of the claim in law, provided that those assertions are relevant in law to the establishment of the

"desired conclusion; and this is by no means the same thing".

The distinction is particularly noticeable in Criminal Law: "John Doe is found dead in suspicious circumstances.....and the State's Attorney prosecutes Richard Roe for the murder of John Doe.....and if the jury is not satisfied that Richard Roe did kill John Doe, the court will not, indeed, may not, conjecture, in public, who then did kill him".

But in a Court of Equity one may or might certainly find "a more plausible appearance of inquisitorial procedure" and "what with meticulous procedure, and (it must be said) Lord Eldon's proneness to hesitation and delay, which dominated the court for many years, a chancery suit became the synonym of hope deferred without limit". "Ah well"! sighs the author, "the unlucky truth is that most lay people, for one bad reason or another, believe all law to be so absurd that no statement whatever about it is too absurd to be credible; and they know no better because lawyers have taken so little pains to enlighten them"! another of Sir Frederick's double-barrelled shots! Folk say the law is an Ass! how hard Sir Frederick tries to prove it if not a Derby winner at any rate a Mule!

Any observations upon the Twelfth Essay "Reformation and modern Doctrine of Divorce" must be in the nature of a "Review of Reviews": for it was a Review of several publications on the subject which appeared in 1912 including "The Report of the Royal Commission on Divorce and Matrimonial Causes". (Cd. 6478. London: Stationery Office, 1912). The works reviewed were, besides the Commission's Report (a) English Church Law and Divorce. Part I by Sir Lewis Dibdin. Part II by Sir Charles Chadwyck Healey. (b) A History of Divorce by S. B. Kitchin and (c) The Divorce Commission: the majority and minority Reports summarized. By the Secretaries.

Sir Frederick points out that the terms "marriage" and "divorce" are ambiguous words and that each is often used in more than one sense "A positively valid marriage" is one thing; "the reputation of marriage is another; a promise to marry" is a third: but they have been mixed up at different times with bewildering results.

So too with "Divorce"; it may mean a declaration of nullity or in other words that there has been no valid marriage: or it may

mean a decree of separation which does not dissolve the marriage or authorize the re-marriage of either of the divorced persons, *i.e.*, divorce a mensa et toro: or it may mean a decree which does dissolve the marriage and authorizes the parties or at any rate the innocent party to marry again: *i.e.*, divorce a vinculo.

Sir Lewis Dibdin's contribution, *i.e.*, Part I of "English Church Law and Divorce" discusses whether the Ecclesiastical Courts after the rejection of obedience to Rome could have granted a divorce a vinculo or only a mensa et toro: it was certainly thought not but "ultimately a compromise of a peculiarly English kind was arrived at, which still exists in Ireland and has been transplanted to Canada. "The House of Lords undertook to grant divorces a vinculo by a process which took the form of a privilegium, an exercise of the whole Parliament's Legislative Sovereignty, but which in substance was judicial; and they met scruples half way, more or less, by making the process as cumbrous and expensive as possible." Sir Charles Chadwick Healey's contribution, Part II, deals with the curious case of Sir John Stawell's divorce. His suit was heard in 1565 and he was granted a decree for separation a mensa et toro but without security against re-marriage. In 1572 Sir John wanted to marry again and applied to the Bishop of Bath and Wells. Now it is interesting indeed to observe that whilst a mediæval or modern Bishop would certainly have replied that such a thing was impossible during the life time of Sir John's first wife, the worthy Prelate, unwilling to take personal responsibility but anxious to accommodate Sir John, passed on the question to Archbishop Parker. He issued a marriage license—a dispensation from banns in the ordinary form—without mention of the first marriage or the divorce, but with a special proviso or reservation, apparently intended not to exclude any future objections on the part of any one, including of course Sir John's first wife. Sir John married the lady; the divorced wife promptly sued him for restitution which Sir John skilfully compromised before the hearing. He then made a settlement framed most carefully to guard against the risk of children of the second marriage being held illegitimate; and then he died; whereupon his first wife claimed and what is more, obtained her dower. Presumably both ladies were satisfied and the con-

clusion at which one can only arrive is that the Church or the Law or both were no match for the old gentleman! Mr. Kitchin's book was a popular production; it might be, says Sir Frederick, "open to criticism in places, but the marriage problem in Europe resembles the Agrarian problem in Ireland.....There is no doubt as to the material facts, but endless divergencies as to the inferences". Marriage is not like any other contract and the terms on which it shall be dissoluble must be a question of public policy. On principle there is much to be said for a combination of wide legal freedom with a moral public opinion strong enough to check frivolous or capricious exercise of lawful discretion. In the Royal Commission's Report, the principal differences of opinion lay in the question as to the extension of the grounds upon which marriages ought to be allowed to be dissolved. It is still the main battlefield though quite recently legislation appears rapidly to be veering to latitudinarianism.

The Thirteenth and last Essay consists of observations upon an extraordinary and little known book of which the title is "Arabiniana". It is a lampooning account, written as if it were a volume of law reports, of the sayings of a Judge who administered justice in London from 1827 till 1841 and whose eccentric but humorous language on the Bench appears to have excited a good deal of amused remark. This gentleman was William St. Julien Arabin, Sergeant-at-Law, one of the Commissioners of the Central Criminal Court and Judge of the Sheriff's court in London; he also acted for a short time as Judge Advocate-General; and, notwithstanding his funny ways, there is no record of any public dissatisfaction with his performances! He was a rich man; the son of a General, with property in Middlesex and Essex and a seat called "High Bench" in the latter county where he died at the age of 67.

"It may be difficult to laymen", says Sir Frederick in his best professorial style, "who have no experience of reporting to believe that a Judge could be efficient who addressed a convicted prisoner in these terms! 'I have no doubt of your guilt, you go into a public house and break bulk and drink beer; and that's what in law is called embezzlement!' 'Reporters and Editors are much more charitable than lay people and they know very

"well that competent learned and even wise persons do say many things which would look 'passing strange if they were printed exactly 'as they were said and without the context and 'circumstances;" and Sir Frederick thinks that Sergeant Arabin's charges were more likely to let a humorous rogue escape (as indeed the book shows they sometimes did) than to cause London juries to go astray to any serious extent. Three or four more quotations are all for which room can well be found; though there are many of like nature. A prisoner received a good character from the witnesses; but the Sergeant in his summing up said "The accused was 'a brickmaker. Now we all know what a brick-maker's character is; at least I do!" A woman was found guilty of a serious offence: Arabin remarked in sentencing her "You must 'go out of the country; you have disgraced even your sex!" A very tall lady was giving evidence, but not very intelligently, and to her the Sergeant caustically remarked "Woman! 'how can you be so stupid? You are tall enough 'to be wise enough". A worthy dairyman whose chief business lay in the sale of butter and cheese was asked, in the witness box, the distance from one end to the other of a certain road; he hesitated with his answer and was promptly rebuked with the inconsequent admonition "No man is fit to be a cheese-monger who cannot guess the length of a street!" An unfortunate individual who had been found guilty of uttering defamatory words, addressed apparently to nobody in particular, pleaded for mercy on the ground that he had a wife and four children; but he met with little sympathy, the court simply crushing him with the observation "Never mind that; you may have twenty 'wives and twenty children, but you must not abuse the public!"—and so forth: and the odd thing is that all these "obiter dicta" are not fabrications but undoubtedly true: the book which is very rare was privately printed in 1843 and is in no way malicious or in the least offensive.

With this Essay one must put Sir Frederick's last book on a handy place on one's shelves. It is so good and bears so deep a hall-mark of profound knowledge as to make one feel almost despondent. Still one must try and produce something even though one cannot aspire to publish such work as Pollock's "*Essays in the Law*".

THE GOLDEN BOUGH.

The Golden Bough: A study in Magic and Religion. By Sir James Frazer, M.A., D.C.L., LL.D., Litt.D., F.B.A., F.R.S., *Abridged Edition*. (London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1922).

Sir James Frazer's *The Golden Bough*, is a recognised classic in the anthropological literature of the world. It is rightly regarded as one of the great books of our times. The eminent author of this monumental work has conferred a boon on the general reader and the student of humble means by bringing out this abridged one-volume edition of his famous work in eleven volumes. Though greatly reduced in bulk, all the main principles and arguments of the complete work are retained, together with a sufficient quantum of evidence to illustrate them clearly. As such, it is an ideal text-book.

The primary aim of the book is to explain the remarkable rule which regulated the succession to the priesthood of Diana at Aricia. That rule was that a candidate for the priesthood could only succeed to office by slaying the priest, and having slain him, he retained office till he was himself slain by one stronger or craftier. And before the priest could be slain, it was necessary to break the "Golden Bough" of a certain tree within the sanctuary at Nemi of which no branch might be broken by anyone except a runaway slave, who, if successful in the attempt became entitled to fight the priest in single combat, and if he slew him he reigned in his stead with the title of the King of the Wood (*Rex Nemorensis*).

To discover and explain the motives which led to this strange and barbarous rule, the author passes in review and discusses a multitude of interesting legends, customs and institutions, specifically different but generically alike, occurring in different parts of the world and in different levels of culture, from the lowest to the highest, with that erudition, thoroughness, wealth of illustration, critical acumen, cogency of reasoning, lucidity, and elegance of style of which Sir James Frazer is a consummate master.

From a wide survey of custom and legend it is inferred that the sacred marriage of the powers both of vegetation and of water has been celebrated by many peoples for the sake of pro-

moting the fertility of the Earth, on which the life of animals and of man ultimately depends, and that in the sacred grove at Nemi, a marriage like that of the King and Queen of May, or the Whit-Suntide Bridegroom and Bride in Europe, was annually celebrated between the Mortal King of the Wood and the immortal Queen of the Wood (Diana), like the sacred marriage of the Sun and Earth represented by the tribal priest and his wife among many lower races, as for examples, the braons of Chotanagpur. The King of the Wood at Nemi represented a long line of sacred Kings, the first of whom tradition identified with Virbius, the consort or lover of Diana, who had once received not only the homage but the adoration of their subjects in return for the manifold blessings which they were supposed to dispense. Diana of the Arician grove, conceived as a goddess of fertility, and a divinity of childbirth, it may be supposed, assisted in the discharge of these duties by her priest, the two figuring as King and Queen of the Wood in a solemn marriage, which was intended to make the earth fruitful and bless men and women with offspring.

Some reasons have also been adduced to infer that similarly at Rome in the regal period a ceremony of marrying the King of Rome to the oak-goddess (Egeria, a local form of Diana) was periodically performed (like the wedding of the Vine-god to the queen of Athens) with the object of quickening the growth of vegetation by homœopathic magic; that the Roman King represented and indeed personated Jupiter, the great god of the sky, the thunder, and the oak, and in that character made rain, thunder, and lightening for the good of his subjects, like many more kings of the weather in other parts of the world; and, finally that the rule of succession to the Kingdom among the other old Latin tribes resembled the rule of succession to the King of the Wood at Nemi, and that the sacred Kings of Rome, like the kings of the wood at Nemi, were originally liable to suffer deposition and death at the hand of any resolute man who could prove his divine right to the holy office by the strong arm and the sharp sword.

When it is remembered "how very often in early history the King is held responsible for the fall of rain and the fruitfulness of the earth, it seems hardly rash to conjecture that in the legend of the nuptials of Numa and Egeria we have a reminiscence of a sacred marriage which the old Roman Kings regularly contracted with

a goddess of vegetation and water for the purpose of enabling him to discharge his divine or magical functions. In such a rite the part of the goddess might be played either by an image or a woman, and if by a woman, probably by the Queen". It is possible that the Roman kings, like the Kings of the Wood in the Arician grove, "reigned not by right of birth, but in virtue of their supposed divinity as representatives or embodiments of a god, and that as such they mated with a goddess, and had to prove their fitness from time to time to discharge their divine functions by engaging in a severe bodily struggle, which may often have proved fatal to them, leaving the crown to the victorious adversary".

The conclusion arrived by the author after a most fascinating discussion of a variety of interesting topics extending originally over eleven handsome volumes, of which the present work is a summary, is that the priest of the Arician grove, who is otherwise called the "King of the Wood" really personified the spirit of the Oak-tree on which grew the 'Golden Bough' which indeed was "nothing but the *mistle-toe* seen through the haze of poetry or of popular superstition". As the life of the oak might be conceived in early thought to be in the mistle-toe, and as ceremonial fires among the ancient Aryans were usually made by the friction or combustion of oak-wood, the oak may have seemed to be the original reservoir of the sun's fire, and if the life of the oak was conceived to be in the mistle-toe, the sun's fire might have been regarded as an emanation of the mistle-toe. And as an Oak-spirit, Virbius, the first "King of the Wood" at Nemi "must have been supposed to periodically rekindle the sun's fire, and might therefore easily be confounded with the Sun itself". And this is why Balder who is similarly conceived of as an oak-spirit should have been so often identified with the Sun. "The god of the sky and the thunder", our author tells us, "was the great original deity of our Aryan ancestors, and his association with the oak was merely an inference based on the frequency with which the oak was seem to be struck by lightening. If the Aryans, as some think, roamed the wide steppes of Russia or Central Asia with their flocks and herds before they plunged into the gloom of the European forests they may have worshipped the god of the blue or cloudy firmament and the flashing thunderbolt long before they thought of associating him

with the blasted oaks in their new home". It is further suggested that the mistle-toe might not improbably have been conceived to have "dropped in the oak in a flash of lightning".

Sir James Frazer goes on to observe: "If Balder was, as I conjecture, a personification of the mistle-toe bearing oak, his death by a blow of the mistle-toe might on the present theory be explained as a death by a stroke of lightning. So long as the mistle-toe, in which the flame of the lightning smouldered, was suffered to remain among the boughs, so long no harm could befall the good and kindly god of the oak, who kept his life stowed away for safety between earth and heaven in the mysterious parasite; but when once that seat of his life, or of his death, was torn from the branch and hurled at the trunk, the tree fell—the god died—smitten by a thunderbolt". Similarly our author puts forward the conjecture that the priest of Diana at Aricia in the oak forests of Italy, like Balder, "may have personated in flesh and blood the great Italian god of the sky, Jupiter, who had kindly come down from heaven in the lightning flash to dwell among men in the mistle-toe—the 'thunder-besom' (a popular name in Germany for any bushy excrescence on a branch)—the Golden Bough—growing on the sacred oak in the dells of Nemi. If that was so, we need not wonder that the priest guarded with drawn sword the mystic bough which contained the god's life and his own. The goddess whom he served and married was herself, no other than the Queen of Heaven (Diana), the true wife of the sky-god".

To the general reader the explanation here offered of the institution of the priesthood of the ancient Arician grove at Nemi, now replaced by a Christian Church in the neighbourhood, is of much less interest than the invaluable mass of interesting legends, customs and institutions surveyed and discussed by our author by way of illustration and elucidation of the main thesis of the book. A mere enumeration of the principal topics discussed in the book will show the wide range of interesting topics dealt with. These are the institutions and beliefs regarding priestly or divine kings and incarnate human gods; departmental kings of nature: spirits of vegetation; the influence of the sexes on vegetation; tree-spirits, and tree-worship; nature and perils of the soul; taboos of various kinds such as those on intercourse with strangers, on eating and drinking, on showing the face, on quitting

the house, on leaving food over, on chiefs and kings, on mourners, on menstruant and parturient females, on warriors, on homicides, on hunters and fishers, on iron and sharp weapons, on blood, on the head, on hair and nails, on food and spittle, on knots and rings, on names or certain relations and of dead men, on names of gods, kings and other sacred persons; the corn-spirit and other ancient deities of vegetation represented as animals; the sacrament of first fruits; the propitiation of wild animals by hunters; the killing of the Divine Animal; types of animal sacrament; the magical transference of ills to inanimate objects and to animals and men; the periodical public expulsion of evils, and public scape-goats; fire-festivals and the burning of effigies, human beings and animals in the fires; and the doctrine of external soul in folk-tales and folk-custom.

Our author's critical analysis of these various beliefs, customs and institutions give the reader a vivid and true insight into early modes of thought. As samples of apparently queer customs still prevalent in some parts of the globe collected and commented upon by our author, we may select at random the following instances of the 'tragi-comedy of human superstition' which illustrate how the intercourse of the sexes as a means to ensure the fruitfulness of the earth has been consciously employed by the ruder race of the earth. "For four days before they committed the seed to the earth the Pipiles of Central America were kept apart from their wives in order that on the night before planting they might indulge their passions to the fullest extent; certain persons are even said to have been appointed to perform the sexual act at the very moment when the first seeds were deposited in the ground". The use of their wives at that time was indeed enjoined upon the people by the priests as a religious duty, in default of which it was not lawful to sow the seed. The only possible explanation of the custom seems to be that they confused the process by which human beings reproduce their kinds with the process by which plants discharge the same function, and fancied that by resorting to the former they were simultaneously forwarding the latter. In some parts of the Java, at the season when the bloom will soon be on the rice, the husbandman and his wife visit their fields by night and there engage in sexual intercourse for the purpose of promoting the growth of the crop. In the Leti, Sarmata, and

some other groups of islands which lie between the western end of New Guinea and the northern part of Australia, the heathen population regard the sun as the male principle by whom the earth of female principle is fertilised. They call him Upu-lera or Mr. Sun, and represent him under the form of a lamp made of cocoa-nut leaves, which may be seen hanging everywhere in their houses and in the sacred fig-tree. Under the tree lies a large flat stone, which serves as a sacrificial table. On it the heads of slain foes were and are still placed in some of the islands. Once a year, at the beginning of the rainy season, Mr. Sun comes down into the holy fig-tree to fertilise the earth, and to facilitate his descent a ladder with seven rungs is considerably placed at his disposal. It is set up under the tree and is adorned with carved figures of the birds whose shrill clarion heralds the approach of the sun in the East. On the occasion pigs and dogs are sacrificed in profusion; men and women alike indulge in a saturnalia; and the mystic union of the sun and the earth is dramatically represented in public, amid song and dance, by the real union of the sexes under the tree". The object of the festival, we are told, is to procure rain, plenty of food and drink, abundance of cattle and children and riches from Grandfather Sun. "They pray that he may make every she-goat to cast two or three young, the people to multiply, the dead pigs to be replaced by living pigs, the empty rice-baskets to be filled, and so on. And to induce him to grant their requests they offer him pork and rice and liquor, and invite him to fall to. In the Babar Islands a special flag is hoisted at this festival as a symbol of the creative energy of the sun; it is of white cotton, about nine feet high, and consists of the figure of a man in an appropriate attitude. It would be unjust to treat these orgies as a mere outburst of unbridled passion; no doubt they are deliberately and solemnly organised as essential to the fertility of the earth and the welfare of man". (pp. 136-137).

Our author does not omit to notice, however, that "the same theoretical belief in the sympathetic influence of the sexes on vegetation, which has led some peoples to indulge their passions as a means of fertilising the earth, has led others to seek the same end by directly opposite means". (p. 138). Thus, "from the moment that they sowed the maize till the time that they reaped it, the Indians of Nicaragua lived chastely, keeping apart from their wives and sleeping

in a separate place. They eat no salt, and drank neither cocoa nor *chicha*, the fermented liquor made from maize; in short the season was for them, as the Spanish historian observes, a time of abstinence. To this day some of the Indian tribes of Central America practise continence for the purpose of thereby promoting the growth of the crops. Thus we are told that before sowing the maize the Kekchi Indians sleep apart from their wives, and eat no flesh for five days, while among the Lanquineros and Cajaboneros the period of abstinence from these carnal pleasures extends to thirteen days. So amongst some of the Germans of Transylvania it is a rule that no man may sleep with his wife during the whole of the time that he is engaged in sowing his fields. The same rule is observed at Kalotaszeg in Hungary; the people think that if the custom were not observed the corn would be mildewed. Similarly a Central Australian headman of the Kaitish tribe strictly abstains from marital relations with his wife all the time that he is performing magical ceremonies to make the grass grow; for he believes that a breach of this rule would prevent the grass seed from sprouting properly. In some of the Melanesian islands, when the yam vines are being trained, the men sleep near the gardens and never approach their wives; should they enter the garden after breaking this rule of continence the fruits of the garden would be spoilt". (p. 138) This devious course of the human mind in its gropings after truth is thus explained by Sir James Frazer; "If we ask why it is that similar beliefs should logically lead, among different peoples, to such opposite modes of conduct as strict chastity and more or less open debauchery, the reason, as it presents itself to the primitive mind, is perhaps not very far to seek. If rude man identifies himself, in a manner, with nature; if he fails to distinguish the impulses and processes in himself from the methods which nature adopts to ensure the reproduction of plants and animals, he may leap to one of two conclusions. Either he may infer that by yielding to his appetites he will thereby assist in the multiplication of plants and animals; or he may imagine that the vigour which he refuses to expend in reproducing his own kind, will form as it were a store of energy whereby other creatures, whether vegetable or animal, will somehow benefit in propagating their species. Thus from the same crude philosophy, the same primitive notions of nature and life,

the savage may derive by different channels a rule either of profligacy or of asceticism". (p. 138).

The book teems from cover to cover with instances of apparently quaint but deeply significant customs and usages of the lower races of the earth and survivals or vestiges of analogous customs lingering in the folk-customs of even civilised Europe. The history of early thought, as our author reads it, is a 'melancholy record of human error and folly'. In the one general conclusion which our author draws from the record, he finds, "a message of hope and encouragement." It is, that "the movement of the higher thought, so far as we can trace it, has on the whole been from magic through religion to science". In magic, early man, we are told, 'depends on his own strength to meet the difficulties and dangers that meet him on every side.' When the acuter minds perceive that "the order of nature which he had assumed and the control which he had believed himself to exercise over it were purely imaginary, he ceases to rely on his own intelligence and his own unaided efforts, and throws himself humbly on the mercy of certain great invisible beings behind the veil of nature, to which he now ascribes all those far-reaching powers which he once arrogated to himself. Thus in the acuter minds magic is gradually superseded by religion, which explains the succession of natural phenomena as regulated by the will, the passion or the caprice of spiritual beings like man in kind, though vastly superior to him in power". But as time goes on, the keener minds finding this explanation unsatisfactory and "still pressing forward to a deeper solution of the mysteries of the universe, come to reject the religious theory of nature as inadequate, and to revert in a measure to the older standpoint of magic by postulating explicitly, what in magic had been implicitly assumed, to wit, an inflexible regularity in the order of natural events, which, if carefully observed, enables us to foresee their course with certainty and to act accordingly. In short religion, regarded as an explanation of nature, is displaced by science". And, finally, our author concludes with the philosophic prophecy that as science has supplanted its predecessors,—Magic and Religion as theories of thought (which they all are in the last analysis),

—as 'hypotheses devised to explain that ever-shifting phantasmagoria of thought which we dignify with the high-sounding names of the world and the universe',—so science, in its turn, 'may hereafter be itself superseded by some more perfect hypothesis, perhaps by some totally different way of looking at the phenomena—of registering the shadows on the screen—of which we in this generation can form no idea'".

Every student of Anthropology is, however, aware that authorities are not yet agreed as to the primitive relations between Magic and Religion. But the general reader will be interested to know that although some anthropologists hold with our author that in the evolution of human thought Magic preceded Religion; some others hold with Dr. Andrew Lang that Religion antedated Magic; and yet others, like Sidney Hartland, hold that both Magic and Religion spring from the same roof. The reviewer of a work like the one under survey—even in the course of an essay in the *Hindustan Review*—can do nothing more than barely indicate the nature and value of the contents of the book, and can hardly expect to give anything like an adequate idea of the wealth of interesting information and thought-provoking suggestions and theories it contains. And I would strongly recommend a perusal of the book not only to those who take a scientific interest in the subject but to every one who takes an intelligent interest in the history of human thought in so far as Magic and Religion in particular are concerned. Even the general reader who does not possess either the leisure or the inclination to go deep into the history of early human thought will find the book teeming with most interesting illustrations of the magical beliefs and practices of the ruder race and peasant peoples of the world which are certainly most instructive as well as very entertaining reading. The omission of all the notes that appeared in the original volumes and occasional condensation in the text have rendered the book handy and more easy of comprehension to the general reader. The get-up of the book is excellent. It ought to find a large circulation in cultured circles all over the English-knowing world.

SARAT CHANDRA RAY, M.A., B.L.,
RAI BAHADUR.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

ART.

Modern Indian Artists: Khsitindra Nath Mazumdar
by O. C. Gangoly ("Rupam" Office, Calcutta, 1923)
Rs. 16.

We accord a hearty welcome to this first of the series of Modern Indian Artists to issue from the office of the *Rupam*, the premier art-journal of Bengal. The talented editor of *Rupam*, Mr. Ordhendra Coomar Gangoly, has undertaken the formidable task of interpreting the modern art-tradition in India and no more capable hands could be selected for this onerous task. We are glad to note that Mr. Gangoly has wisely chosen to eschew "elaborate analysis or profound criticism" and present us with the artist as he is to be found in his paintings. In K. N. Mazumdar he has found perhaps the most representative of the modern Bengali painters; and in the first volume he gives us the more typical of the artist's works. The book is a beautiful production in art, and in 5 colour plates and 21 photogravures is set the delicate harmonies and colour-tones of the artist's *metier*. In a brief introduction Mr. Gangoly provides a sort of running commentary on the salient points of Mazumdar's work and faithfully interprets and upholds the indigenous Indian traditions and view-point on Art.

Perhaps the most debated question in the art of representation is the problem of aesthetics. Should a picture appeal to our sense of beauty purely in its aspect of a complex of line and form and colour, or should the subject matter intrude and provoke our acceptance of beauty in the representation of a beloved theme? Look at Plate XX: "Forgiveness of Chaitanya". The soft delicacy of line and simplicity of form carries an appeal to our aesthetic senses; the tone and modulations of the entire scheme blend into each other beautifully. The impression it leaves is one of delicate charm and dignity and restraint. But there is more than this. Our sub-conscious memory dwells on Chaitanya's idealised experiences and his lofty teachings. The picture begins to gather an added interest as we begin to relate the traditional Chaitanya of sacred memory with the incident epitomised by the painter. We perceive a subtle appeal to our motives, to our human contacts. Does the 'Message' mean more to us and

enhance the beauty of the picture or does it detract from the original sense-perceptions of its charm? Let us echo Mr. Gangoly's concluding words that for those to whom the subject matter of these pictures refuses to make an appeal will find ample compensation in the pictorial quality of their designs. "For if a work of art is beautiful we can perhaps forgive the artist for having a meaning".

Mazumdar's art follows in the best tradition of Indian ideals. To him Art appeals as a handmaiden to devotion, to *Bhakti* to the Lord of the Universe. It is the crystallised expression of one's spiritual experiences. The forms and shapes accordingly that flit across his canvas bear no relation to the visual figures. They are spiritualised realities. Mazumdar's recourse to the old love romances of Radha and Sakuntala, to Puranic legends and Chaitanya's life-incidents has freed him from the shackles of anatomical symbols. He paints 'out of his head', and in deviating from the external forms and shapes has stressed the uncommon and the ideal. A glance at his "Dhruva", (Plate XIV), "The Thunder Cloud" (Plate VII) and "Ganga" (Plate XXIV) will convince the Symbolist of the true design of *maya* (illusion). In his remarkable picture of "Yamuna" (Plate XXV) the artist exhibits an originality of treatment and perfect sincerity of outline which could hardly be achieved in a 'scientific' interpretation of the phenomenon. In "Shackled Freedom" (Plate XXI) the painter has travelled beyond his favourite models and shows his mastery over mere technique. Mazumdar's treatment of nature and feminine drapery follows his interpretation of art as an expression of sub-conscious appeals and not as a mere symposium of physical facts.

Truly the renaissance of Indian Art is with us and works like the one before us give us an idea of the rich treasures of our heritage and form a pleasant forerunner of future growth. Public recognition has been slow and tardy. Mr. Gangoly's beautiful book ought to resuscitate interest in the works of the modern Artists in Bengal, and we have no doubt that Mr. Gangoly will feel himself well rewarded if his little series evoked a genuine interest in art and artists generally. We commend his enterprise and appeal to modern India not to forget her artistic traditions in the storm and stress of political conflicts. A detailed

review from the pen of Mr. N. C. Mehta, I.C.S. appears elsewhere.

Indian Drawings—Thirty Mogul Painting of the school of Jahangir, with text by C. Stanley Clarke (Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1923) Rs. 7-8

In 1808 the late Lady Wantage received a birthday present from her father in the shape of a set of thirty-six Indian drawings of the Mogul school. They had come from the Imperial collection at Delhi and passed through a London sale-room. During the war Lady Wantage lent them to the Indian section of the Victoria and Albert Museum, and when she died bequeathed them to the nation. Thirty of the drawings have now been reproduced by the Museum in collo-type in the series of portfolios which already includes a set of illustrations to the "Romance of Amir Hamzah," after remarkable early Mogul paintings of the mid-sixteenth century. The drawings reproduced in the present portfolio are all of the seventeenth century presumably of the time of Jahangir, but some of them must belong to the very beginning of that emperor's reign and are in the style prevailing during the reign of Akbar. The portfolio, is an invaluable contribution to the literature dealing with Indian painting, and it is cheaply priced, for the artistic wealth it contains. It should find a place in every Indian library.

Poems in Black and White. By W. G. Raffé, with 60 original woodcut decorations by the author (Cecil Palmer, London, 1922) 7s. 6d

This remarkably handsome volume must surely become a milestone in the "movement" now proceeding in Europe, for the revival of the woodcut as a means of book decoration and illustration. Perhaps it is not altogether correct to call it revival, for woodcuts were not generally used as a direct means of personal artistic expression, as we find the cuts in Mr. Raffé's production. In the excellent collection he gives us there is displayed a mastery of expressional technique which has frequently earned him the unqualified praise of both expert and layman. The variety of style and also of subject of the cuts in this volume alone entitle him to rank among the best of modern European woodcutters, even though he confines himself strictly to black and white. His colour work, however, which is perhaps not yet so well known, shows that he has a mastery of colour when he chooses to use it.

It would be a useless task to select the "best"—as

useless as deciding between the lily and the rose, but it must be said that every one takes its appointed place as decoration, and that the design of the whole book, for which the author is responsible, is on a level that we could wish were more frequently reached by publishers. Even the force and intense power of the compositions does not become pictorial but adds to the text rather than distract from it.

We fear, however, that the merits of the woodcuts will tend to overpower the more subtle excellences of the verse. It seems that the poems would gain more attention if they had appeared alone. Mr. Raffé is not only an artist of power and distinction, but is also that rarer being, a poet of exquisite tenderness and understanding. Like that band which contains the names of Yeats, Eliot, and perhaps Tagore, he has that peculiar faculty which will allow him to understand both the East and the West. His verse has much of the same universal quality, which, rather than the local and the personal, enables art of all kinds to win appreciation all the world over. All the poems may not perhaps reach the same high level, but there are certainly a sufficient number among the 39 here printed to assure us that Mr. Raffé's work deserves the attention of all lovers of modern English literature. As in his woodcuts, there is a wide range, both in them and expression, from the sonnet to the *vers libre*.

In all his work there is a marked sincerity, a directness of expression and a sense of power that must betoken a mind of extreme vigour and decision, yet also subtle and intellectual to a degree that has been perhaps more frequent in India than in Europe. His versatility is further exemplified by his introduction on the value of black and white in art, in which he has shewn something of the amazingly wide scope in nature of black and white, and in his enthusiasm has claimed that this medium has a very high place in graphic and literary arts. The poetry of prose rules this introduction, and the apparent simplicity of the subject is vanquished by the many subtleties hinted at in fine and sonorous phrases that convey more to the meditation than to direct suggestion. It is moreover a confession of faith in humanity and its arts, and in its last wonderfully rich and vast thoughts carries the mind of the reader to things beyond those of earth to the stars and the ends of time.

Mr. Raffé is an author and an artist of whom we shall certainly hear more, and whom it will be a delight to hear, in whatever form he may send out his future work. He has certainly proved in this beautiful book that he can produce most acceptable work as an essayist, as a black and white artist, and, greatest of all, as a poet and thinker.

C. W. BROWN

POETRY

The Magic Tree. By H. Chattopadhyaya.

Perfume of Earth. By H. Chattopadhyaya.

(Shama's Publishing House, Aghore Mandir, Madras, 1922-23). RS. 3/- each

These two volumes by H. Chattopadhyaya, the talented brother of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, herald the arrival of a young Indian Poet of great power and singular charm. Young Chattopadhyaya comes of a poetical stock and given promise to attain to visions, as sublime as they are divinely-inspired, which have moulded the thoughts of the centuries. He claims kinship with the line of Percy Bysshe Shelley, the immortal singer of human kindness and of freedom from the tyranny of man to man. Chattopadhyaya has dreamt of the visions of the divine in the earth's commonest things. Out of these visions he weaves a charm of words, a melody at once alluring and inspired. In pure, faultless English his muse commands the simplest of words to capture for his fancy the intonation and the rhythm of his spiritualised ideals. He interprets the verities of the Indian soul in lyrics worthy of comparison with the noblest lyrics of the English language. If

"... The crystal urge
Of unseen beauty and eternal mind
Forever beats, like restless wings, behind
The blindness of our bodies", ...

H. Chattopadhyaya has by the magic of his verse given us "access to warm inviolate founts of fire". Thus he interprets the soul of the East in an alien tongue, and pleads for that greater understanding which comes from a less materialistic and more spiritualised, and therefore ideal, outlook upon life. The sceptic may forgive the young poet for his fervent message for his poetry contains beautiful things of great charm and delicacy which are a pleasure in themselves and do not depend upon the message for the joy in them.

In *Perfume of Earth* is included a small playlet "Marriage of the Rat" which discloses another sphere where our poet may some day distinguish himself. There is rich humour here woven with delicacy into an old legend of the elemental gods of India. Chattopadhyaya should develop his technique of dramatic writing: his inspiration is true and finely-judged.

Altogether two very charming books of real poetry.

Shorter Lyrics of the Twentieth Century, 1900-1922.

Selected by W. H. Davies (The Poetry Bookshop, London, 1922). 5s. net.

"This is an anthology of poems and not an anthology of poets"—Mr. Davies has, in this opening

sentence of his Foreword, indicated his method of selection. Anthologies are not usually a success, for the selective art being chiefly subjective fails to meet with the approval of many an individual reader. The present volume, however, is a notable exception. Mr. Davies, himself a poet of considerable power, while affirming that his own personal response to the beauty of a lyrical poem has been the deciding factor for inclusion in this volume, has indeed devoted a good deal of care and industry to the achievement of an atmosphere of homogeneity and graceful charm. One feels like rambling through a wildly beautiful garden full of fragrant flowers whose perfume permeated the entire atmosphere. We flit from one bush to another, from the drooping fainting lily to the glad-some open-bosomed flower of the Sun; we leisurely caress the velvet-petals of the dew-tipped rose as we stoop down to part the swarming daisies of the field who lift up their heads in eagerness to give us a welcome: our emotional response to each fresh contact is sublined with the ethereal sense of pleasure at things of rare beauty and charm. There are about seventy different authors represented in Mr. Davies' book and as many differing tunes; but there is no conflicting voice: a beautiful harmony prevails. Mr. Davies has given us the clue to his secret. His object was "to produce a book on every page of which is a thing of beauty or interest" and he has succeeded remarkably well; for this rare achievement he has earned the gratitude of all lovers of good poetry.

The Eclogues, Bucolics, or Pastorals of Virgil. By Thomas Fletcher Royds, M.A., B.D., (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1922). 6s. net.

Mr. Royds presents here a revised version of his own translation of Virgil's Eclogues which appeared in 1907. Virgil, "the chastest poet and royalest", with his strong appeal to simplicity of life and manners, possesses a singular charm for the overburdened humanity of to-day. His Eclogues contain his persuasive protest against the voluptuous luxury and debauch of contemporary Roman society, and consequently have a bearing on modern tendencies. But whatever the subject matter they will retain perennial interest, for, as the author says, "their *ethos* is imperishable". There is a charm and music in his lines which modernity vainly tries to capture. The first Eclogue contains what Dr. Johnson considered the 'most melodious line in all literature': "Formosam resonare doces Amaryllida silvas". The poet never intrudes, his is a tranquil, calming influence which carries the reader with a quiet dignity to appreciate the subtle purpose which inspired his lines. In the

present volume Mr. Royds gives the text on one page with its translation on the opposite. Supplemented by copious notes and references the edition besides being useful to students will be of assistance to non-classical readers, and will introduce them to the lofty and simple rhythm of Virgil and learn them to recognise the fascinating charm he possesses for scholars old and young.

Perfumes of Earth. By L. M. H. (Elliot Stock, London, 1922)

This volume bears the same title as Chattopadhyaya's book noticed above. Though it must be an accidental coincidence, it is curious that the inspiration of the two writers should bear a close resemblance. L. M. H. has earned recognition by his *Spell of the East* and in the present volume he sums up his philosophy of life apparently garnered from his sympathy and admiration for the ideals which are distinctly oriental. *Perfumes of Earth* is a symposium of neat and elegant prose poems in a style which is vaguely reminiscent of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. There is no hesitancy of thought in the strong passionate lines which the author has transcribed in his songs of love for things of the earth. The mechanism of expression gives him the freedom to extend his fancies to realms untouched by poetical rhyme; his dreams hover round the physical facts of life but his idealised experiences touch up his lines and produce an impression of unreality amid Nature's abandon and plenty. A strain of mysticism adds a further charm to the beauty of his lines: "There I saw you in the cloud, the flower, the bee; there were you in the eyes of my friend—in the quiet depths of my soul I found you, where you had always been. *Perfumes of Earth* provides a delightful dreaming away for the leisurely hour and leaves behind a haunting sense of pleasure and beauty.

The Gothic Rose. By Wilfred Rowland Childe (Basil Blackwell, Oxford) 1922. 3s. net.

A collection of characteristic poems in the ultra-modern style. Mr. Childe has developed the peculiar technique of his art along lines which profess to emphasise the realistic revolt in poetry. He has been relentless in his zeal and has not cared to modulate his fancies or circumscribe his visions. His verse remains as difficult and elusive as ever. Quaint little mannerisms intrude to enhance the esoteric quality of his poetry. We feel "mysterious martyred eternally" amid the clanking symbolism of his lines. Yet on occasions Mr. Childe shows himself to be a poet of sound inspiration. His little poem on "Violets" is a little perfection

"If violets have a spiritual colour,
That is the colour of thy soul. It is
The odour and the perfume ~~that~~ steal out
From a great porcelain bowl of violets
On some faint grey-blue Hesper of the spring,
When through the smiling trees a whisper goes
Of primaveral feet. O thou my child, for ever
Be in me, as the odour of the violets
On some blue Hesper of the spring."

These lines are beautiful and full of a rare charm. If Mr. Childe would only 'simplify' his ideas he would become a singer of great power and fascination.

Oxford Poetry, 1922. (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1922) 2s. net.

The present is the eighth volume of Oxonian poetry in the series published annually. The 1921 volume was reviewed in our October issue of the last year. As we read the present volume a comparison with the immediately preceding issue occurs to the mind, for indeed the contrast is very striking. We miss the lascivious knight-errantry of the 1921 Oxonians; their musical variations and snap-revolts from orthodox traditions provided a charm which is wanting in the present volume. A new generation occupies the portals—a sombered, becalmed and almost subdued group which is afraid of rebellion for rebellion's sake. They have not indeed lost the freedom of lyrical expression. Richard Hughes and Alan Porter are still represented and set the example; they have not learned in vain. C. H. O. Scaife, a new entrant, achieves delightful simplicity in his lines on Afternoon:

"When the trees let fall their draperies about them
And stand aloof from all the land around;
When waters sink into themselves
And when the air
Hangs motionless and visible;"

There are other pieces too of promise and developing power, but the general impression is one of hushed quietude. Even Mr. Bateson takes delight in singing in mournful tunes

"... A wail, ghost too
Flutters unechoed over all."

Sixteen and Under being a collection of original prose and poetry by young writers. (The Chelsea Publishing Co., London, 1922) 2s. 6d.

Miss Edith Place advertised for original contributions from boys and girls on any subject they liked. The present work is a selection from the replies she received. The selection has been made with reference

first to the idea or thought and secondly to its manner of expression. The experiment has proved very interesting as a glance at the collection of the young writers' works will show. It is astonishing to find what richness of outlook and ideas dwells in the immature mind. There are some really wonderful lines here and it is surprising to believe that a girl of 14 could write lines like these:—

"Cold lucent depths where fishes swim,
Crimson floating flowers of the sea,
Ribbons of silver, long and slim,
Coral caverns rosy and dim,
These are the things I see.

"Shells, pink and wet, on lonely sands,
Desolate beaches where sea-birds scream,
Iron-bound caskets from far-off lands,
Letters written by now dead hands—
These are the things I dream."

A reading of Miss Place's book will strengthen her plea for a special encouragement to the young people to write for the sake of developing their imagination and observation.

Poems in Dialect By R. R. C. Gregory (Somerset Folk Press, London) 1922.

These poems of Somerset share with folk poetry all the world over the charm of homely appeal and simple rhyme sung to a tuneful melody. Mr. Gregory has captured the fine local flavour of his countryside and his songs come straight from the heart. Simple and direct as folk poetry must be its secret of success lies in the measure of appeal it carries for men of the same neighbourhood: it expresses their 'soul' as nothing else does. Mr. Gregory's book satisfies these canons. Humour and wit combine in his verse to sing the charms of Somerset: "I never zeed such 'oodlands yet, Nor vields, so fair as Zomerset."

Black and White. By H. H. Abbott. (The Poetry Bookshop, London, 1922).

Black and White—a collection of short poems by Mr. Abbott—strikes a rural note in modern verse, of which Mr. Gibson is the chief apostle. The verse and the technique, the manner and the rhythm are not cast in the traditional 'unities': they move with freedom and unrestrained from customary limits. But the subject matter is the old farmer of the ages, his wife and her home, his children and his men-folk. A note of directness and simplicity characterises Mr. Abbott's descriptions and the impression he leaves is

one of maturing strength and confidence. His verse maintains an even level and successfully conveys his passionate love of the countryside.

Thorns and Sweet Briar. By Samuel J. Looker. (Author, 18, Allen Road, Stoke Newington, London, N.) 1s. net.

A miscellany of short poems dealing mostly with love or Nature. In a brief introduction Mr. Looker lays down a well-defined standard for poet-authors and in the following pages he attempts to model his muse on that ideal. His Nature poems are free from affectation and artificial poses; they spring from his emotional response to the innumerable beauties of this wild earthside. Mr. Looker's industry in maintaining a high level throughout is commendable.

Anglo-Indian Verse. By An Anglo-Indian (S. Varalachari & Co., Madras).

The most striking piece in this little book of verse is the new Omar Khayyam. The source of the poet's inspiration are such inconsequential things as the Cookhouse and the Baker's loaf: the atmosphere is 'local' and to one familiar with it the verses convey the quality of facile description in the author. Several folk-tales of the countryside provide the poet with material to work his fancy with wit and humour.

DRAMA

False Premises: Five One-Act Plays. By Laurence Housman.

The Man Who Ate the Popomack. By W. J. Turner.

Up-Stream. By Clifford Bax.

Advertising April. By Herbert Farjeon and Horace Horsnell.

(The British Drama League Library of Modern British Drama, published by Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1922). 3s. 6d. each.

In presenting these first four volumes of a new series the British Drama League lay stress on the fact that the selection is not "governed by any consideration of a play's commercial value." One would almost presume that the League would present only such plays as do not meet the Publishers' commercial instincts. But the reading of these four volumes leaves us wondering whether the commercial book-makers have not been missing the certainties. Or that the playwrights have lent these works to the

League with the object of advancing the aims of this worthy association rather than from lack of offers from publishing houses. For nearly every one of these little sketches possesses points of more than ordinary interest and represent perhaps the best type of modern drama.

False Premises contains five one-act plays, of which the 'Torch of Time' is the most striking. It tells a tale of patriotic fervour, of hot passions, of villainy and cynicism, ending on a tragic note. There is a strange touch of realism about the author's words and one can not help the feeling that events like those depicted here perchance happen every day in our midst. The other four plays in Mr. Housman's volume are insubstantial and works of phantasy. They are treated in a light vein and bear good reading.

Up-Stream, a drama in three acts, by Mr. Clifford Bax is one of his best works and contains a very carefully executed scheme of real dramatic interest. Love, Greed and Murder amid the lonely swamps of a Brazilian clearing provide the artist with a proper setting in order to lay out in a most striking manner the contrasts between the simplicities and crafts of human nature. There could be only one ending to such a sordid interplay of passions and Mr. Bax has rightly refused to end on a romantic note. *Up-Stream* is a work of real merit and deserves wide recognition.

Messrs Farjeon and Horsnell have selected the art of the Press-Agents and the fame of the movie actresses and presented an amusing skit on how stars are made and un-made. *Advertising April* is a pleasant little comedy which would receive favourable reception but for its strong lights and shades on the profession which feeds their art.

Mr Turner's play has a sub-title "A Tragic-Comedy of Love". The author does not believe in adapting the play to the practical exigencies of acting. Woe to the actor who "is not prepared to cope with" the difficulties of presenting the playwright's scenic symbolism! Mr. Turner's contrivances of stop-lights and transfers to dreamlands of the past may not satisfy the dramatic producers, but he has no patience for such. As a consequence *The Man Who Ate the Popomack* is a hodge-podge of good things and bad, odd mixtures of queer turns and twist with clever dramatic designing. Mr. Turner's defiance of the traditional limits of the unities of the play for the sake of production on stage may be admired, but he has not devoted as much care to the development of his plan as would substantially strengthen his revolt.

These first volumes are a good augury of the future of British Drama and the League deserves to be congratulated on the introduction of a successful series

which should go a long way toward resuscitating the new English Theatre

Plays in Prose and Verse. By W. B. Yeats (Macmillan & Co., Limited, London, 1922). 10s. 6d.

Mr. Yeats has collected in this volume most of the plays he wrote for Abbey Theatre, Dublin, and all of them except the "Player Queen" are avowedly Irish in their subject matter. There are eleven of them here and at the end is a short history of the plays furnished by Mr. Yeats himself. These chronological notes are perhaps characteristic, tracing the course of development of the dramatist's mind and laying bare the young Mr. Yeats and his present attitude toward these creations of his earlier days. The poet remains a rebel against the rigid tyranny of the abstract and dissolves his fancy-creations in the cess-pool of individualised realities. The result is a sort of phantasmagoria, a dreamland where fanciful thoughts take concrete shape and appear for the time as real and substantial things. Mr. Yeats may call himself a mystic, and he possesses a genuine link with the Blake school but somehow it appears that mysticism itself seems a sort of dream-fancy to him as he wishes to explain and interpret the ideal, to invest it with an individualised experience: Mr. Yeats remains a dreamer *par excellence*. The *Unicorn from the Stars* and *Green Helmet* are two representative plays to whom we turn for a revelation of the poet as he really is. Our pursuit remains elusive but we begin to feel more Yeats-like, we sympathise with the attitudes presented, and even at times feel ourselves cast in the role of his chief characters. We come to learn that the poet felt something like this when he wrote the plays and has given us what he has actually experienced. Only thus we come to understand and appreciate the rare charm and attraction of Mr. Yeats' poetry. Still we are unable to give full expression to what we actually feel, for only an Yeats can summarise Mr. W. B. Yeats' poetic experiences.

Krindlesyke. By Wilfrid Gibson. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London, 1922). 6s. net.

Krindlesyke is a chronicle of peasant life and manners "Four bleak stone walls" unfold here the story of their tenants from one generation to another. Krindlesyke stands as the symbol of their lives; the wilderness and quietude of Nature alternatively find an echo and a response in the lives of the peasant family that built and inhabited it. Nature, wild irresponsible nature provokes a strain of wilful lust

and revolt; same as her patience and submissiveness help in re-building the home bereft of joy and domesticity. Ezra Barrasford, the old and blind shepherd, and his wife Eliza ruminate in the opening scenes on the chances of their youngest son's marriage. Jim has not led an altogether innocent life. On the day his newly wedded wife Phoebe comes home, Judith confronts her with Jim's baby and the broken-hearted Phoebe turns back to her parents and die of the sorrow of betrayal. The wild strain in Jim shoots up and robbing his old father of his hoarded gold Jim quits Krindlesyke for 20 odd years. The scene shifts and the elder son Peter with his gipsy-mate, Bell Haggard, make their appearance and reign at Krindlesyke. Their son Michael grows up to love and marry Jim and Judith's girl, Ruth. The quietude of nature prevails and Krindlesyke is a domestic hearth again. Bell Haggard listens to the music of the wild countryside and takes to the road. Judith rejoices in the humble joys of her daughter's happiness. A dark shadow appears in the person of Jim who threatens to break up the harmony of peaceful life, but Bell has followed Jim and heroically saves her son's home from being wrecked. Mr. Gibson has written some fine poetry describing the closing scenes of Bell's death. The clash of Nature's contrary moods as revealed in the chatter of Ruth's two little boys close the book.

Mr. Gibson in this portraiture of a peasant life through three generations represents the school of reaction against modern artistic plans which depend too much upon imagination and reckon very little of human nature. It is a proud achievement for Mr. Gibson to be able to successfully call us back to the realities of Nature's passions and hearken to their vital appeal. Mr. Gibson's verse is occasionally faulty; his dialogues, strained and long-winded; his use of the dialect not quite happy at times. But there is not the least doubt of the poet's inspiration Ezra Barrasford and Bell Haggard at the height of their 'cackle' shout out lines of rare charm and of real, convincing poetry.

The Machine-Wreckers. By Ernst Toller, English version by Ashley Dukes (Benn Brothers, Limited, London, 1923). 6s.

One hundred and ten years ago when Europe was convulsed with a catastrophe similar to the last Great War, England witnessed labour riots on a large scale following the introduction of steam-driven machinery in her industries. These riots known as the Luddite riots form the theme of a characteristic play from the

pen of Ernst Toller, the rising young German dramatist who has already achieved fame beyond his own land. *Die Maschinenstürmer* is his first work to be translated into the English language, and rendering has been carefully done in order to retain the essential characteristics of the original. *Machine-Wreckers* derives inspiration from labour riots of over a century ago but it possesses a direct appeal for the present in as much as the existing European conditions denote misery and hardships for the poorer classes as did the labour-saving devices in olden days. Toller introduces the ideal in the person of Jimmy Coblett, a simple-minded but enthusiastic worker who preaches the virtue of restraint and recognises that the cure for unemployment caused by the introduction of machinery is not the abrogation of machinery but the use of more machinery. He has a firm faith in the solidarity of Workers and bids his audience to prepare for the coming social revolt which will end present misery and unhappiness. Jimmy gains adherence for a while but the urgency of distress and the machination of rival leaders cut short his gospel and destroy both the engine—the symbol of new machinery—and its labour-advocate. The poet has used his theme delicately without in any way over-stressing the obvious or adorning the moral with superfluities. He exhibits a sincerity of treatment and a fluent rhythm of diction which could well serve as the model for modern playwrights. His emotional balance is carefully equi-poised and his prose dialogues never prove dull or inartistic. Mr. Dukes has rendered the play into English remarkably well. To quote his estimate of Toller's work: "He is a poet of the revolution, but the form of his work is classical; he is a historical playwright, but every line carries an echo of our own day and a beat of the living pulse; he is a relentless realist, but his dialogue (even in modern setting) passes from prose to verse and from verse to prose."—a very shrewd and careful judgment with which we entirely agree.

The Courting of Widow Malone. By Constance Powell-Anderson.

The King of Morven. By J. A. Ferguson.

The Happy Hangman. By Harold Brighouse.

Once a Hero. By Harold Brighouse.

(Gowans and Gray Limited, London & Glasgow, 1922). 1s. each.

These are of the series of the famous Repertory Plays published by the house of Gowans and Gray, which provide the material for amateur dramatic talents. These little playlets are conceived in the best

style and bearing in mind the insufficiency of amateur play-acting the design and scenic arrangement is limited to the simplest possible. *Once a Hero* and *Widow Malone* are bright little comedies, while the *King of Morven* strikes a serious note. *The Happy Hangman* is a phantasmagoria based on an incident made use of independently by Arthur Schnitzler in his play the *Gallant Cassian*. The playlets are admirable reading.

The Sisters' Tragedy. By Richard Hughes. (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1922). 2s.

The Sisters' Tragedy was hailed at its first performance at the Little Theatre, London, as the most remarkable and one of the most discussed plays of the season. The play has not suffered by print and fully sustains the eulogies bestowed upon it on its performance. Mr. Hughes' art does not shrink from the horrors of a ghastly act; he keeps the balance and by exquisite craftsmanship and sure touch with human passions raises the tragedy to a level where painful incidents are forgotten and leave in the mind a haunting memory of his beautiful conception. There is poetry of rare merit yielding beauty and artistic joy. What arrests the attention is the poignant sense of mental tragedy which hangs over the play almost to the very end and yet somehow no sense of physical disgust is felt. Mr. Hughes has achieved a rare success and deserves full recognition for the execution of a delicate piece of work.

FICTION

Hidden Lives. By M. Leonora Eyles (William Heinemann, London, 1922). 7s. 6d.

Hidden Lives is one of those powerful works of fiction which demand earnest attention because they touch so very intimately our daily lives and hover on the undefined fringe of those nicely-calculated rules of conventional morality by which Man chooses to set his compass of actions. Mrs. Eyles has given careful thought to the sex-problem of the age, and presents to us in the garb of an extremely well-written tale the modern sex tendencies and the varied aspects of the governing passion of human conduct. The author is not gentle in her exposure of slum life and slum morality; she is equally contemptuous of the genteel chastity of old maidens and canting padres who look hurt at the very mention of sex. Dr. Helen Clevion, the central character of *Hidden Lives*, is a charming type of modern girl-graduate in her best light. No-

thing finer has been written than the sensitively drawn pictures of a lady-doctor, conscious of the cold facts of daily life, abhorring hypocritical rituals of the Church, widely awake of the evils of promiscuous living in the slums and yet falling a victim to the fury of her own sex-passion, the crowning act of which puts her beyond the pale of mortal 'redemption'. Dr. Helen passes through the excruciating ordeal of introspection and self-analysis, but emerges triumphant at the end over weakness bred of the dread of stigma which will be attached to her illegitimate child by conventional moralists. Her faith lay in service to humanity, and rudely shaken as it was by the reproving and hostile attitude of a society sodden with Church half-truths, she managed with supreme efforts to control her instincts of service and brave the storm. The author traces the ideal behind such fortitude and claims to show in *Hidden Lives* "lives 'blunderingly, hopefully, unconsciously often, doing 'the will of a secret God, groping to find Him until 'at last His Splendour shines upon them, and they 'need blunder and grope no longer". Mrs. Eyles has done her work wonderfully well. Whether conventional society will ever judge Church morality by the criterion of human service is a problem which confronts the present age, and which will ask for solution more and more insistently as the present-day social laws begin to disintegrate in the chaos of slum life and slum conditions. We commend *Hidden Lives* as a valuable study directing attention to the vital problem of the modern era.

The Mad Rani and Other Indian Stories. By Philip Ashby (George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., London, 1923). 7s. 6d.

"A collection of Sketches of Indian Life and Thought"—a very intriguing sub-title. The author claims a 'bureaucrat's acquaintance with the country'. He has years of experience *out*, and now that a shadow of uncertainty and doubt hangs over the fine race of Indian Civilians he considers it a duty to plead for a study of the psychology of real India, in order, as he says, to prevent a "lie in the soul". Mr. Ashby has summed up in the Preface the central idea of his life's experience: "that he has failed to understand India". He wants to show how Indian mind habitually works. With a contemptuous gesture he adds that "their religious, philosophical and moral conceptions are different from ours...their standards of thoroughness in industry, of accuracy in the spoken word, of courtesy, honour, and sincerity in social behaviour, are difficult for us to understand. I do not say they

are interior." But Mr. Ashby has lived years amid "standards and suggestions which are oriental and alien—suggestions which buzz round you like a cloud of mosquitoes, they obsess your head and your heart like a languid vapour—these hints of intrigue, of tortuous motive, of nepotism, of self-deception, of personal favour." and he may therefore be pardoned for any curious twists and turns of thought in his presentation of this psychology of an alien race. To Indian readers Mr. Ashby's attitude of mind appears distorted; it would seem to them that the political problem has blurred his vision and robbed him of an impartial appraisal of the psychology of the Indian mind which does not always work in the political groove and that is about the worst we can say of Mr. Ashby's work. If we could detach ourselves from the racialism so much emphasised by the author we would heartily enjoy the little sketches which comprise this volume. The author has taken pains to arrive at a faithful delineation and his industry is commendable. The first nine sketches, being "plain facts and unadorned" are perhaps the best of the lot as they do not give one the uncomfortable feeling which the later sketches produce—the feeling that you are being imposed upon. Mr. Ashby writes simply and forcefully; he has a crisp and clear style and enjoys a facile pen. His treatment of Anglo-Indian life and manners in a few of the sketches show that his interpretation, when successful, forms charming reading, witness the little story of the Lady Doctor and the one entitled Indigo. The other tales of Indian life attempt at faithful portrayal but perhaps unwittingly the strand of cynicism interlined with a feeling of superior air spoils the effect. There is a virtue in plain unvarnished tale, but Mr. Ashby writes with a purpose and has to that extent allowed his art to suffer. But one can thoroughly appreciate and commend his plea for a wider understanding based upon study and sympathy between the two races in India, the Britisher and the Indian.

Casanova's Homecoming by Arthur Schnitzler (Translated by Eden and Cedar Paul) [Brentano's Ltd, London, 1922] 7s. 6d

Arthur Schnitzler, the eminent continental litterateur, has given us in this imaginative pendant to Casanova's *Memoires écrit par lui-même* a picture of the closing years of the 18th century when society and tradition were on the verge of a dissolution, and a new force was taking birth with mighty portents and was soon to overwhelm the age with fury. Jacques Casanova, or Chevalier de Seingalt as he

calls himself, is the representative figure of the decaying age—combining in his person the supreme adventurer and the perfect lover, the seducer of women and a trickster of fate. With polished manners and suave dignity, his conversational charm and fascinating delicacy toward women, Casanova obtained entrance to the most select *salon*. His Memoirs give us rich details of his varied adventures, and Schnitzler would seem to possess a thankless job whetting his imagination on Casanova's own account. But our author looks upon Casanova as the archetype of an age in the flux of dissolution, and has captured in the romantic incidents of Casanova's life the ideal setting for a sympathetic study of the age. His 'heroine' Marcolina, the almost perfect type of the newer lights that were beginning to shine on Venetian pallazas, falls a victim to the common weakness of the passing age, and perhaps in our modern understanding deserves but little sympathy for her unhappy betrayal. Arthur Schnitzler frames the incident as a fitting climax to the untrustworthiness of the period and does not shed many tears over Marcolina, the age reckoned not the default. "The tale is a gesture of human doubts" as the translator says, and the author has succeeded in producing an atmosphere of eighteenth century laxity and mock seriousness which makes a very fascinating reading.

Snags and Shallows. By Cecil Champain Lewis (John Lane The Bodley Head Limited, London, 1922) 7s. 6d.

Snags and Shallows is the chronicle of a Burmese river—big, fateful, mysterious river along whose muddy banks far in the uplands arose the fort of Shwedwin, wherein dwelt the loneliest white man in Burma. Michael Burslade was sick of his surroundings, fed up with his native neighbourhood,—muddy, smelling, altogether alien. But he was afraid of his solitude. Mr. Lewis has built his plot on the fact of Burslade's loneliness and has developed the situations well. The hero's encounter with a spirited girl—not quite white, though appealing and charming as only Eurasian women can be—disturbs his mental balance, and visions of a mistress ruling at Shwedwin swarm his brain. Follows the festive week at Tatkin, which among other things disillusioned him about Gladys Doggett: she did not belong to his caste, and white society frowned upon experimenting in blood strains. Burslade is diverted to the safety-channel, and happily the sloppy, sentimental daughter of the *burra* Commissioner builds up in her heart a shrine for the lonely

outpost-er. The rest follows in routine order. Michael resists with his heart for a time and tries to be 'fair' to the elusive Eurasian girl, but he becomes terribly afraid of loneliness and though Gladys seems to slip out, Christine has vowed to learn Burmese. Mr. Lowis has laid his net well and in an interesting manner, but his characters are weak and flaccid with the exception of Gladys Doggett. *Snags and Shallows* is rich in descriptive imagery and deals faithfully with the vast interludes of Burmese forests and sandbanks.

Secret Drama. By Isabel Beaumont (Andrew Melrose, Ltd., London & New York, 1922) 7s. 6d.

Secret Drama enjoys the distinction of being awarded the 1922 prize for 'first' novels. The Publishers present it with the commendation that for the first time in the history of their annual competition the prize-winner has no *proxime accessit*. This is high praise indeed, but a perusal of Miss Beaumont's work sustains this favourable interpretation. *Secret Drama* is not a tale of action or of thrilling adventures. The story opens very quietly with the expectant reverie of a mother fondly waiting for her ultra-modern daughter to come back from 'town' and live with her 'evermore'. These poignant intimacies of a mother's hopes, soon to be ruthlessly shattered, are very delicately delineated by the author. There is an ironic touch when the sudden impact of a callous and frivolous nature rudely shakes the quiet of mind of Mrs. Jesson but who will not refuse to believe in the loveableness of her dear Marie. Shock after shock reveal the contrariness of the two minds—one ultra-sentimental and forgiving, ready to sacrifice self for the happiness of the daughter, the other restless and superficial, always self-centered and recklessly oblivious of her nagging attitude toward her mother. Dido, the other girl in the story, shines out bravely in contrast. Marie and Dido form perhaps the two poles towards which modernity is leading women. Miss Beaumont possesses the power of characterisation which is not yet quite fully developed. Her book is essentially a reflexive study of some aspects of human conduct, but the book possesses sufficient charm to retain the attention of the reader till the very end.

The Sport of Destiny. By William Garrett (Jarrolds Publishers Limited, London, 1922) 2s. net.

"I set myself to create a little kingdom out of discordant elements. I dreamed of the gradual

enthronement of wisdom and the slow and steady sifting of the gold from the human dross. I am wiser now. You and I, we men, who would be Kings have but one kingdom to struggle for. It lies in the caress of a woman's lips." So Stephen Enderby after a fullsome career of efforts and struggles to realise and evolve a happy and contented community of human beings. He very nearly achieved success when Fate intervened and shattered his castles of dreams and reality. The author builds his powerful tale round the complex dilemma of Man *versus* Destiny. Stephen Enderby, the millionaire idealist is a mere tool; he struggles to rise beyond his early life. But fate in the form of a skeleton in the cupboard—the scandal attached to his early youth—springs on his schemes unwarily. Mr. Garrett does not over-weight his problem—there are thrilling adventures and exciting episodes mingled with the love romance of the adopted heir with the daughter of Stephen's early love. It is a well-written tale, though the main problem is left unsolved.

Rulers of Men by Mrs. E. W. Savi (G. P. Putnam's Sons, London, 1922) 7s. 6d.

Mrs. E. W. Savi is a novelist of Anglo-Indian life and manners. She has over a dozen books to her credit, and her style is always brisk and clear-cut. Her novels have secured for her a merited attention for industry, but not content to depict life of her kindred *out* in India she occasionally claims to interpret the Indian,—no, the *native*—mind to British readers. Of late it has become a fashion to weave your plot out of the quagmire of politics—a picturesque, but elusive subject. Mrs. Savi's latest volume *Rulers of Men* undisguisedly depends upon Indian political complexes for a story and an inspiration. If we were to consult Mrs. Savi for light on politics we will come across such choice advice:—

"We could not have held India so long, had it not been that the people have needed us; and, now, owing to the reforms, they will continue to need us more, as greed of power brings out the worst in human nature" . . . (page 4).

"Freedom of speech in a place like India is putting a premium on disaffection" (page 25).

"It (freedom of speech and press) doesn't pay in the East if you want peace and good government" . . . (page 26).

"The vacillation, irresolution, timidity, displayed in coping with most flagrant cases of seditious propaganda calculated to incite to rebellion

and causing open acts of rebellion, are responsible for all that is happening now, and has happened during the last few years" ... (page 90).

"General Dyer should have been upheld if India is to be successfully ruled". ... (page 327).
For a *true (sic)* understanding of Indian character turn we again to Mrs. Savi:—

"In the mass, the Oriental has an inherent reverence for rank and station" ... (page 26).

"No one respects justice so much as an Indian though he is incapable of administering it with absolute impartiality" ... (page 28).

"Allowing for exceptions, bribery is an instinct with Indians" ... (page 29).

Just one more quotation explaining the *motif* of the tale:—

"We must exact what is our due as guardians of the public safety—as rulers of the Indian Empire. Our prestige is in danger—the prestige of a great nation. ... (page 176).

As a matter of course the word 'native' is sprawled all over the book. The tale is a simple one relating the love affairs of a planter and an American girl tourist, with the usual happy ending but with plenty of thrills and adventures thrown in. Awkward corners in the story are smoothed with the help of convenient accidents including the forcefully drawn climax of an armed revolt. *Rulers of Men* is a readable tale with plenty of colour. What appeals most is the description of Anglo-Indian Society, for it is true to life as Mrs. Savi must know and not exactly a proper pattern for copy. Mrs. Savi has composed a paen of glorification of her race, but surely a paen could be sung without slinging mud at other races.

The Garland by Sigrid Undset (Glyndendal, 11, Hanover Square, London W. 1, 1922) 7s. 6d.

This volume is the English translation of *Kristin Lavransdatter* from the pen of the Danish novelist, Undset. It delineates the life-history of Kristin, the daughter of an unassuming Norwegian farmer, from her childhood to her maturity. The scene is laid in the 14th century, and the quaint medievalism of the age with its superstitions and ceremonials gives ample scope to the writer to portray the manifold aspects of living in those days. Kristin, the only surviving child of Lavrans, is naturally a pet daughter. She grows up amid work and honest living until her stay at a convent brings her face to face with human passions. She has been pledged to another man, but her love for Erlend, an aristocrat with a bad reputa-

tion, triumphs over her discreet feelings. Her surrender to him in her maidenhood works a complete change in her ideals. No longer the meek child of obedience and submission Kristin forever finds excuses for her seducer. Her faith is not shaken by cruel reminders of her lover's adultery. The strong and indomitable figure of Lavrans, the father, dominates Undset's pages, and if he is cheated into an acceptance of a marriage for his daughter, who is no longer a maid, his hardy forbearance evokes admiration. Such a plot hardly permits of thrills, but the chief interest of *The Garland* lies in a faithful and detailed description of what life meant in those far off days to a humble Norwegian peasant. Mr. Undset is a painstaking chronicler and his work is a monument of industry and research into medieval customs and traditions.

The Knight of Ravenswood. By Maris Warrington (Jarrolds Publishers, Ltd., London, 1922) 2s.

The Knight of Ravenswood is a historic tale of rural England of the medieval age when chivalry hand in hand with fanaticism and barbarity ruled supreme over the actions of men. Richard, Coeur de Lion—the legendary hero-King of England, embodying in his person the beauty and the grace of Knight-Crusaders and frenzied impulsiveness of savage strength, falls a victim to the charms of an innocent but lowly maid of the countryside. Nadine, the object of a King's Love, is tormented between her duty to her king and her virginal love for the man. A weird curse hangs over the consummation of her love-tale, and feeling thoroughly convinced of the fatal prophecy in case she yields to the dictates of her heart, Nadine chooses the cloister and sacrifices her beautiful life and love for the sake of the life of the man she loves. A delicately drawn picture which does well in recalling to our minds the heroic knight-errantry of an age which seems at this distance of time full of cruelty and superstition.

The Golden Bay. By J. Weare-Giffard (Jarrolds Publishers, Limited, London, 1922) 2s.

A tale of exciting and thrilling adventures off the coast of Devonshire. A crew of desperate pirates had made Lundy their headquarters for preying upon the trading vessels in the channel and the author tells us in a pleasant and interesting style how a young man gathers unto his side a few other people of the countryside and sets out to wipe away the reproach

on the fair name of Devon. The story is written in a picturesque language, and interest is sustained right to the very end when the pirates are brought to book after a gruesome fight.

Helen of the Old House. By Harold Bell Wright (Hodder & Stoughton Limited, London, 1923) 2s. 6d.

Mr. Harold Wright carries a deserved reputation for strong and spirited characterisation. In his latest tale *Helen of the Old House* he fully sustains his mastery over virile and forceful writing. The tale is the idyl of the *nouveau riche*; the plot derives interest from post-war adjustments. The new magnates who made money when war was on, finding themselves cut adrift from their old moorings of lowly brotherhoods and kindlinesses fail miserably in their efforts to ape the traditions of the cultured, but rich, few. The author interprets the aspirations of the workers with an insight born of true understanding and sympathy. He has abundant love for the Bobbies and Maggies of the slums, and in the person of the Interpreter gives us a beautiful character of lofty ideals and noble design. Helen's contrary moods are firmly portrayed and if her love-romance is wrecked the tragedy brings her light and contentment. *Helen* is a fine piece of writing and a very readable story.

The Hoarding. By John Owen (Hodder & Stoughton Limited, London, 1923) 7s. 6d.

Who said commerciality was the bane of modern life? John Owen does not think so. At any rate he has built up a romance—and a charming romance too—round the person of an ambitious and pushing young man who professes to specialise in Publicity. The author has cleverly turned the dilemma of the modern artist—*viz.*, art for art's sake *versus* commercialised art—to help him in mating together two independent and resolute young persons. If Boxrider is unable to accept failure as part of his scheme of life and Lesley unable to stand the cant of sham hypocrisy, well the way out is to join the lives of these two strong-headed 'moderns'. Mr. Owen has written a very successful tale.

ECONOMICS.

The Making of Index Numbers: A study of their Varieties, Tests and Reliability by Irving Fisher, Ph. D. (Pollak Foundation for Economic Research,

Newton (Mass.) & Houghton Mifflin Company, New York, 1923). \$7.50.

Prof. Irving Fisher of Yale University has won international reputation by his brilliant advocacy of a stable currency, a fixed measuring rod for money like a yardstick or a pound-weight. His thesis originally propounded in his remarkable work, *The Purchasing Power of Money*, was provided with a well-defined framework in his recent book *Stabilising the Dollar*. But Fisher recognised that the central pivot of his doctrine turned upon the capability and ingenuity of human mind to devise a fool-proof index number of prices and trade. To this task consequently he directed his attention and the result is his monumental work on *The Making of Index Numbers*. The book forms the first publication under the auspices of the Pollak Foundation for Economic Research—a body constituted to advance the ideals of applied economics; and no better start could be divined in as much as the utility of Economics for human weal depends upon its approximation to scientific standards of measurement and a book like Fisher's present volume is the first complete attempt to substitute measurement for guesswork in one realm of economic studies.

Prof. Irving Fisher has two main objects: (1) to test the trustworthiness of different Index Numbers which have been, or could reasonably be constructed, and (2) to help make their calculation rapid and easy. In his pursuit of the first object the author attacks the problem from manifold aspects. He defines an "*Index Number* of prices of a *number* of commodities as an *average* of their price relatives" and the fundamental purpose of an index number is that "it shall *fairly represent*, so far as one single figure can, the general trend of the many diverging ratios from which it is calculated"—a definition and purpose which would seem too vague and general to strict minds. The six chief methods of averaging, *viz.*, the arithmetic and its reciprocal, the harmonic, the geometric, the mode, the median and the aggregative, provide Dr. Fisher with the steelwork of his structure. He discusses the question of weighting and emphasises the value of the reversal tests in respect of commodity, of time and of "factor" (the last, being the most important, conditions that a formula for index numbers ought to permit interchanging the prices and quantities without giving inconsistent results—an original contribution by Prof. Fisher). These tests provide him with very effective instruments for balancing as well as constructing derivative formulae; and the discussion dealing with the question of rectifying various formulae by a sort of "crossing", *i.e.*, by averaging

antitheses, in order to arrive at the more perfect formulae, is a brilliant piece of original research and industry. The author deals succinctly with the tendencies of freakishness and bias which many formulae, including the simple arithmetic used by Sauerbeck and continued by the *Statist*, exhibit; and proceeds finally to discover the relatively superior of the group

Four considerations—accuracy, speed of calculation, simplicity and intelligibility—it is in judgment to decide the issue, and Dr. Fisher's verdict which follows the judgments of Edgeworth and Marshall is for the arithmetically weighted aggregative formula

$$\frac{\sum (q_0 + q_1) p_1}{\sum q_0 + q_1 p_0} \text{ (Fisher's No. 2153).}$$

It is not the ideal formula in point of accuracy but gives almost as accurate results and is simpler and speedier in calculation. A variation on the famous Paasche's and Laspeyre's formulae yields the most accurate results—the 'ideal' formula

$$\frac{\sum p_1 q_0}{\sum p_0 q_0} \times \frac{\sum p_1 q_1}{\sum p_0 q_1} \text{ No. 353.}$$

whose probable error comes to within one-eighth of one per cent!—a very remarkable result, which justifies Prof. Fisher's claim to have set up demonstrable standards of accuracy and evolved a method to suit different circumstances.

The Making of Index Numbers is an ideal book in point of lucidity of expression and simplicity of analysis. Its wealth of illustrations, numerical, graphic and algebraic, its numerous charts and calculated data, the easy and simple methods of deduction, its penetrating and keen analysis and a careful and judicious marshalling of facts—these characteristics make the volume valuable alike for the student and the scholar, for the lay businessman and for the expert. The abstruse mathematical 'proofs' are grouped in the appendices. There is no doubt that Dr. Fisher has achieved a notable success and his book will mark an episode in the development of the study of economic learning. There can no greater service to the cause which Prof. Fisher has most at heart than the evolution of a definitely recognised and established statistical mechanism capable of measuring "such elusive things as fluctuations in real wages, in exchange rates, in volume of trade, in cost of living and in purchasing power of money". We owe a debt of gratitude to the Pollak Foundation for placing this, their first, publication before us, and students of economics will look forward with added interest to their subsequent volumes.

The Trade Cycle. By F. Lavington, M.A., (P. S. King & Son, Ltd., London, 1922). 3s. 6d.

Unemployment is one of the acutest problems of the modern industrial era that needs an immediate solution. Of late considerable attention has been given to the understanding of the nature and occurrence of the state of enforced idleness among the workers. Mr. Lavington, one of the younger economists of the Cambridge school, gives us in this little book a brilliant resume of the discussion which seeks for one prominent single cause of unemployment in the successive waves of business confidence and depression which alternate almost with rhythmical regularity. The argument runs thus: the impediments to a stable equilibrium of supply and demand of labour are to be found normally in the influences which bring about cyclical depressions. These influences arise from the nature of modern industrial production. The liability to err on the part of the entrepreneurs, each acting on his own individual judgment and at his own risk, in respect of the future condition of the market, sets in motion forces which directly produce the rhythmical alternations of business activity, known as business cycles. The problem is complicated by the impress of monetary influences and the growing interdependence of business houses and industries. Mr. Lavington's discussion proceeds on orthodox lines and he re-affirms Prof. Marshall's conclusion that the active principle animating business cycles is the changes in the level of business confidence produced by forecasts of future demand overreaching the supplies and the requirements in an era of 'boom' and the estimates falling short in the following phase of business depression. The author, however, attempts to prove too much when he suggests that the main cause of the present acute unemployment is also to be traced to the normal rhythmical operations of business cycles, for the cyclical movements are too mechanical and inadequate to fully explain the prevailing post-war conditions. Students of Economics will find in Mr. Lavington's monograph a very lucid exposition of business cycles in normal periods of industry.

The New Economics. By Marten Cumberland & Raymond Harrison (Cecil Palmer, London, 1922). 6s. net

The authors of this treatise attribute the sundry ills of the present generation to the defective credit structure whereby the banking monopolists are able to impede the natural adjustment of production to consumption. The creation of financial credit by bankers, each acting at his own risk, is based on the

illusion of the cash basis", whereas, in fact, it is tantamount to a debt against the community, a debt which can not be liquidated until equivalent goods have been produced and sold. Over the unloosing of such productive forces the community has no effective control; this disability together with the consequent mal-adjustment in consumption is at the root of the recurring phenomena of "booms and slumps". The solution lies, in the opinion of the authors, in the adoption of the Douglas Scheme—a consumer control of credit and the establishment of a Just Price. The aim is to maintain an effective reserve of purchasing power—to increase when production increases through a regulation of price which should no longer be the ratio of money to goods but a ratio of consumption to production. How this ratio is to be made effective, what price is to be "Just" has not been told to us. We are dismissed with the awful warning that "the problem of the Just Price is the final problem posed by the historical sphinx, and the nations that can not solve it must perish." Messrs. Cumberland and Harrison's book provides, however, an instructive preliminary to the works of Major C. H. Douglas. It is written in a bright, forceful style and makes good interesting reading.

Principles of Public Finance. By Hugh Dalton, M.A., D.Sc. (Econ.) (George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., London, 1925) 2s. 6d.

Mr. Dalton has done well in bringing out in a book form his lectures on the theory of Public Finance. There is a paucity of good literature on this, one of the most important subjects of politico-economics. The author does not carry the theoretical analysis of taxation and its incidence and burden beyond the orthodox, classical lines. He supplies however the fragmentary texture with the leaven of bold and original thinking. His treatment of the costs of taxation is attractive and his discussion of the importance of the study of Public Expenditure well-timed. Dr. Hugh Dalton is in favour of the equity of reducing the inequalities of income by means of a judicious system of taxation and expenditure, on the lines of steeply graduated annual taxes (particularly on inheritances) coupled with a progressive scheme of grants. The policy of a National Minimum however depends upon the reduction of the heavy public debt incurred during the war, for whose redemption the only practical policy is liquidation. *Principles of Public Finance* is notable for the distinct emphasis it lays on considering the central problem of the duty of securing the best disposal of the economic resources of the community

in so far as public authorities can influence their disposal," for the only economic test of "productiveness" is its productiveness of economic welfare. Some of the propositions in the book will be sharply contested; others stoutly denied. But there can be no two opinion that Dr. Dalton has succeeded in presenting a scholarly treatise full of critical acumen and written in a forcible and clear-cut style. He has succeeded in providing exactly "the framework or general ideas" necessary for the building up of a sound and secure budget of income and expenditure.

The Capital Levy Explained. By Hugh Dalton, M.A., D.Sc., (Econ.) (The Labour Publishing Co., Ltd., London, 1925) 2s. 6d.

This little book embodies and amplifies the British Labour Party's case for a special levy on capital for the purpose of redemption of the huge accumulations of war-debt which annually costs about £m. 335 in interest charges. Dr. Dalton is a professional economist of sound reputation, though in the present volume he does not analyse very deeply the factors which influence the adoption of a financial policy. But he supplies ample economic reasons for the necessity of reduction of debt and the adoption of some such policy as the capital levy. The author has on his side the opinion of such eminent economists as Prof. Pigou and Mr. J. M. Keynes—the latter considers a "capital levy for the extinction of debt as an absolute prerequisite of sound finance in every one of the European belligerent countries." Dr. Dalton relies upon the present assessment of wealth prepared for Death Duties to furnish the data for the computation of the levy. He is more concerned in this volume to answer his critics—mostly businessmen with heavy interests—and has cogently argued from the negative aspect, *i.e.*, no other alternative is effective for the purpose; and that in pressing their demand for a capital levy the Labour Party is directing attention to the root cause of the present economic *malaise*.

Principles of New Economics. By Lionel D. Edie (George G. Harrap & Co., Ltd., London) 10s. 6d.

The primary purpose of this book is to co-ordinate the researches made in different departments of the science of political economy in recent years. Specialisation has entered in this domain of human thought as well; the differing modern developments of economic institutions and groups have given a new orientation to orthodox economic thought and intensive research and enquiry is needed to fully comprehend

the new phase. "The stage has been reached when it is of deep importance that the several divergent tendencies in economic interpretation should be integrated in their fundamental relations." The present volume provides such a synthesis. Mr. Edie lays particular stress on the psychological element in the fundamental bases of Economics. The wish to humanise (in the sense of including the factor of human nature) economic doctrines is entirely laudable and very timely. Social psychology should contribute to the science of political economy an "institutional" outlook. Mr. Edie may have overstressed the factor but there is no doubt that "the economic order at present needs more of the public motive, and will suffer bitter attacks unless this motive is forthcoming." The author divides his treatise in three parts. (1) Economic Psychology, (2) Economic Institutions and Functions and (3) Economic Adaptation. His studies of capitalistic structures are very interesting and the result of careful thought and shrewd analysis. The interlining of the argument with copious extracts detracts from the general impression and unity of the book, and as a consequence parts of Mr. Edie's study suffer from discursiveness and feeble texture. But he has brought together his data in a skilful manner, and despite the difficulties of the American turn given to phrases and sentences which at times make the language obscure *Principles of New Economics* forms a very instructive volume.

The Principles of Taxation. By Sir Josiah Stamp, K.B.E., D.Sc., (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London) 1922.

We welcome in book form, Sir Josiah Stamp's New-march lectures delivered at University College, London in 1919. Since then there have been numerous modifications in practice, but the book is substantially accurate and will immediately take its place as the most authoritative book on the subject. The book consists of six chapters relating to the need for re-statement of principles; the individual standpoint for the taxation of incomes; the standpoint of the individual in relation to taxes on expenditure, special receipts and savings; the standpoint of the state; the standpoint of the community, and ulterior objects. It is of interest to learn that "there is no country in which the whole system of taxation is one, logically worked out from first principles. Everywhere the accidents of political and commercial considerations in past history are perpetuated, and condition the present systems." Indeed, in McCulloch's adaptation of Pope's lines:

Whoever hopes a faultless tax to see,
Hopes what never was, or is, or e'er shall be

But it is all for the best that first principles should be occasionally stated. There are practical difficulties; past history cannot be brushed aside as though it never existed; and yet it is desirable that publicists should every now and then realise the fundamental principles of taxation, so that, consistently with past traditions, they might base their future policy on them. These principles have never been stated with greater lucidity and greater ability than by Sir Josiah Stamp.

Elementary Economics. By Prof. T. N. Carver, (Ginn and Company, Boston and London) 1922.

The Athenian Youth in the second year of his military service took the following Ephellic Oath: "I will not bring dishonour upon my arms, and I will not desert the comrade by my side. I will defend the sacred places and all things holy, whether alone or with the help of many. I will leave my native land not less, but greater and better than I found it. I will render intelligent obedience to my superiors, and will obey the established ordinances and whatsoever other laws the people shall harmoniously establish. I will not suffer the laws to be set aside or disobeyed, but will defend them alone or with the help of all. And I will respect the memory of the Fathers. The Gods be my witnesses." Thus Oath states the whole duty of the citizen, and Prof. Carver sets out in his book to explain to the young the fundamentals on which all national well-being must rest. He has produced, in fact, a text-book, in practical patriotism. There is nothing of the pedant in the book, few statistics, and no mystifying graphs. We should be thankful also for the large number of neat maps and interesting photographs. No pains have been spared to make the book appeal to the young student, for whom it is principally intended. Such abstruse economic problems as keeping a proper balance among the factors of production, transportation, international trade, rent, socialism, the single tax, are here discussed and explained in plain, straightforward language that can be easily comprehended by high school students. A large number of persons have been discouraged in their study of economics, by their difficulty in clearly following what have been supposed to be elementary manuals—which, however, have been elementary only in name. Prof. Carver, who is already a recognised authority in America on the subject of distribution, has rendered a distinct service to all students engaged in the elementary study of economics, and his book ought to appeal to Indian students.

Economics. By James Gunnison, M.A., (Methuen & Co., Ltd., London) 1922

Mr. Gunnison, a lecturer in Social Economics in the University of Glasgow, attempts in his book a presentation of the underlying principles of economic life. He writes avowedly for the popular reader and avoids therefore the abstruse and technical. In the three parts into which the book is divided, he deals with the making of wealth, the wealth of the individual, earning and spending, and the question of the system. His definition of economics is plain and free from the abstractions with which we are so familiar. He says simply that it "examines the thoughts and actions of groups of men in making, acquiring and using wealth." Here we have, then, no high-sounding discussions on the meaning and application of the word 'Science', nor any attempt to mystify the reader by the use of the shibboleths of production, distribution and consumption. The avoidance of technical terminology is indeed the main attraction of this book. Mr. Gunnison does not attempt to enunciate any new-fangled theories of his own, but is content to state accepted principles with moderation and fairness. He has succeeded in producing an admirable introductory manual which deserves the attention of those desirous of getting up an elementary acquaintance with the principles of economics.

A Primer of Taxation. By Lient, E. A. Lever, F.Sc., (P. S. King & Son, Ltd., London 1922) 2s. 6d.

This introduction to public finance is a successful effort at giving a really interesting and simple account of the development and working of the British taxing system. Such a simple manual, full of information attractively presented, is to be welcomed. The income of the state is classified, the theory of taxation is described fairly exhaustively, the more important taxes are touched upon, a whole chapter is devoted to the subject of public credit, and finally the principles and incidence of local taxation are set forth. A helpful bibliography is appended at the end. It is a useful little book.

Why Prices rise and fall? By F. W. Pethick Lawrence, (Oxford University Press, Calcutta and London) 1922

This is the sixth volume of the "World of To-day" series, published by the Oxford University Press under the General Editorship of Mr. Victor Gallancz. The volumes already published include Sir Harry Johnston's "The Backward Peoples and our relations with them", Mr. A. G. Gardiner's "The Anglo-American Future,"

Prof. Pigou's "A Capital Levy and a Levy on War Wealth". These names are sufficient guarantee of the high standard and authoritative character of the volumes in the series. Mr. Lawrence's little book on the *Rise and Fall of Prices* is written for those who wish to understand the economic basis of prices. The problem is attacked with great ability and the subject is divided into several convenient groups. There is a hazardous but interesting attempt at prophecy in the last chapter headed, "A Peep into the Future". While we do not agree with all that he has to say about the future, that does not take away from our appreciation of this useful and informing book. The series which it appears is intended to cater for the general reader and the books being written by specialists are useful and instructive. This cheap, popular series deserves wide circulation.

Principles of Comparative Economics. By Dr. Radhakamal Mukerjee, M.A., Ph.D. (P. S. King & Son, London.) 2 Vols. 1921-22.

In introducing the first volume of this admirable work, Senator Raphael Georges Levy of the French Institute, described it as "a book upon the bases of Hindu Economics", and spoke of Prof. Mukerjee as having "attacked, with brilliance, the study of absorbing problems. He has given us a very instructive picture of the social life of his Compatriots". In the first volume the author analyses Economic principles in the light of Biology, and Social Psychology; in the second he examines the situation in India and the East generally. There is plenty in the book that will cause many a searching in the hearts of the orthodox Economists, and perhaps make him revise some of his accepted theories. It is a book of first-rate ability and is bound to place Dr. Mukerjee in the front rank of constructive thinkers. We are sure the book will receive the consideration it so richly deserves. We are merely drawing attention to it here and we hope to publish later a comprehensive critical review of it.

SOCIALISM

The Decay of the Capitalist Civilisation. By Sidney and Beatrice Webb (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., & The Fabian Society, London, 1923) 2s. 6d.

Mr. and Mrs. Webb, the *doyen* of that peculiarly British strand in Socialistic thought which goes under the euphuistic name of Fabianism, have turned their attention in the present volume to balancing and

judging the *raison d'être* of the capitalistic structure of modern society. They do not propose to offer any better substitute: their earlier volume *A Constitution for the Socialist Commonwealth of Great Britain* contains their constructive proposals. In the present book under review they arraign capitalism on well-defined counts and make out a strong case against its continuance. By capitalist system they understand "the particular stage in the development of industry and legal institutions in which the bulk of the workers find themselves divorced from the ownerships of the instruments of production." The learned authors group their indictment under four heads: penury, parasitic lawlessness of the leisured classes, inequality of personal freedom and finally the essential unsoundness of the capitalist civilisation from the point of view of economic weal. Mr. and Mrs. Webb have resorted to historical deductions to prove their case—a procedure likely to be looked upon as 'special pleadings,' for historical analysis is mainly subjective and does not cover the entire multitude of generalisations necessary for completing a case and judging it on its merits impartially and with a judicial frame of mind. The method has accordingly deceived the authors into committing several errors of fact and deduction. The main indictment however remains untouched; if anything, the authors' frankness and solicitude for the gradual emergence of a race akin to Plato's Philosopher-Guardians of the State has led them to temper their charge with mercy. Innumerable hesitating conclusions, half-measures and a veritable mania for 'constitutionalism' abound in the pages of this otherwise admirable summary of the case against capitalism. Their conclusion is in the true Fabian style:

"We must face the practical certainty that if the transition from Capitalism to Socialism is not intelligently anticipated, planned, and guided by the rulers of the people, the people, when the breaking-strain is reached, will resort to sabotage to force the government to tackle the job of reconstruction; and the danger is that the sabotage may go so far as to make the job impossible."

But anyone even crudely familiar with the sinister activities of post-war International Finance and *La Haute Capitalisme* would plainly see through the inefficacy of such 'constitutional' measures as the Fabians suggest. Criticism is, however, disarmed by the authors's plea that the present volume is not constructive. A lucid facility of expression and a cogently argued thesis characterise Mr. and Mrs. Webb's latest book. Equally instructive and

interesting, the masterly array of facts and keen analysis will command respect and attention.

Socialisation in Theory and Practice. By Heinrich Strobel (P. S. King & Son, Ltd., London, 1922) 1s. 6d.

This instructive work is from the pen of a German Socialist who occupied the responsible position of the Minister of Finance in the first Revolutionary Government of 1918. He bases his study of practical socialism upon the socialist programme as actually carried out in Germany, Hungary and Bolshevik Russia. Herr Strobel starts with a brief argument in favour of the recognition of the immediate need of change in our social economy—of the replacement of production for sale by production for use, of the abolition of private property in the instruments of production, of change in the subjective outlook of the masses. The author attributes the failure of the Socialist experiment in Germany as much as in Bolshevik Russia to the ignorance of mass psychology amongst the rulers:

"Economic necessity is no mechanical process, but every kind of economic pressure upon human society sets up psychological reaction. This psychological momentum, the recognition that an economic condition must first be transferred into the moral consciousness of the masses before it can release revolutionary and socially transforming effects, has been too much misunderstood and neglected."

Besides proving the superiority of a socialist scheme in the matter of production and human welfare, for it to be launched successfully it is almost essential that society should be ripe for its introduction and the masses psychologically predisposed towards it. Mr. Strobel as Finance Minister can speak with authority of the tactical defaults and omissions of Socialist programme which failed to succeed in Germany. He adduces ample facts and argument to prove his case. For Bolshevik methods Strobel has little patience, for he believes that Russia's barbaric peasantry forced the hands of the Soviets and directly led to the enactment of decrees which stultify socialist ideals. Hungary presents an equally instructive parallel. The author declares his faith in the tenets of Guild Socialism with its emphasis on industrial democracy and constitutional methods. The book is full of informative criticism on various schemes of nationalisation programmes. Altogether an instructive study of sociological experiments.

Socialism and Character. By Henry Sturt, M.A. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London, 1922) 7s. 6d.

It has often been urged as a final clinching argu-

ment against the adoption of Socialism that under its aegis human character will deteriorate, as the various urges of instinct—for power, for wealth, for fame—will lose their dynamic impulse. Mr. Sturt aims at combating this conclusion. He contends that the very structure of socialist institutions will produce an atmosphere intensely favourable to the development of human character in its noblest aspects. Mr. Sturt does not stay to consider the deficiencies of the present day society but goes on to sketch the outlines of economic and social institutions under socialism. He visualises indeed a very fair picture and shows how such changes as non-capitalist industry with good conditions of labour and employment will combine with the democratic control over the machinery of governance to provide for every citizen the opportunity to develop himself in freedom. The author discourses on the aspects of public and private affections at some length and cogently pleads for economic and social equality of sexes. He does not wish, however, to minimise the glories of Imperialistic achievements. His socialism is secular and parochial. While affirming that it is contrary to socialist principles "that one race should hold another in permanent subjection" it is plain that some of the nations under our rule cannot be expected to manage their own affairs for many years to come. The white man's burden is not likely to fall from him so long as he increases in ability to bear it." He is also intensely conscious of racial patriotism: "As a motive of conduct patriotism cannot be replaced by any sentiment of human brotherhood. And human brotherhood becomes absurd if we think of Englishmen treating as brothers all sorts of foreigners and savages—all the black and yellow men, the Fuegians, the Andamanese, the pigmies of Central Africa." May we treat this particular aspect of Mr. Sturt's Socialism as the sweet with the pill for the special consumption of the richards? Otherwise he has drawn a pleasant picture of the life of the scholar under socialistic conditions and encourages us with a prospect of greater scope and freedom unrepressed by capitalistic tyranny or orthodox intolerance. Mr. Sturt has produced a readable book.

What is Socialism? By James Edward Le Rossignol (Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York) 1921.

Mr. Rossignol is frankly an anti-Socialist of the extreme type, who fails to see any good even in the idealistic interpretation of the philosophy of socialism. In this book he deals more closely with Marxian doctrines and attempts to dissolve the great main

which Engles and Marx had built round their cataclysmic prophecy of the inevitability of Socialism succeeding the capitalistic phase. The author treats of Marxian dogmas in fourfold aspect—their criticism of capitalistic society, the philosophy or the theoretical bases of socialism, the plan or the ideal scheme and their propaganda. To the labor-cost theory of value Mr. Rossignol is particularly severe, for the socialistic economics of machinery he has nothing but contempt. Capitalism as a going concern justifies its existence as a beneficent tendency and is a great instrument for human progress. Mr. Rossignol does not probe deep enough to justify generalisations, but he writes in a forcible style and has produced an interesting polemic.

La Tradition Socialiste en France et la Société des Nations. By J. L. Puech (Librairie Garnier Frères, 5, Rue des Saints-Pères, Paris). 1921.

Prof. Charles Gide introduces Mon. Puech's book on the Socialistic tradition in France with the query why public attention is again directed to the study of old French socialist writers. He finds the answer in the psychological reaction from the war, in the subconscious generalisation that the defeat of Ludendorff meant the displacement of the German Jew Marx as well. M. Puech discusses scholarly of the socialistic theories of the six French savants whose names are well-known outside France: Count C. H. de Saint-Simon, Fourier, Pécqueur, Leroux, Godin and lastly Proudhon, the most famous of all. But Mon. Puech looks at their work from a particular angle: he aims to place before his readers in a conspèctive shape the ideas of these old masters on internationalism. After an exhaustive analysis he shows that in the matter of group-associations they were in agreement and war they particularly abhorred. They did indeed differ in their conception of an international federation (Cf. Proudhon and Fourier) according to their leanings towards political or economic valuations, but they echo each other in their emphasis upon the need of some sort of an international authority to put an end to war for all times. M. Puech sums up:

"La Paix par le Travail, le Travail dans la Paix, telle est la double formule sur laquelle la tradition socialiste dans notre pays exerça l'esprit de ses théoriciens"

M. Puech has done his work with impartial justice which bears the imprint of painstaking industry. Scholarly and exhaustive in analysis it forms a good introduction to the study of the history of socialistic thought in France.

HISTORY: ECONOMIC & POLITICAL.

The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy, 1783-1919. Edited by Sir A. W. Ward and G. P. Gooch: Volume I 1783-1815; Volume II, 1815-1866. (Cambridge University Press, 1922-23) 31s. 6d. each volume.

Does Diplomacy possess a moral aspect? Has the magnificent political structure of the vast British Empire been built up by a consistent, far-seeing, albeit unscrupulous design? What influences such factors as personalities, chance, opportunism, party intrigue, had on the British Foreign Policy throughout the centuries? To these questions and similar others the distinguished Editors of the *Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy* have set out to furnish a complete answer. It is three years now that the Cambridge University Press designed the project. Two volumes have appeared and the third and the concluding volume is promised for the early autumn of this year. One looked with apprehension at the project—the plan appeared too grandiose to be circumscribed within fruitful limits. Happily such apprehensions were false as is amply proved by the scholarly volumes before us.

It has been frequently urged against what may be termed the *Cambridge* method of history-writing—*viz.*, the collaborative method—that the encyclopaedic work thus produced does not possess the unity and the coherence of the book planned by a single mind. But then it is equally true that no single mind at present can hope to master all the details or amplify his vision to cover with a judicious eye the history of centuries. Specialised study has become therefore an essential part of modern knowledge and a condition of progress. The monumental Histories produced by the Cambridge University Press are excellent examples of team-work and co-operative effort in scholarly studies. The two volumes before us bear equally the impress of high excellence and great merit. The Editors have called to their help the best-knowing minds in Britain, and their work is carefully balanced and judiciously proportioned. The task has not been easy, for diplomacy is an art as well as a tradition. Art is personal, subjective and highly opportunist; tradition is environmental, the product of innumerable centos of past incidents and complex of a series of well-defined purposes. Diplomacy in this dual aspect presents accordingly a thorny problem for the historian. The editors of the *Cambridge History* have reduced the dilemma into a straightforward narrative governed by certain definitive motives. The result is an eminently readable book which meets with a serious demand at the present time and will prove extremely

valuable in appraising the trend of modern politics at its true value. The first volume deals with the period 1783-1815 with an excellent Introduction from the pen of Sir A. W. Ward summarising the history of the period prior to 1783 and providing a link with the period which forms the subject matter of the volume. In this volume the contributors are Dr J. H. Clapham on Pitt's First Decade, Prof. Holland Rose on the Napoleonic Struggles and Prof. C. K. Webster on the American War and Pacification of Europe. Volume II carries the narrative down to the death of Palmerston and the resignation of Russell (1866). The age of the great Congresses, the Chartist rising of 1848 and the coup d'état of Louis Napoleon, the Ionian Islands and Greece, the commercial developments in their diplomatic aspect—all these are fully and comprehensively dealt with. Prof. W. Alison Phillips, Prof. A. P. Newton, Dr. Clapham and Sir Adolphus Ward are the chief contributors—all names that carry the stamp of authority in the field of historical research. Messrs. G. P. Moriarty and F. W. Buckler contribute a short chapter each on Indian and the Far East during the periods 1833-49 and 1848-58. The scheme of thought is as comprehensive as its list of contents.

The Editors avowedly "intended to combine with a strict adherence to historical truth, wherever ascertainable, a national point of view—in other words, an avowed regard for the interests, and above all for the honour, of Great Britain; and the list of contributors to it has been confined to historical scholars who are British subjects by birth." While the integrity and impartiality of the individual contributors may be above suspicion, the frank insistence upon producing an "ALL BRITISH" history attaches to the work the stigma of narrow racialism and parochial outlook. The consequence is that these volumes appear as what they call in law 'special pleadings.' To rebut the charge that British Foreign Policy has been conspicuous through the centuries for its display of perfidy and unscrupulousness something more is required than an expression of purely British opinion. We do not doubt however that the Editors were fully aware of this weak link. Whether their effort has been successful in interpretation, we reserve the question for detailed consideration on another occasion after the appearance of the third volume. One can not however omit to appreciate the great patience and industry and skill that has gone to the making of the trilogy. All historical students owe a deep debt of gratitude to the eminent editors. For authoritative statements on policy, for careful, well-considered judgments, for scholarly perspective, for lucidity of exposition—these volumes stand out in a class by themselves. Welcome

as the publication of the history will be to workers in the field of historical research, the books possess a fascinating charm for the statesman and the politician. The Cambridge University Press deserves to be congratulated on the success of its scholarly project.

English Local Governments: Statutory Authorities for Special Purposes. By Sidney & Beatrice Webb (Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1922) 25s. net.

With the publication of this volume Mr. and Mrs. Webb complete their monumental history of Local Government in England. Their first two volumes *The Parish and the County* and *The Manor and the Borough* appeared in 1907-8. During their search for data and material for the first two volumes they were struck by the prevalence in the 18th century of special statutory bodies constituted for the carrying out of particular purposes. These latter have now been scientifically studied and in the present volume Mr. and Mrs. Webb offer an exhaustive analysis of such structures in the body politic. They give a detailed and thorough description of the Court of Sewers, the Turnpike Trusts, the Improvement Commissioners and the Incorporated Guardians of the Poor—the direct progenitors, the authors believe, of “the essentially English system of administration by committees of representatives of the electorate of rate-payers, directing and controlling the staff of professional officers.” In the concluding two chapters of this volume the authors summarise the evolution of the whole framework of English Local Government from 1685 to 1835, and trace the emergence of the new ideas which shaped civic history after the enactment of the Municipal Corporations Act in 1835. The present book together with its preceding volumes are a monument of patient and tireless industry, and the students and reformers of Local Government economy owe a deep debt of gratitude to the authors for thus making available for them for the first time the traditions of the present structures. Mr. Webb’s work has rendered necessary the re-writing of greater parts of English industrial and social history of the middle ages.

Labour in Transition: A Survey of British Industrial History since 1914. By William Aylott Orton (Philip Allan & Co., London, 1922). 10s. 6d.

The great merit of Mr. Orton’s book is its attractive style and the fairly impartial statement of the case. A detailed survey of industrial history is a very painstaking task; the work of collating the history of Labour during war time is doubly more difficult. That Mr. Orton has succeeded in building up a conspicious

tale is no mean achievement; that he has maintained throughout the cool judicious frame of mind does him credit. Labour provided during the war years and immediately after one of the most thorny and intense problems of economic re-adjustment. The development and growth of consciousness amongst the masses has been almost phenomenal. And with the distress and penury attendant upon war-conditions, followed by practically no relief on the stoppage of hostilities, there grew up the feeling, almost hostile, that labour was being “bled” through the inhuman control of a few over production. Direct-Actionists found a soil ready for the absorption of their propaganda. The Shop Steward movement marks an episode in the development of class consciousness materialising for the first time in the shape of concrete institutions. Of the interesting history of this and various other labour experiments in control, including the great Miners’ Strike culminating in the breakdown of the Triple Alliance, Mr. Orton’s book provides the only single conspicious treatment. The author has visualised the chief impediments to industrial harmony, and declares his faith in the evolution of that co-operative understanding which binds the “just and intelligent men on both sides in quest of a better social system.” A very instructive and interesting volume for those interested in labour problems of the hour.

The Economic Development of France and Germany, 1815-1914. By J. H. Clapham, Litt.D. (Cambridge University Press, London). 1921.

Dr. Clapham, who has lectured on the subject at Cambridge, has compressed his lectures into book form for the use of students of European Economic history in particular. It is well that he gave up the idea of writing a comprehensive history of West European economic development; such a book would soon have assumed unmanageable proportions. Even as it is, the present volume, confined to France and Germany runs up to more than 400 pages. The first two chapters are devoted to rural conditions in France and Germany before the Railway Age; the next two to industrial conditions during 1815-1848, and the entire subject is dealt with thus systematically in thirteen chapters. In a final chapter of Epilogue the author puts to himself the question, “What had the developments of this time and these places done for the common man?” It is encouraging to note that there is no political bias in all that Prof. Clapham has to say. Much of our contemporary work is disfigured by it; in books on controversial subjects of the day, this is comprehensible and in a sense insignificant; in

historical and scientific treatises they betray only the incapacity to soar above passing animosities. Mr. Clapham is studiously fair throughout both to France and to Germany and his book which is the only one of its kind in English, is sure to prove of great value not only to the scholar but also to the general public.

A Brief Sketch of Social and Industrial History.

By Edward Cressy, (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London) 1922.

"The Life and Work Series", of which this is a volume, is designed to serve two purposes—one cultural and the other vocational or utilitarian—and in both cases the appeal is made through interest. Mr. Cressy's *Outline of Industrial History* is a popular work, the excellence of which had prepared us for the ability and thoroughness displayed in his present volume. The entire period covered by him has been divided into five fairly well-defined parts, the Middle Ages, the Age of Adventure; the Age of Mechanical Invention; the New Era in Transport and Communication; and the Age of Applied Science. The book meets a real want.

An Economic History of Ireland. By D. A. Chart, M.A. (The Talbot Press, Dublin). 1922.

Ireland, for several centuries, groaned under the system of an alien aristocracy and absentee landlords. France and America have frequently evinced a fraternal interest in the Emerald Isle. Of England of course the island had long been the despair. The malignant fate that had been hanging over her seems to have departed and probably lasting peace is in sight. The economic aspect of Irish history is no less fascinating and no less distressing than the political. Mr. Chart, in embarking on what he rightly calls 'pioneer work' has rendered great service to all interested in Irish history. A small volume of about 200 pages cannot obviously be expected to cover the whole ground exhaustively, but within these limits, Mr. Chart has produced an eminently readable and informing book.

A Social and Industrial History of England, 1815-1918. By J. F. Rees, M.A. (Methuen & Co., Ltd., London). 1922.

This book deals with the evolution of English industrial conditions from the close of the Napoleonic war to the outbreak of the great war of 1914, and covers thus the same period as Dr. Clapham's book, noticed above. Mr. Rees has attempted—and success-

fully attempted—to show the interaction between political and economic development in the course of the nineteenth century by correlating the growth of democratic institutions with the progress of industry. The full appendix giving a conspectus of the 19th century and a fairly complete bibliography add to the value of the book. Altogether a very good book.

The Growth of British Policy. By Sir J. R. Seeley (Cambridge University Press, 1922) 17s. 6d.

The distinguished Professor of Modern History at Cambridge who was a pioneer in the field of historical research did not publish any authoritative treatise on history during his lifetime. In 1895 after his death appeared two volumes of his notes on British Policy. The present edition combines these two volumes and the apology for a reprint is found in the essential soundness of Prof. Seeley's method and the value of his historical judgments. The contents of the work cover the period of greatest British triumph and British supremacy—the era of Elizabeth and of the bloodless revolution of 1688. With his great knowledge of human nature Prof. Seeley evolved a new subjective method of writing history in the form of an essay, the method which combines historical perspective with the human motives and human urges which shaped the events. His keen and penetrating eye and his power of independent judgment aided to produce a work of distinct merit. The author preserves a personal outlook and though the constant need of equating individualised viewpoints led to frequent repetitions of argument and fact, yet a powerful interest is imparted by this method of the dry bones of historical incidents. Prof. Seeley's work is full of critical insight and shrewd analysis and retains a valuable position as an authoritative work on the British Policy in 17th century.

The Life of Shivaji Maharaj. By N. S. Takakhav, M.A., (Manoranjan Press, Bombay, 1921) Rs. 7/-.

The great founder of the Maratha dynasty of Kings, Shivaji Chhattarpati, has had many revilers among historians—mostly foreign or Muslim, only a few discriminating biographers but a great multitude of worshipping admirers. The late Mr. Tilak derived his inspiration for leading a modern national renaissance from the brilliant history of that heroic and successful fight which Shivaji waged against Moghul tyranny and oppression. It is fitting therefore that a member of the Maratha race—a scholar of history familiar with the traditions of his race—

should undertake the task of interpreting the true Shivaji to the modern times. Mr. Takakhav has adapted his book from the brilliant original biography in the Marathi language written by Mr. K. A. Keluskar in 1907. Since then fresh material has been made available and our author has modeled his adaptation from Keluskar's work in the light of recent researches. Mr. Takakhav is frankly a hero-worshipper who refuses to judge the morals of the 17th century by the ethical standards of the 20th. If Shivaji was cruel and relentless to traitorous foes, his enemies were far more tyrannical and cruel; the events of the times rendered no other policy practicable. Such an attitude of mind may be pardoned if we remember that Mr. Takakhav is following the method of the Chelsea sage and interpreting history by the supermen of the age. The author has done a distinguished service to the memory of the great Maratha leader "who belongs to no race or caste; he is a national possession" in the happy words of Dr. Macnicol who writes a brief Foreword. Mr. Takakhav is severe in his denunciation of partial histories like Rawlinson's, Kincaid's and even Jadunath Sarkar's. The criticism is just for the attitude of these biographers is not free from bias perhaps due to incomplete data. Mr. Takakhav's book is timely and deserves attention. Nationalist India will gratefully acknowledge the service he has rendered in building up the great tradition of Shivaji.

ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY.

History of Tirhut. By Rai Bahadur Shyam Narayan Singh, B.A. (Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta) 1922.

Tirhut in the province of Bihar is rich in historic associations; it is mentioned in the most ancient Sanskrit texts and has always been the nursery of scholars. But no systematic history of the tract had till now been attempted; Mr. Shyamnarayan Singh deserves great credit for his pioneer work. The book was written, the Foreword tells us, at the instance of Prof. Sylvain Levi. While it is not possible to agree with all the conclusions at which Mr. Singh arrives, it must be admitted that he has broken new ground and published an interesting volume which is bound to prove of great value to all those who, in subsequent years, labour in the same field. It may be perhaps ungenerous to point out the defects of the book, but we do so in the hope that in subsequent Editions they may be removed. The system of transliteration adopted by the author is not used uniformly throughout, and the book is disfigured by misprints and misspellings, e.g., Aryuna (for Arjuna) on p. 72;

Vatahavana (for Vatahvana) on p. 120; and numerous others that could be pointed out. There are also some inaccuracies in statement of facts. On p. 73 we find, "according to Purusapariksa and Saivasayyasa-sara, Vidyapati is said to have defeated the rulers of Ganda." Surely 'Vidyapati' there is a mistake for Shivasinha. On p. 81, the author says: "Vidyapati's name has come down to posterity in connection with Maithili songs, such as the Kirti'ata." *Kirtilata*, however, is in Prakrit and not in Maithili. "Ujjain" on p. 114 should be "Ujan" (a corrupted form of "Udyana"). On p. 227, it is said, "all intricate and disputed questions appertaining to the social and religious life of the Maithila community go to him (the Maharaja of Darbhanga) for decision and ruling which are final, and the power of excommunication from the community rests with him." This, we believe, is an exaggerated statement. The Maharaja individually has little authority: if a member is to be excommunicated, the Maharaja has to be guided by the opinion of a majority of the leading men of the community; this privilege of being the mouth-piece is restricted to his own small shrotriya community which is hardly more than a thousand in number; the rest, the yogs and jaiwars, owe absolutely no allegiance to him, nor has he the right to ostracise any member of these latter. After all the above remarks, it is pleasant to think of the great pains that the author must have taken to collect his material; he has marshalled his facts with becoming moderation throughout and with clearness and lucidity. We congratulate him on the zeal and ability which, in the midst of heavy official duties, he has brought to bear on his book.

Rig-Vedic India By Avinas Chandra Das, M.A., B.L., Vol. I. (Calcutta University Press) 1921.

Some of the younger scholars of the Calcutta University have recently been producing works of remarkable ability. The present volume is an outline of the early history of India as described in the Rig-Veda; but "the revealed word" is examined by the author in the light of recent scientific investigations. Mr. Das's thesis is that the original cradle of the Aryans was Saptasindhu, which included the beautiful valley of Kashmir on the north and Gandhara on the west; "its southern boundary was the Rajputana sea, and the eastern boundary the Gangetic trough." This conclusion has been arrived at after an elaborate, if not always convincing, discussion not only of theories such as that of Mr. Tilak, but also of new matter never before dealt with. It is not possible in this brief notice to examine, in detail, the many controversial

issues touched in the book. It will be sufficient to say that the ability, thoroughness, and preciseness with which Mr. Das has written his book will command the admiration of all scholars. The volume is a valuable addition to standard works such as Tilak's *Arctic Home*, Wallis' *Vedic Cosmology*, Ragozin's *Vedic India*, and Warren's *Paradise Found*.

Pre-Mussalman India. By M. S. Nateson (Sri Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam) 1921.

This little, unpretentious volume of 150 pages purports to be a history of India prior to the Sultanate of Delhi, that is, prior to A. D. 1206. Its chief recommendation is its frank originality. It required no little courage of conviction on the author's part to contend that "the European nations, as also the Turks and the Persians are not Aryans," and that "not an iota of evidence is found to prove that the Aryan ever came into India from a foreign country." He divides his book into twenty-five small chapters, some of great interest. We are, we hope, doing the author no injustice in saying that his wholly commendable pride in India's past outruns his sense of historical discrimination. Those, however, who can make allowance for the latter defect in his outlook, will find not a little in the book to interest them. But it is distinctly not a book for the beginner, but for the scholar who can test theories.

The Hindu History. B. C. 3000 to A. D. 1200. By Akshoy Kumar Mazumdar. Second Edition. (Mazumdar & Sons, College Street, Calcutta) 1921.

The first edition of this book, which was brought out in 1917, was welcomed by scholars as an earnest effort to throw light on a very dark and dim period of Indian history. The fact that a second edition has been published shows that the public have appreciated Mr. Mazumdar's efforts. The writer depends frankly on Hindu literature—not all of which is probably history. It is unnecessary to labour the point that all the Puranas cannot be regarded as strictly historical books. But the *Hindu History* is nonetheless full of useful information, conveniently massed together and expressed in straightforward English. The chapters on Hindu Geography and Hindu Literature are particularly interesting. The book is enriched by the inclusion of a fairly full bibliography. We are sorry to notice a large number of misprints, which we hope will be removed in a later edition.

A Peep into the Early History of India. By Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, K.C.I.E., Ph.D., etc., (Taraporevalla Sons & Co., Bombay) 1921.

Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar's name needs no introduction to Oriental Scholars. He was the first Indian scholar to turn his attention seriously to the study of Indology in a critical spirit and his researches are deservedly held in high respect in scholarly circles. He is happily still amongst us, and his life has been the inspiration that moved his admirers to institute the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute at Poona, which is doing much useful work and which has enlisted the active support of almost all leading scholars in India. Dr. Bhandarkar's "Peep into the Early History of India" was delivered many years ago as a lecture and was later printed in the *Journal of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*. Messrs. Taraporevalla Sons & Co. have rendered a distinct service to the cause of scholarship by reprinting in a convenient form this introduction to the ancient history of the country. In the words of Principal Rawlinson, who has contributed a preface, "one of Sir Ramkrishna's objects is to call the attention of his countrymen to the necessity of using the information supplied by coins, inscriptions, and archaeological remains, and the writings of foreign travellers, in reconstructing the past history of their land." It need hardly be said that every page bears evidence of the profound scholarship, critical acumen and ripe learning of the master. The usefulness of the book will be considerably enhanced by the addition both of a list of contents and a full index. We have no doubt that the book will command a large and ready sale; it certainly deserves to be in the hands of all interested, either as specialists or in a general way, in the early history of the country.

Ancient India. By Prof. U. N. Ball, M.A. (Kamala Book Depot, Ltd., Moradpore, Patna) 1921.

It is a hopeful sign of the times that the attention of Indian scholars is being repeatedly attracted towards the ancient history of our country. Light and yet more light is needed to clear the mists of the past and all efforts in that direction deserve encouragement. Prof. Ball is an experienced teacher of history, and his volume is frankly intended for the University Student. We are sure he will be the first man to disclaim any originality for his work; it is avowedly a compilation, and as a compilation, it is a useful, concise, and well-written addition to the existing manuals. We feel, however, that in any book of this character there should be at least a brief account of

Sanskrit literature and the Hindu systems of philosophy. "Battles long ago," and "the short and simple annals of the poor" are admittedly the main subjects of history, but no account of a people's civilisation can be complete without a reference to its literature. This book also, like the preceding, needs an index. The desirability of an index can be hardly exaggerated, and it is hoped that the author will have one prepared for his next edition. But making allowance for such defects, the book can be safely commended to our students for whom it is primarily intended. They will find it interesting and useful.

The Permanent History of Bharatvarsha. By K. Narayana Aiyar, B.A., 2 Volumes (N. Raghavivar, Cotton Hill, Trivandrum) 1920.

This book is written on lines entirely different from those adopted by the writers of the above works; it is based almost entirely on Ancient Sanskrit texts. The author's object is to prove that all those texts deal almost entirely with the permanent principles of philosophy, which are not touched by the passage of time. He has divided the book into two volumes, the first dealing with the Religious texts and philosophy, and the second with the Mahabharata which he regards as "the Gospel of action." It is well to have a large number of authoritative texts put together in a convenient form; the author enriches them with his own running comments, which clear up many obscure points. Students of ancient Indian history will find the book useful.

India as known to the Ancient World. By Mr. Gauranga Nath Banerji, M.A., Ph.D. (Oxford University Press), 1921.

Dr. Gauranga Nath Banerji has already established his reputation as an able scholar by his remarkable book on *Hellenism in Ancient India*; the present volume will add to that reputation. It is a survey of Ancient Indian civilisation and an account of its influence on the religions, manners and customs of the peoples of the Malayan Archipelago and Indo-China and on Western Asia. Most of the available information on the contact between India on the one hand, and Egypt, Greece, Rome, and China on the other, has here been collected. The chapter on Central Asia will have to be modified and enlarged in view of the recent publication of Sir M. Aurel Stein's monumental work entitled *Serindia*. The book shows how greatly indebted all these countries were in the past to India in so many phases of their life. At a

time like the present when Indian civilization and culture are finding appreciation in Europe and America, Dr. Banerji's meritorious work ought to secure a large circulation.

The Beginnings of South Indian History. By Prof. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar (Modern Printing Works, Madras) 1921.

Prof. Aiyangar, as Head of the Madras University History Department, has been doing exceedingly valuable work by his researches in the field of early Indian history. The present volume deals with the Mauryan Invasion of South India, South India at the dawn of the Christian Era, and the chronology of Tamil literature. There are besides two learned introductory lectures on Research in Indian History and the value of Literature in the construction of Indian History. We are glad to notice in the latter a refreshing plea for return to the old classics "My object," says Prof. Krishnaswami, "is not to settle disputed questions or to formulate a new historical hypothesis. Now that archæological and epigraphical work have (sic) made some advance, I appeal for a better, more rational, and systematic study of the literature of the country, with a view to making them yield the results that they are capable of. Inscriptions and Archæological research can after all provide the dry bones only. All else will have to be got from literature." Perhaps the learned professor is right in his view so far as South India is concerned; but in North India a great deal in the way of archæological research remains yet to be done. The ancient city of Kanauj has practically been neglected so far; there are numerous other places where a rich historical harvest can be reaped; the treasures are there for the patient investigator. The book under survey is learned and instructive and is a notable addition to Indian historical literature.

* **Vedic Antiquities.** By G. Jouveau Dubreuil, Docteur P. Université Paris, (Modern Press, Pondicherry).

* **Ancient History of the Deccan.** By G. Jouveau Dubreuil, (The Author, 6, Dumas Street, Pondicherry). 1921.

Dr. Dubreuil has for some years now been working on ancient Indian history, particularly in so far as they relate to the Pallavas. We have before us two more of his works. The first is a small illustrated account of the Vedic Stupa, the Vedic traditions of the Aryan Brahmanas, and the Agnidriya. His conclusion is that "the colonisation of Kerala by Vedic Aryans is not

doubtful'. This conclusion is interesting as showing that the Aryan immigrants penetrated so far south. The second book is an account of the Deccan (South of the Nerbudda) from B.C. 261 to A.D. 610. The author is warm in praise of the achievements of the Southerners. "If we compare," he insists, "the ancient monuments of Northern and Southern India, we find the North is relatively poor. In the Deccan there is a very large number of sculptured rocks at Udaygiri, Junnar, Ellora, Nasik, Kanheri, etc. . . which are the monuments in the North that will bear comparison with the grand Chaitya at Karli, or with the monasteries of Ajanta with their marvellous painting"'. The whole book is divided into eight chapters, each chapter dealing with one group of dynasties. We most heartily welcome these works as an earnest and able treatment of a very much neglected part of Indian history. The translations from the author's French into English are very well done. Dr. Dubreuil's works are highly meritorious and deserve acknowledgment.

Sources of Vijaynagar History. By Prof. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A. (University of Madras).

This is the first volume of the Madras University Historical Series. It is gratifying that the attention of the authorities of our Indian Universities should have been seriously drawn to a study, systematic and sustained, of various epochs of history. The Universities of Madras and Allahabad have taken the lead which we hope will be followed by the Sister Universities. The original authorities on whom the present volume is wholly based are in Sanskrit and Telugu; apt quotations from no less than a hundred of these are made in this book, and there is an interesting and exhaustive English introduction which makes the book intelligible to those who are ignorant of Sanskrit and Telugu. There is a full index which makes the work of reference very easy. Prof. Aiyangar's industry and scholarship cannot be too highly praised.

Kshattriya Clans in Ancient India. By Bimla Charan Law, M.A.

Historical Gleanings. By Bimla Charan Law, M.A., B.L. (Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta). 1922.

These two books should leave no manner of doubt that Mr. Bimla Charan Law is one of the coming men in the field of Oriental Scholarship. His *History of the Kshattriya Clans* attempts to present a connected history of some of the Kshattriya clans in ancient India in the time of Buddha, namely:—The Licchavis,

The Videhas, The Sakyas, The Bulis, The Moriays, The Koliyas, The Bhaggas and The Kalamas.

The author is well known in the field of Indian antiquity and his articles in the journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal on cognate subjects have earned him reputation for sound scholarship and critical judgment. The book, before us, fully sustains his reputation and the author is to be congratulated on his successful handling of an admittedly difficult subject. The History of Kshattriya clans in ancient India has been a topic of absorbing interest since the days when Rhys Davids first brought the subject to the prominent notice of scholars. The particular aspect of the subject which evoked the greatest interest was the non-monarchical forms of Government, which were developed among these forgotten tribes of ancient times. Mr. Law's credit lies in the fact that he has not merely discussed this particular aspect, but tried to give us a complete account of these clans as far as available sources permit. His intimate knowledge of the Buddhist literature has enabled him to piece together quite a number of isolated informations into a connected whole. It is true, that, we are yet far from having what should properly be regarded as a satisfactory history but the account of these ancient clans by Mr. Law, marks a definite stage in the advance of our knowledge and paves the way for further researches in the same line. The author has naturally devoted the greater part of his book to the delineation of the history, manners, customs, religion and Philosophy of the Licchavis, because ampler materials are available in this branch of his study. So far as the literary sources go, his account seems to be full and complete. But we note the failure on the part of the author to do full justice to the writings of the previous authors on the subject. To take one example:—on page 135 ff. he has dealt with the latter history of the Licchavis, but taken no notice of M. Sylvain Levi's account of the Licchavis of Nepal. Similarly, in his discussion about the form of Government, prevalent among the Licchavis, he has failed to take note of the recent writings on the subject. In his treatment of the form of the Government of the Sakyas, the author has stated the views of both Dr Rhys Davids and Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, but did not make any attempt to reconcile the two.

These minor defects, however, do not take away from the undoubted merits of the book to which we have referred above. The book is a valuable addition to the existing literature on ancient Indian history and we safely commend it to the attention of every earnest student of Indian antiquities.

His second volume is of a more general interest and deals with Taxila as a seat of

Sanskrit learning, and of the wandering teachers of the time of Buddha, the Lachhavis in Ancient India and several other subjects of equal importance. We can never have too many of such scholars as Mr. Law, or too many of such books as these. We congratulate the author on his scholarly and important publications.

R. C. M.

ANCIENT INDIAN POLITY.

Ancient Indian Polity. By Narendranath Law, M.A., B.L. (Oxford University Press, Calcutta and London). 1921.

Mr. Law's *Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity* (of which we are still awaiting the second volume) won for him a deservedly high place among contemporary Indian Scholars. Prof. A. Berriedale Keith rightly points out in his Preface that 'to the researches which have already been conducted on this theme Mr. Narendra Nath Law has added in this work much that is novel and of importance, and has enabled us to see more clearly than before the fundamental character of Indian political thought and practice'. The science of polity in India goes back to remote antiquity, and a systematic study of it has been stimulated by the discovery by Mr. Shama Shastri of what is reputed to be Kautilya's *Arthashastra*. Our old writers were very precise; they loved to reduce everything to rules and laws. That explains the rigid, almost hidebound laws regulating the King's daily routine of work, the Education of the Prince, the Essential qualifications of the royal priest, etc. In Chapter V of the present book, Mr. Law treats of the Education of the Prince. The interest of that part of the book would have been considerably enhanced by a comparative study of the Hindu rules for the Education and upbringing of princes and those enunciated by Westerners and particularly, by Machiavelli. Mr. Law shows throughout an admirable acquaintance with the existing literature bearing on his subject, and whenever he differs—as he occasionally does—from the conclusion of other scholars, he expresses his own views with moderation and clearness. For these reasons his works merit serious consideration.

Indo-Aryan Polity. By Prof. P. Basu (Holkar College, Indore) 1921.

The object of this book in the words of the author, is to present a study of the Indo-Aryan organisation of political life and to relate it to the social organisation. He confines his investigation to the period

of the Rig-Veda. We hope that the learned author will turn his attention to other periods of Indian civilisation as well. A concise, popular account of ancient Indian social organisation is a great desideratum. We have now several learned disquisitions; these are meant naturally for the professed scholar. For work of the kind we have suggested above Prof. Basu possesses the requisite qualifications—much learning, sympathy and a simple style. We welcome his book as a useful contribution to the subject, and commend it to our students, for whom it is suited.

Evolution of Indian Polity. By R. Shama Sastri, B.A. (Calcutta University) 1922.

In noticing Mr. Law's book above, we mentioned the monumental discovery of Kautilya by Dr. Shama Sastri. The present book is a collection of ten addresses delivered to the Calcutta University by the same distinguished scholar. The titles of the lectures will indicate the wealth of information contained in them. They are Tribal State of Society; Elective Monarchy; The Origin of the Kshatriyas; The People's Assembly; the Duties and Prerogative of Kings; Jainism and Buddhism; Kautilya Politicians; Espionage; Theocratic Despotism; Intellectual and Spiritual condition of the people. Some of the facts mentioned by Mr. Shastri will be an eye-opener to most people, who are fond of imagining that Indians have always been 'vain dreamers of an empty day', occupying themselves with things of the Great Beyond, supremely contemptuous of mundane affairs, regarding them as *Maya*, illusion. We find on the contrary that the ancient Indians were eminently practical men of the world; they did, of course, think and think constantly of their Creator and of the everlasting mysteries of creation, but they were also strict administrators, with highly-developed rules of administration and even with an elaborate system of Espionage. Thus we find that spies were divided into five classes—idlers who only watched the movements of men, foretellers acquainted with the Sciences of palmistry, and astrology and well-versed in criminology, spies acting as agriculturists, spies acting as traders, and spies pretending to be ascetics. There were others not in regular pay, such as the poisoner. All desirous of knowing the conditions of life in ancient India should read carefully this fascinating volume, which is one more evidence of the splendid work that the Post-Graduate teachers of the Calcutta University are doing. We have however the grievance that there is no Index to the book.

The Social Organisation in North-East India. By Richard Fick (Translated by Dr. Shishir Kumar Maitra, M.A., Ph.D., Calcutta University) 1921

Dr. Fick's *Die Sociale Gliederung im Nordöstlichen Indien Zu Buddhas Zeit* has for many years been of invaluable assistance to all interested in the social and administrative history of Buddhist India. But those ignorant of German were unable to make use of that book and their warm gratitude will be extended to Dr. Maitra for his eminently readable translation. The book is too well-known to need any review, suffice it to say that the translation is worthy of the book. Now that this scholarly work is made available in English, it should find a larger circulation.

Corporate Life in Ancient India. By Rames Chandra Mazumdar, M.A. (Kar, Majumdar & Co., 1, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta). Second Edition. 1922.

The volume written by Mr. Rames Chandra Mazumdar is a critical and exhaustive survey of the corporate activities in public life in Ancient India. The task was by no means easy; the materials had to be hunted up and then utilised; and we congratulate the author on the excellent manner in which he has been able to discharge the task he set to himself. The information collected together in the book is so interesting and throws such a flood of light on life in ancient India, that it is surprising the authorities on the subject were not tapped earlier; even now we believe they have only been tapped, not drained. It is interesting to note that so many centuries ago, India had "Srenis", or corporation of artisans, equivalent more or less to the guilds of the middle ages and trade unions of the present day. Similar other important facts are brought out in this learned and important book which we strongly commend to all scholars. The second edition of this learned and scholarly work is a great improvement on the first. It merits serious consideration.

The Economic Condition of Ancient India. By Prof. J. N. Samaddar, B.A. (Calcutta University). 1922.

Prof. Samaddar's name is already familiar to our readers as he is an old and valued contributor to the *Hindustan Review*. His active and energetic work for the Bihar and Orissa Research Society and the Chanakya Society of Patna and his already published Bengali book, the *Samasamayika Bharata*, mark him out as an able and painstaking scholar who publishes

nothing not worth publishing. Sir Ashutosh Mookerji selected, therefore, the right man in delivering before the Calcutta University the lectures that have been put together in the volume before us. These lectures deal with a subject of entrancing interest, and they have been rightly couched in language, simple, accurate and clear. There are two good illustrations that enhance the interest of the book, which we heartily welcome as the herald of, we hope, a large number of equally scholarly productions. Professor Samaddar's work in the field of ancient Indian economics deserves recognition at the hands of scholars.

Local Government in Ancient India. By Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji. (Oxford University Press, Calcutta and London) Second Edition. 1922.

The first edition of this learned work was, on its first appearance in 1918, reviewed by us at great length in terms of high appreciation. This is the Second Edition which is a considerable improvement, being amplified and enlarged, on the first. Prof. Mookerjee is one of the ablest Indian historians, and with his brother, Dr. Radhakamal, is adding to the reputation of Indian scholarship. We are confident that this edition will be appreciated even more largely than the first.

A History of Hindu Political Theories. By Dr. U. Ghoshal, M.A., Ph.D. (Oxford University Press, Calcutta and London). 1923.

Dr. Ghoshal is a lecturer in Comparative Politics at the University of Calcutta and the book under review will considerably enhance his reputation for sound thinking and scholarship. It traces the political thought of the Hindu people through the long and varied history of its origin, development and decline. The Introduction is a learned historical review of the period dealt with in the book—from the earliest times to the end of the first quarter of the seventeenth century. That is followed by seven chapters, relating respectively to the age from the Rig-Veda to the Upanishads, the Dharmasutras to the Buddhist Canon, Kautilya's Arthashastra, the Mahabharata and Manusmriti, Kamandaka and the Puranas, the Commentaries and the Jain Arhanniti, and the last phase, coming down to 1600 A.D. The bibliography at the end, though not by any means exhaustive, is helpful. We commend this thoughtful book to the serious attention of all scholars interested in the subject.

NORTH INDIAN VERNACULARS.

Chaitanya and His Age. By Rai Bahadur Dinesh Chandra Sen, B.A., D. Litt. (Calcutta University). 1922.

Among contemporary scholars of Bengali language and literature Rai Sahib Dinesh Chandra Sen—to style him still in the old familiar way—is the most eminent. His *History of Bengali Literature* is already a classic. Not the least noteworthy of Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee's numerous claims to the gratitude of educated India is the sustained encouragement that he has throughout given to the scientific and critical study of Bengali first, naturally, and then, of the other Indian Vernaculars. All readers of Dr. Sen's previous works will expect in the present volume—and they will not be disappointed—the learning, good taste, critical acumen which they have learnt to associate with his name. He is an authority on Bengali literature and culture, and the subject that he selected for the Ramtani Lahiri Fellowship Lectures of 1919 and 1921 is an exceedingly fascinating one. It may be that the influence of Chaitanya over Bengal can hardly be appreciated by people not living in that province. But he is to the Bengalees an apostle, hallowed with a sanctity barely less than that attaching to Krishna. In Dr. Sen's pages we are brought into contact with a personality of rare charm, a figure of unsurpassed moral grandeur, who lived as a man among men, and whose influence was therefore all the greater. His teachings have the merit of simplicity. Addressing his favourite disciple, Ram Raj, he said: "Be patient as a tree. It does not complain if any one cuts it. It does not beg a drop of water from any body though it dries up. It gives freely its treasure of flowers and fruits to any one that seeks them. It exposes itself to rain and sun but gives all its treasure to others." It may be asked then: "How is it that, though he travelled so extensively in North and South India, Chaitanya's influence is confined almost solely to Bengal and parts of Orissa?" Prof. Sylvain Levi, who contributes the Foreword to the book under notice, says in a critical passage that though the peasants honour him by consecrating their songs to him, and the learned should honour him by burning their midnight oil studying him, yet his theology is rather indifferent and second-hand, and he is not unequalled as an orator, a poet or a linguist. But even Prof. Levi is forced to pay his tribute to Chaitanya's "gift of love that he has been able to carry to the extreme limits of human capacity, centering it entirely upon Krishna". And he seems up his estimate by saying, "Chaitanya may be one of the greatest seers of India. Humanity, however, does not recognise him as one

of its great men. He did not recognise mankind. So mankind does not recognise him." That may be; nevertheless Chaitanya is a force in Bengal. As a minor matter of some curiosity, may we point out that Prof. Levi's foreword which is dated "June 22, Khatmandu" was not perhaps in the hands of Dr. Sen on April 22 at Calcutta; the latter's preface is obviously wrongly dated—it deals almost entirely with the former's foreword. But a slight error like this may be easily condoned in a work which is alike interesting and instructive. Dr. Sen's book deserves serious attention.

The Bengali Ramayanas. By Rai Bahadur Dinesh Chandra Sen, (Calcutta University). 1921.

This is another work from the erudite pen of Mr. Sen. In this work he discusses a subject that has long formed the centre of bitter controversy: Whether the Epic of Valmiki or the Jataka-literature belongs to an earlier age. The Rai Sahib's conclusion—it cannot of course be accepted by any very large number of scholars—is that the Epic belongs to a later age. We can here do no more than mention the theory. If, after more adequate tests, the theory is accepted by scholars, it will give a rude shock to many dearly-cherished traditions. But seekers after Truth need not be afraid to accept new theories when established.

History of the Bengali Language. By Bijayachandra Mazumdar—(Calcutta University). 1922.

Mr. Bijayachandra Mazumdar is one of the large band of scholars whose talents and abilities have been utilised in the cause of learning, thanks to the fostering discernment of Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee. In the book before us Mr. Mazumdar gives in outline an account of the origins of Bengali, and the various influences, linguistic, ethnic, social that shaped and moulded its earlier history. His work bears evidence of considerable philological ability and deep acquaintance with the various stages of the development of the Bengali language in particular. All lovers of that language—and they are now found in large numbers even beyond the province—will welcome this scientific and sympathetic sketch of its growth. It were much to be wished that there were available equally good treatises about the other Indian vernaculars, especially of Upper India.

Bengali Prose Style. By Rai Bahadur Dinesh Chandra Sen, (Calcutta University). 1922.

Dr. Sen, the indefatigable scholar confines his present survey only to 1800—1857. While undoubtedly

to the advanced specialist that period when Bengali prose was still, as it were, in the making, is more important, to the layman, the following half-century is of much more living and close interest. Bankim Chandra Chatterji, Romesh Dutt, Rabindranath Tagore, Probhat Chandra, Iswarchandra Vidyasagar, Sarat Chatterji—though the last is perhaps after that half-century—all wrote their best work after 1857. With the exception of Vidyasagar, therefore, the rest are hardly even mentioned. We may reasonably hope, however, that Dr. Sen will give us a second volume that will bring up his study to 1907 or perhaps even later. A critical appreciation of modern Bengali poetry from the same pen will also be of great value. At the same time the volume under notice is of great historical value to the student of Bengalee prose.

Bihari Satsai with Sanjivanbhashya. By Padma Sinha Sharma. (Published by Kashinath Sharma, P. O. Chandpur, Dt. Bijnor, U. P.). 1922. **Bihari Satsai with Commentary.** By Lala Bhagwan Din. (Sahitya Seva Sadan, Benares). 1922.

Bihari has long been recognised as one of the most difficult of Hindi poets, and there have appeared, from time to time, ambitious scholars who have attempted to write a Commentary on his *Satsai*. There have altogether been more than thirty commentators; this shows not only the popularity of the work, but also its recognised difficulty. Among living Hindi scholars there are several who have attempted, with greater or less success, to make Bihari comprehensible to the average reader of Hindi. But it is no disrespect to them to say that they have not attained the true art of the commentator, the art, that is to say, in which Mallinath excelled. There is in these glosses, plenty of evidence of learning and a thorough acquaintance with the science of poetics. But while they enter into long disquisitions into the Alankara used, and differentiate minutely between the various shades of the figures of speech, unfortunately very little care is taken to make the plain sense intelligible to the plain man. The best commentary on Bihari that we have so far seen is the one appearing in the new Lucknow monthly, the *Madhuri*; the author of it is the well-known poet, Ratnakara, who combines with his undoubted poetic gifts, a knowledge of English, Prakrit and Sanskrit. That, however, has not yet been completed or appeared in book-form. Of the two new commentaries before us, that by Pandit Padma Sinha has obtained the high approval of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, which has awarded him the Gokul Das Prize of Rs. 1,200 for it. We particularly commend the Introduction which is enriched not only by a

thoroughly searching critical analysis of Bihari's poetry, but also by a very large number of passages from the writings of other poets, Hindi, Urdu and even Persian. The actual commentary is frequently disappointing, as it fails to interpret the text intelligently. But this is an aspect which can be but touched upon here. Lala Bhagwan Din's book is avowedly meant for the College student, and as such meets a real want. The modern English-educated Indian has rarely the time and possesses hardly the ability to go through the classics in the vernaculars. Some of them even go the length of saying that the vernaculars possess no literature worth the name. For these Lala Bhagwandin's book will be an eye-opener: His comments are not by any means elaborate; they err, indeed, on the side of brevity. But his prose explanations seldom leave any difficult passage unelucidated, and his explanations do not themselves need any further explanation—a good test, surely, of commentaries! We heartily commend both these commentaries and hope that Hindi Scholars will similarly edit, with *criticus apparatus*, Prithiraj Raoso, Tulsi's Vinaypatrika, Rahiman's Satsai and other classics. Of Sursagar, we have an excellent abridged edition by Prof. Beni Prasad, published by the Indian Press of Allahabad. This last may well be taken as a model for editing selections from the Hindi classics.

Sahityalochana. By Shyamsundar Das, B.A. (Sahitya-ratna-mala Office, Benares) 1923.

Babu Shyamsundar Das is one of the most earnest workers in the field of ancient and modern Hindi. His work for the Nagaripracharini Sabha has won for him a high place among living Hindi scholars. The authorities of the Benares Hindu University have done well, therefore, to secure his services as lecturer in Hindi; we warmly welcome his *Sahityalochana* as the first book of its kind in Hindi; it is a well-written exposition of the principles of literary criticism, and is a valuable publication both for the student and the general reader. Originality in a late age is impossible, as an English critic emphatically puts it, except for the lunatic, the hermit and the sensation novelist. While therefore, Babu Shyamsundar Das will not himself claim absolute originality for his book, we welcome numerous indications of independent thought and research. Works like this will raise Hindi literature in the eyes of foreign critics and we hope it will be followed up by others of equal ability, scholarship and thoroughness. It is a pleasure to see the excellent get-up, printing, paper and binding of the book, which by reason of its author's scholarship, spirit of research

and critical acumen is bound to take the highest place in the literature of criticism in the Hindi language.

Selections from Hindi Literature. By Lala Sita Ram, B.A., Sahityaratna, (Calcutta University). Two Volumes, 1922.

In noticing a Calcutta University Bengali publication above we expressed our gratification at the encouragement which that great institution has been giving to the cause of other vernaculars also. The two volumes of Hindi selections are the result of that encouragement. The University would have had to wait long and search far before it could get a more competent compiler than the veteran Lala Sita Ram, who, for more than a generation now, has served the cause of Hindi so nobly. His translations into Hindi verse of the works of Kalidas and some of the plays of Shakespeare have long been acknowledged as models of Hindi translations, and it is a source of pleasure to us to see that he continues to labour in the field where he was a pioneer and in the path which he has shown to so many after him. It is needless to say that selections made by this Master of Hindi are admirably done. The first two volumes end with Bhaktanamavali. We shall eagerly await the succeeding volumes, for which as for these we are confident of an enthusiastic reception. The Calcutta University will render a very great service to Hindi literature by encouraging Lala Sita Ram to bring down his series of selections to the present day.

Intikhab-i-Zarrin. By Syed Ross Masood, B.A., I.E.S., (Nizami Press, Budaun, U.P.) 1922.

The Nizami Press, Budaun, deserves the thanks of all lovers of Urdu for their exceedingly well-got-up editions of Urdu poets. As a living scholar well puts it, for many years Urdu poetry was in bad odour with the English educated class of our countrymen, because of the decadence of poetic art, the arrogance of 'educated' ignorance, and the prosaic tendencies of the age. A reaction has, however, set in now. The age of political consciousness in India synchronises with that of the revival of the vernaculars. We are beginning to realise that the realms of gold are to be found not in the west alone, but that there are many literary kingdoms in the east also. This renewed interest in the literatures of our own land is all for the good. The neglected masters, Ghalib, Za'iq, Meer, Atash in Urdu; Bihari, Padmakar, Sur, Tulsi, Keshav in Hindi; Chandidasa, Michael Madhusudan and others in Bengali—to confine the list to North India alone—are beginning once again to enjoy the popularity and

homage that is theirs by right. Mr. Masood is the head of the Nizam's Educational Department and is a scholar, combining in himself the culture both of the West and the East. He has compiled and edited, with brief biographical introductions, the select poems of the more prominent Urdu poets. He has thereby earned the right to be known as the Palgrave of Urdu literature. While such selections are made naturally on the personal preferences of the compiler, it is a tribute to Mr. Masood's literary taste to say that most scholars will find their favourite poems in this slender volume of 275 pages. The living writers are fairly fully represented, but we miss the name of *Safi* of Lucknow. No Lucknow scholar would think of omitting it; his *ghazals* are the delight of many. *Saqib* is another poet whose thoughtful verses would have been welcome. Seeing that *Azeez*, who is considerably junior to both these, finds a place, *Safi* and *Saqib* might well be included in a subsequent edition. We have no doubt that scholars will like to possess in this beautiful edition the best specimens of Urdu poetry. It is a book which deserves very wide circulation.

Tazkirah-i-Shorai-Urdu. By Meer Hasan, Edited by Maulana Mohammad Habibul Rahman Khan Shervani, (Anjuman Taraqqi-Urdu, Aurangabad, Deccan) 1923.

The *Anjuman Taraqqi-Urdu* of Aurangabad, Deccan, has been publishing a very useful series of Urdu books. It is a sad commentary on the interest of North Indian scholars of Urdu that the most important work in the spread and advancement of that language should be carried on in distant Deccan. The book before us is the oldest book of its kind on the subject, having been written about 150 years ago. That critical works of this high standard were written so long ago is a matter on which scholars of Urdu may well pride themselves. The critical and biographical matter is in Persian, and we hope that a fresh edition will soon be demanded, with English and Urdu versions of the Persian part of the book. The critical notes are of great value, as a number of the poets from whose works selections have been made, were Meer Hasan's rivals and contemporaries. Meer Hasan is, of course, an Urdu classic and we are glad to possess from his pen this excellent anthology enriched with a variety of interesting information. Literature does not recognise religion and sect, and Meer Hasan mentions with admiration several Hindus whose Urdu poetry was of a high order—among them some who are not known to us at all: Rai Premnath, Tekchand Bahar, Santokh Rai, Lala Sarab Singh Diwana, Ghasiram Khushdil, Lala Khushwaqt Rai Shadab, Bikhari Das

Azeez, Nawalrai Wafa. Even among contemporary Urdu poets, the position of Brajnaram Chakbast Naubat Rai Nazar, Sukhdev Prasad Bismil is high and we trust that Hindus and Mohammadans will alike continue to enrich the literature of the Urdu language. The book under notice has been edited by Maulvi Habibur Rahman Khan Sherwani of Aligarh, who is a high officer in the service of the Nizam of Hyderabad. He has contributed a well-written introduction to the reprint before us, which has materially enhanced the value of the book. In commending this book to the educated public in Upper India, we may also draw their attention to the literary activities of the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-Urdu of Aurangabad, which deserve appreciation and encouragement at the hands of the lovers of Urdu literature.

How to learn Hindi. By Pandit Satyavrata Siddhantalankar (Aryasamaj, Bangalore) 1922.

This little book has been written for the especial assistance of the Madrasis who desire to learn Hindi; the grammatical portion has been rendered intelligible and interesting. Pandit Satyavrata has attempted successfully to make the book serve at once as a grammar and a reader. The glossary and conversation exercises at the end are copious and exact. We hope the book will have a large circulation.

Evolution of Magadhi. By Dr Ananta Prasad Banerji-Sastri, M.A., D. Phil., (Oxford University Press, Calcutta and London) 1923.

Dr. Banerji-Sastri is one of the large band of Indian scholars that have succeeded in getting from the University of Oxford, the newly instituted degree of D. Phil. The present book is the Introductory portion of the dissertation on which the doctorate was conferred on the author. From the excellence of the introduction we can get an idea of the really high standard of the main work. Philology is a growing science, and in India particularly the pioneer work done by Sir George Grierson is bearing fruit in the fairly large number of works on Indian linguists. We shall look forward to the publication of Dr. Banerji-Sastri's main thesis. In the meantime we commend to the attention of scholars his introduction which displays a commendable spirit of critical research into the origin and development of our Aryan vernaculars.

BOOKS OF REFERENCE.

The List of the Heads of Administrations in India and of the India Office in England. (Superintendent

Government Printing India, Hastings Street, Calcutta) 1923. Re. 1/-.

In the latest edition under review the various lists have been re-arranged in their historical order and classified under three groups, viz. (1) the India Office, showing the various changes since the Regulating Act of 1773; (2) the Government of India, showing its growth since the days of the first Agent in Bengal (1753), including the Commanders-in-Chief in Madras and Bombay, and (3) the local Governments and Administrations, showing their gradual development. A brief note has been added at the top of some of the lists to explain the growth of Governments and Administrations. It has been decided to issue the publication quinquennially. The present edition has been revised throughout and some additional information has been included. The book should find a place on the bookshelf of every Journalist in this country.

Gaya and Bodh Gaya. By Mr. Manoranjan Sinha (Cambray & Co., Hastings Street, Calcutta) 1923.

The author has brought together in a compact and systematic form a great deal of valuable historical material scattered in inaccessible books and periodicals relating to the places making up the title of his work. Making allowance for the rather long list of errata, the book is a useful compendium of information about the places it deals with. Considering their very great sanctity to the Hindus and the Buddhists alike, it should be found useful by a large circle of readers. The book deserves a better get-up and neater printing, which it may well attain in a second edition.

A Book About Sweden. (The Swedish Traffic Association, Stockholm, Sweden) 1923.

The Swedish Traffic Association deserve hearty congratulations on their excellent, illustrated publication in English called *A Book about Sweden*. The book, though small, is exceedingly well put together and offers within a limited compass a mass of accurate and interesting information about the geography, topography, climatology and social, political and economic conditions of the country—besides vivid descriptive sketches of its natural scenery and of its cities and ports. A striking feature of the book are the numerous well-executed photographic reproductions illustrating the scenes and sights described in the work under notice, which appreciably enhance the value of the letter-press and render the book doubly attractive.

• **Burma.** By Sir Thirkell White. (Cambridge University Press, London) 1923.

After suspension for years—due to the intervention of the great war—the Cambridge University Press have resumed publication in their series of “Provincial Geographies of India,” which is edited by Sir Thomas Holland. The three earlier volumes dealt with the Punjab, the Madras Presidency, and Eastern India (Bengal, and Bihar and Orissa). The latest addition is *Burma* by Sir Herbert Thirkell White. Sir Thomas Holland in his “editor’s preface” rightly says that “there are two living authorities (on Burma) who stand in a class apart: Sir George Scott and the author of *A Civil Servant in Burma*”, the latter is Sir Thirkell White, the author of the book under notice. The result is that Sir Thirkell’s *Burma* is an excellent sketch of the physical, political, economic and administrative geography of that country. It is exceedingly well-written and presents a vivid portrait of the realities of life in Burma, including as it does graphic sketches of the customs, manners, habits, social life and religious principles and practices of the Burmans and other peoples of the country. We trust other equally competent writers will deal with the geography of the other parts not so far dealt with in this series.

The Statesman’s Year-Book. (Macmillan & Co Ltd, London) 1923.

We welcome the rather early appearance this year of the Statistical and Historical Annual of the States of the World for the current year edited by Sir John Scott Keltie, LL.D., and M. Epstein, M.A., Ph.D. The *Statesman’s Year-Book*, which is now in its sixtieth year, has won a world-wide reputation as a unique book of reference. It furnishes from official sources political, economic, and statistical information about all the “States” on the face of the globe. Of these there are now 67 separate entities (counting the British Empire as one), and the book deals with the Government and constitution of each State, its area and population, the details of its educational system, its system of justice, its finances (including as a rule the current budget), its debt, and the army and the navy. On the economic side, the book provides a survey of the agriculture and industry of each country, its shipping and commerce, its banking and currency. As a handy and compact compendium of very useful information the *Statesman’s Year-Book* enjoys a high reputation. It has been quoted as a reliable authority in the House of Commons; it is utilized all over the world by diplomatic and consular officials; and may be said to be indispensable to all those who are interested in public affairs—statesmen and parliamentarians,

publicists and journalists, and readers of newspapers. The edition under notice is fully up-to-date and has been carefully revised and overhauled.

The Liberal Year-Book 1923. (Liberal Publication Department, 42, Parliament Street, London, S. W. I.) 1923.

Of the various year-books and annuals issued by the different political parties in Great Britain, the one that is of the greatest utility to the Indian public man is the *Liberal Year-Book*, which is now in its nineteenth year of issue. Its three hundred pages are chokeful of valuable information generally inaccessible by reason of being scattered over a large number of reports and blue-books. Its contents comprise besides various useful lists, digest of parliamentary rules and procedure (which should find wide appreciation among Indian public men), statistical tables and data and up-to-date information about many of the British political institutions. A comprehensive bibliography for the use of Liberals dealing with biography, the Empire, foreign policy, politics, economics, industrial questions, etc., is a highly useful feature of this valuable work of reference, which deserves to be more widely known in India.

Egyptian History and Art. By Mrs. A. A. Quibell (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London) 1923.

Mrs. Quibell’s *Egyptian History and Art* is a useful companion to the museum collections of ancient Egyptian antiquities and it is avowedly compiled as “an historical guide to Egyptian collections in general”. Now that the discovery of Tutakhamen’s tomb and its wonderful contents have aroused world-wide interest in the civilization of ancient Egypt a manual like the one under consideration was badly needed by the visitor to Egyptian museums and collections. Mrs. Quibell’s book which is exceedingly well put together and which is accurate and informing will serve a very useful purpose in popularizing ancient Egyptian art and civilization. It is very well got up.

A Hand-book of Cookery. By Jessie Conrad. (William Heinemann, Ltd., London) 1923.

Mrs. Conrad is the wife of the well-known novelist—Mr. Joseph Conrad—who contributes an interesting preface to his wife’s *Hand-book of Cookery*. According to Mr. Conrad the object of a work on cookery is above suspicion, since of all prose literature, its

object is "one and unmistakable"—that of "no other than to increase the happiness of mankind". That is well said; hence a cookery book has an important ethical aspect. Mrs. Conard's book purports to be intended "for a small house" in England. Conditions in India are so different from those obtaining in England in the matter of supplies of food that an English cookery book would require considerable adaptation to our requirements. But there is much in Mrs. Conard's book which can be learnt with advantage.

Touring Guide and Hand-book 1923. (National Cyclists' Union, 27, Chancery Lane, London) 1923.

The National Cyclists' Union's annual *Touring Guide and Hand-Book* is 'justly regarded as the cyclists' *vade macum* for Great Britain. It supplies in an exceedingly handy form much practical information about the cycling world, which would be of utility even to votaries of the bicycle in this country.

Western India Automobile Association Hand book and Motor Guide. (Western India Automobile Association, 16, Bank Street, Bombay) 1923.

Agra and Oudh was the first province to have a motorists' guide—an official publication. It was followed by the South India Automobile Association's hand-book. Then came the Automobile Association of Bengal's manual dealing with Assam, Bengal and Bihar and Orissa, followed by one dealing with the Punjab. Now we have an excellent and up-to-date *vade macum* for the motorist in Western India, which is replete with sound practical information. It is time that some enterprising editor and firm of publishers combined to utilize all the material available by producing a work of reference suited to the needs of motorists all over India.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE: MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE.

The mysteries of London are unfathomable and inexhaustible. In his **Underworld of London**. (John Murray, Albemarle Street, London) Mr. S. T. Felstead portrays the night life of the greatest metropolis in the world in graphic sketches, which make most interesting reading. These vivid presentations of the criminal classes and the police of London lift the veil from many an unknown and unfamiliar aspect of the realities of life in the modern Babylon. They offer first-hand revelations of London's night life and should appeal to a large circle of readers.

Dr. R. S. Conway's **New Studies of a Great Inheritance** (John Murray, Albemarle Street, London) were delivered as lectures on the modern worth of some ancient writers in Latin. Though they range over diversified topics, they are connected by a common purpose—that of representing the elements in the works of some of the Roman classics, which render their study of permanent value, and of indicating how much in the ethical frame-work of modern society in the West may be traced directly to their teaching. The book is not a history of classical Roman literature, but it is a valuable contribution to the appreciation of some of the master-minds whose works constitute the chief glory of literature in Latin.

The Chelsea Publishing Company (16, Royal Hospital Road, London) has brought out lately many dainty books, but the daintiest of the lot is Captain Fearce's **Reader's Anthology**, which is a collection of choice extracts, chiefly from classical writers, on various subjects of perennial interest. These extracts are grouped together under various headings according to subjects, which enables the reader to appraise the extent to which great authors have thought and written alike. The *Anthology* is thus a most delightful companion and an instructive guide.

Messrs. Cedric Chivers Ltd. of Bath have inaugurated their excellent series of reprints—called "The Readers' Classics"—on a novel and interesting plan. The leading works of classical English fiction—of which four have appeared so far in the series—have prefixed to the text a number of critical appreciations written by well-known scholars, as also comments from contemporary reviews. The contrast between contemporary and present-day critical outlook thus presented is very instructive and enhances materially the usefulness of the series. The get-up of the books is exceptionally good—they are neatly printed and their binding, format and mechanical execution redound to the credit of the publishers. The series deserves to have a very wide circulation. It is cheaply priced at five shillings a volume. We wish the venture the success it so richly merits, as containing perhaps the best reprints of high-class fiction.

Mr. G. M. Cookson's **Four Plays of Aeschylus** (Basil Blackwell, Broad Street, Oxford) offers excellent verse translations of *The Suppliant Maidens*, *The Persians*, *The Seven Against Thebes* and *Prometheus Bound*. Translations in verse of Aeschylus are already available by many hands, but we can not say on that account that Mr. Cookson's rendering is superfluous. On the contrary, his work is so good and reads so well that we wish he would give us more of equally good rendering into English of the other Greek poets and dramatists.

Salma—a play in three acts—(John Murray, Albemarle Street, London) is bound to interest devotees of modern drama. Mr. L. Cranmer-Byng, whose versions of Chinese poetry, the 'Lute of Jade' and the 'Feast of Lanterns,' have attracted very wide-spread attention, has written the play of which the scene is laid in Cintra a thousand years ago. The characters generally belong to a troupe of wandering players, of whom Salma is 'the leading lady'. She attracts the attention of the local Cadi and is separated from her lover, the lute player; but poetic justice is realised at the end. In this play Mr. Cranmer-Byng has found full opportunity for those gifts of imagination and poetic utterance which have won for him so high a place among modern writers. The book deserves careful consideration at the hands of critics of modern English dramatic literature.

Philip's **Visual Contour Atlas for India** (George Philip & Son, Ltd., 32, Fleet Street, London, E. C.) is an almost ideal atlas for Indian students. It is cheap, fully up-to-date well-designed and well-executed. Its thirty-two coloured plates, comprising fifty maps, with index, offer a perfect little atlas, which is highly useful. For the public outside the student world, the same publisher's **New Graphic Atlas** presents, for two shillings, the opportunity of possessing a sufficiently comprehensive atlas to meet every day needs. It is an attractive publication containing thirty-two new maps in colours showing up-to-date boundaries of political state, and complete with a sixteen-page index of place-names. It is a work of great ability to those who follow current political affairs.

Mr. M. D. Mosher's **More Toasts: Jokes, Stories and Quotations** (Grafton & Co., London and The H. W. Wilson Company, New York, U. S. A.) is a continuation of the compiler's *Toaster's Hand-book*. The jokes are, of course, American, but they are all the more racy on that account. But apart from these, the introduction in which are pieced together several extracts on the gift, function and importance of humour, is highly instructive, and the book deserves a warm appreciation at the hands of those who value laughter as the best tonic in the world.

Messrs. G. C. F. Mead and R. C. Clift have compiled for the Cambridge University Press (Fetter Lane, London, E. C.) an anthology called **English Verse: Old and New**. There seems to us nothing distinctive about the selection which, however, is fairly comprehensive, though there is, to our mind, a disproportionate space devoted to living poets. This was scarcely necessary to establish "that poetry is still a thing of light and power." That might have been taken for granted and a judicious perspective displayed. But

in spite of this limitation, the anthology should find a large circle of readers.

Round Tunisian Walls. (The Near East, Ltd., 1, Devonshire Square, London, E. C.) is translated from the French, to which is appended a tourists' guide to Tunis by Mr. L. E. Douglas. The latter is useful for visitors as it gives practical information and includes a glossary. But the first part is a fascinating description of the life, customs, manners, religion, and superstitions of the Tunisians—both Muslims and Jews. A capital book.

The Oxford University Press (1, Garstin Place, Calcutta) have started a "Language and Literature Series", the volumes of which—written as they are by experts and specialists—are designed to afford the aspirant sufficient guidance in his earliest endeavours to grasp the genius of a language or to get a view of the range and significance of a literature. The first of the series to deal with a literature is Mr. Reuben Levy's **Introduction to Persian Literature**. It is an excellent conspectus—accurate and edifying—of the literatures in the various languages of Persia from the days of Cyrus the Great. Appended to the text is a useful select bibliography and an alphabetical list of authors. The literature section of the series could not have been inaugurated better than with Mr. Levy's *Persian Literature* which is alike interesting and instructive.

We have noticed, from time to time, in terms of appreciation the publications in the Loeb Classical Library (William Heinemann, London), the object of which is to present in a uniform series of books the texts—with translations into English on the opposite page—of the Greek and Roman classics. The translations are both old and new. The latest volume is Dr. H. W. Smyth's rendering into English prose of four of the dramas of Aeschylus.—The Suppliant Maidens, The Persians, Prometheus Bound and The Seven Against Thebes. The translator has enriched the volume with an illuminating introduction, while his rendering of the Greek original is easy, clear and graceful. We trust the second and concluding volume—completing the translation of Aeschylus—will soon appear. The Loeb Classical Library is one of the most commendable enterprises in publishing and it richly merits success. We hope it will have a large circulation in the English-knowing world, for we can conceive of no series of books more edifying and instructive than the present.

The "World's Classics" series has been lately enriched by an excellent reprint of that classic in fiction—Morrier's **Hajji Baba** (Oxford University Press, Calcutta and London). The text has been edited by Mr. C. W. Stewart, who has contributed an interest-

ing introduction on the many merits of Morrier's work. Published originally in 1824, Mr Stewart's edition may well be regarded as the centenary edition. *Hajji Baba* is a work of perennial charm and interest and the new edition under notice should make a wide appeal as the best description of Persian life, and social conditions.

In our last number we noticed in terms of high appreciation, the "India of To-day" series, published by the Oxford University Press under the general Editorship of Dr. Rushbrook-Williams. A new volume on the **Defence of India** by "Arthur Vincent" is a useful addition to the series. The subject is one of great importance and has only now begun to attract the serious attention of Indian publicists. The portion relating to the North-West Frontier is particularly full of information. The entire series deserves an extensive circulation, written, as the volumes are, by experts and specialists.

The Chief Ministers of England. By the Hon. Clive Bigham (John Murray, Albermarle Street, London) is a continuation or rather a completion of his survey of English history as epitomised in the lives of the Chief or Prime Ministers. His earlier volume, entitled *Prime Ministers of Great Britain* has on another page been reviewed at great length, and here we can only welcome this book as a valuable contribution to historical study. Like its predecessor, the present volume is profusely illustrated. In many ways this book must have involved greater industry and research than the earlier one, as the literature available on the subject of the ancient ministers is considerably less than on the later ones. Great credit is due to Mr. Bigham for making this rather dull subject so interesting.

Umar Khayyam and His Age. By Otto Rothfield, I.C.S. (D. P. Taraporewalla, Sons & Co., Bombay) is a welcome addition to the existing literature on the tent-maker of Nishapur, who, thanks to the inimitable rendering of Fitzgerald's, has long been a classic in the West. Orientalists hardly mention Omar in the same breath with Sadi, Hafiz and Jami, but it is Omar, the philosopher, the epicurean, that has become the favourite of all students of English Literature. Since Fitzgerald's time there have been published numerous new translations, both free and literal, but it is no disparagement to them to say that the charm and fragrance of Fitzgerald's version are missing in the rest. But while there has been a great deal of rhapsodising over his divine cup-bearer, his flask of wine, his liquid ruby, his unborn tomorrow, his lizard and the lion, comparatively little has been written in a truly scientific spirit. Mr. Rothfield, whose earlier work on the *Women of India* showed him to possess

literary skill and critical acumen of a high order, attempts in the present volume an analysis of the state of society and its spirit at the time that Omar lived. He divides the book into two parts: Umar's life and period, and the significance of Umar's Ruba'iat. [Mr. Rothfield is very particular about the spelling of Persian words, and would not think even of sticking to such accepted forms as Rubaiyat and Omar]. The analysis of Umar's quatrains is brilliant and convincing, and no one that follows Mr. Rothfield's pages carefully will disagree with him when he says: "Yes, it is all strangely modern, this poetry of the Persian, after so many centuries, with its doubts, its bitterness and its consolations". All lovers of Umar should possess a copy of this book.

Seven Ages. By a Gentleman with a Duster (Mills & Doon, 49, Rupert Street, London) is a further addition to the highly instructive series which have been written by this modern Juvenal who, despite most extravagant applause in the press, has not chosen to remove his veil of anonymity. His *Mirrors of Downing Street* was welcomed by all who desired frankness in the criticism of the leading public men of England. The *Glass of Fashion* and *Painted Windows* achieved an equal success. In his latest book, he traces the main current of human thought from the age of Socrates down to the present time. His object is to place in the hands of the multitude a book which simply but picturesquely tells the narrative of the human mind. Though professedly 'popular', the accuracy of his statements cannot be questioned, nor can there be two opinions as to the supreme utility of a book such as this.

In their book **Literature of the World**, William Richardson and Jesse Owen (Ginn and Company, Boston & London) have rendered a public service in bringing out this profusely illustrated, comprehensive and yet concise account of the most important literatures. The aim of the authors has been to present a brief study of the literature of each of the major nations, and they have throughout striven to introduce the reader to the literature of his choice, by suggesting good editions and translations of the classics. This has considerably enhanced the practical utility of the book. Naturally, the chapters dealing with English and American literatures are the fullest, but the literatures of other countries also receive adequate treatment. The chapter on the Literature of India, however, is singularly sketchy and incomplete, the author making a jump over three thousand years, from the Mahabharata suddenly coming to Tagore; Kalidas and Bhavabhuti and the rest are not even once mentioned. This deficiency will, we trust, be

removed in a later edition. Meanwhile we accord a hearty welcome to this well-written, well-illustrated and well got-up volume.

Education under the East India Company. By Major B. D. Basu, I.M.S. (Retd.) (Modern Review Office, Calcutta) is a new book by the veteran scholar whose reputation has already been firmly established by his monumental work on the *Medicinal Plants of India* and whose *History of Satara* we noticed in terms of appreciation in our last number. Major Basu has here reprinted with additions and alterations a series of articles which he contributed to our esteemed contemporary, the *Modern Review*. We are very glad to have them in book-form, as they are packed with valuable information not easily available to the average reader. We have no doubt that the book will command a large circulation.

Mrs. Margaret E. Cousins is a lady of great culture and refinement. She recently had the distinction of being the first woman Magistrate in India. From her pen we welcome **The Awakening of Asian Womanhood** (Ganesh & Co., Madras). The talented Editor of "Stri Dharma" needs no introduction as a devoted worker in the cause of Indian womanhood. This book, we are confident, will be treasured as a trustworthy account of one phase of India's effort to gain freedom, as a declaration of eternal principles concerning womanhood, as a brilliant and critical analysis of Asian Woman, and as a keen, but not blind appreciation of whom she regards as three of India's most notable women of to-day—viz., Mrs. Ramabai Ranade, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, and Shrimati Abala Bose. These have in Mrs. Cousins a warm admirer, who is however judicious in her praise. All those who have the cause of Indian womanhood at heart should read this inspiring volume.

Khan Bahadur Mohammad Fasihuddin's *History of Jaunpur* was reviewed by us in a previous number and we welcomed that pioneer work. The same gentleman, who is Collector of the Jaunpur District in the United Provinces, has now written in the **Kings of the East** (Nizami Press, Badaun, 1923), a full account of the characteristics of the Sharqi Kings. We have read it with pleasure and profit and commend it to all interested in the subject.

Cowley's Essays, Edited by J. R. Lumby, revised by Arthur Tilley (Cambridge University Press) is a reprint, amended and enlarged of Dr. Lumby's well-known, highly scholarly edition in the Pitt Press Series. The revised edition is a distinct improvement on the older one.

Elementary Hygiene. By Biharilal Bhatia, M.Sc., F.Z.S., and Prem Nath Suri, M.B., B.S. (Longmans,

Green & Co., Bombay and London) meets a longfelt want. The chapters are written in a popular, intelligible style and the book is eminently suited to be prescribed for Indian students.

Raja Ravi Varma is apparently the first of a series of critical sketches in "Master-pieces in Art Scripture" which Mr. C. R. Ramanujacharya has brought out through Messrs G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras (Price Re. 1-8). In eighty pages of eloquent prose the author vindicates the art and genius of the great south Indian painter. Ravi Varma was perhaps the most popular artist of his time in India and there is hardly a south Indian home the walls of which are not decorated with his paintings. Mr. Ramanujacharya's exposition of the philosophy underlying the art of Ravi, his interpretation of the mind of the artist, and his analysis of the profound significance of his works will be read with considerable interest. The book is well printed in featherweight paper and handsomely got up with the coloured plate of Hamsa Dhamayanti (on the cover)—the subject of an elaborate critical exposition in the book.

Mr. Arthur Tilley has edited for the Cambridge University Press **Five Short Stories of Balzac**, the famous French romancist. Balzac as a writer of Short Stories is comparatively unknown; but Mr. Tilley in a brilliant introduction to this volume declares the claim of Balzac to be as securely founded on these five stories as on his longer romances. The creative spirit is there and the charm and strength of Balzac's characterisation is equally prominent. The five stories included in this volume are *Le Curé de Tours* a study of provincial life and manners, *Jesus-Christ en Flandre*, a mediaeval morality, *Le Chef-d'Oeuvre inconnu*, *L'Auberge Rouge*, *La Messe de l'Athée*—three short problem stories dealing with human motives of conduct.

Dr. V. H. Rutherford was well-known in this country in pre-war days for his consistent advocacy of radical reforms in the Government of India in the Parliament of 1906-1910. He was a staunch opponent of war for war's sake and has now in **Militarism After the War** (The Swarthmore Press, Ltd., London, 1921, 6s. net) exposed the ruthless methods of International Finance which has had almost all the European nations in its grip since the conclusion of hostilities. A very strong case is made out against the Jingo Imperialist school, and Labour Party's attitude critically defined and upheld. Militarism, the chief prop of High Finance, lets loose the "hounds of hell"; and the only effective check is democratic control of the machinery of governance and an international understanding for disarmament.

The Oxford University Press (London & Calcutta) have collected the varied political contributions of Coventry Patmore to the Press. The collection is made under the editorship of Mr. F. Page and provides an interesting recollection of the political factions of the years 1885-1896. **Courage in Politics**, as the book is styled, is however, more than a selection of ephemeral

political 'leaders'. Patmore's writings were always distinguished by a clear, direct and incisive style. His methods always led to probing the fundamental principles behind a problem. Such characteristics distinguish his press contributions and give a more permanent note to the present collection.

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THE PROBLEMS OF THE THEATRE.*

By MR. W. G. RAFFE, F.R.S.A., F.I.B.D., A.R.C.A.

PART I.

The Theatre as a Vehicle of Social Art.

The Aims of Dramatic Production.

The following essay is an attempt to indicate an avenue of social education and development that has not yet been fully considered by any modern nation. In a land such as India, where there has been no break between the religious beliefs of ancient times, and their continuity into present practice, at least in many forms if not all original ways, there is every opportunity for consideration of the theatre in its original intention and use. Therefore, first dealing with some of the psychological factors inherent in the social utility of the drama as a form of social expression, and the methods by which it can be successfully handled by a school or a town council, we may proceed to consider some of the developments of technicalities by which the form of the drama on the stage may be adequately expressed. There is growing a school of dramatists in Bengal whose work is worthy of the very best technical presentation. There is no doubt whatever that, when an avenue of art is given more facility, still more artists will come forward with their contributions to the nation's artistic wealth. The sight of the means to art often induces the production of art, and it must never be forgotten that where there is art, there is human life at its best, for art is the grand characteristic of

developed humanity. And the drama is one of the highest forms of art.

Further, drama is essentially a social form of art, for although the play with its poetry and sublime feeling may—indeed must—arise in the heart and mind of a single man—yet the co-operation of many persons is necessary before that drama can live before the eager eyes of the spectators. Therefore, it is an art that needs social encouragement from those institutions which are the vehicle by which the community does its work, namely, the municipal councils, legislative councils, schools and universities. From some we expect help, from others we expect action. From all we should gain sympathy and encouragement. In the educational institutions we shall desire the study of drama and its various forms, and its preparation in speech and action, as in the different schools. And perhaps in the arts and craft schools we can gain help in the decorative presentation of the drama, from the expert knowledge in design and colour and decoration which render such powerful aid to the intentions of the dramatist.

In India there is a dual position, for Indian types of play are given, as well as the European type. The worst is the mixture of the two. Perhaps the best aim is to leave the solution of the problems of European drama to European artists, and for Indians to aim at the normal and

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natural concentration for the revival and presentation of Indian poetic drama, which ranks as high as any in the world.

But in doing so, the scientific knowledge and the technical aids available should not be ignored, merely because they also did not happen to develop in India. Whatever is good should be adopted and adapted to the splendour of national art, for art must be national before it can be universal, and perhaps it will grow well if at first it is local in form, though wider in expression. Art is part of *dharma*—each to his own!

Social Encouragement necessary.

But the citizens of every town of any note should also make it part of their duty to encourage all forms of national art, and those who talk most about self-rule should realise that, unless they build and hold the mastery in Indian arts and crafts of all kinds through Indian hands and Indian intelligence, no mere theoretical political freedom will be of any avail. Only the man who is both emotionally and intellectually alive is a fit citizen.

Theatres exist to-day in thousands and their living force of dramatic art should be utilised for social good. It is estimated that in Great Britain alone on *every night* of the week over 2,000,000 people attend Theatres. Whether Picture House, Music Hall, or Playhouse the Theatre has with amazing rapidity become the one great popular recreative institution. That this affection for the Theatre is not merely fleeting, and that its roots go deep will be evident from a brief survey of the birth and growth of the drama.

There has always appeared in man an instinct driving him to gather in numbers for the observance of one or other form of ritual. This instinct gave to organised religion the ploughed field ready for its seed—for the power of religion has lain for the masses in its emotional appeal and not in the intellectual theses of its leaders. In early times the great religious festivals were mimetic in form, as in the festivals of Dionysus in Greece—from which grew that wonderful Greek Drama which is our literary heritage. Subsequently, and mainly due to the revulsion of feeling against the orgies of Rome, public shows of all descriptions fell into grave disrepute, and for a long period in Western Europe the Theatre to all practical intent ceased to exist. Even before Mediaeval times, however, the Christian religion again gave

birth to drama. The Catholic Church in order to keep its hold on that mass of the populace to which its Latin was unintelligible, arranged on festive occasions, dumb shows by clergy and choristers of various materialised Bible stories; these were for some time highly popular with the ignorant, but as the insincerity of these slowly became obvious to increasing intelligence, during the last two or three centuries the divorce of Church and Stage gradually occurred. But not until quite recent times did popular enthusiasm move steadily away from the church to the stage.

Art versus Life.

The present position of the European drama, with its many attendant arts of stage decoration, costume, lighting, and colour, is somewhat curious. There is certainly a vast amount of energy, of money and of talent expended upon the production of stage shows and spectacles which a large number of the population appear to find diverting if not educational. It is of course rather doubtful if many normal adults in the British Empire ever consciously express any desire for education: if they do, it is often as a means to an end and not merely for the sake of knowledge. They go to the theatre expressly for "amusement". This is admitted on all sides, and in the admission we may trace the results of the long drawn historical sequence of drama, as connected with religion and the priesthood generally, into the their present opposition of all that they ever stood for in the history of the world. In a few words, instead of the instructed and illumined drama being a part of life, and a great part of education for life, *the drama is now normally conceived as an antidote to life*. It is something set over and apart from the normal day of office and factory, until it had degenerated further still in this pathetic diastole and systole of uninteresting mirth to unintelligent music-hall, from amusement to abusement. The breathless whirl, the brightness of light and colour, the cheap and catchy jingles, are all expressly designed to require the least possible effort of thought to understand or appreciate. It is the art of the lowest common denominator of the mass of the people. The separation of education from the drama, and, still worse, from true religion, with its once valuable control of dramatic art, has been bad for all. The blame may be fairly laid at the door of the professional custodians of religion,

who in desiring to keep their treasures of understanding to themselves, lost the little they had in their unfructifying ignorance. However that may be, it avails nothing to distribute blame: we must now think and work to bring together the living principles out of the old traditions, in such new forms as may best suit our very peculiar mode of civilisation to become something better.

Professional Profiteering.

The curiously unstable characteristic of the social structures of Western Europe and America (founded on the same model) is peculiar in the sense that it is very professional. Nearly all work to get money instead of to render service. All are in trades and professions. The priests are professionals, gaining incomes: actors are professionals; teachers are professionals; on all of whom the double labour devolves of discharging their duties, and of maintaining themselves to a standard of recognised professional efficiency, failing which they may starve. This regrettable but natural concomitant of such an industrial civilisation as ours, where honour and glory go principally with profits, has the obvious effect of diverting concentration upon socially useful work, to the necessity of first gaining a livelihood, things by no means identical. That is the basic obstacle to **immediate improvement**. The drama is in the hands of commercial managers who deal with it solely as a "business proposition", in which success is solely measured in profits and not in the educational or instructive or artistic value of the play presented. On this hinged the long banishment of Shakespeare from the London stage, and he returned only when pioneers who started by working for love, had "made him pay" and thus encouraged those of faint hearts and heavy pockets to stage his work again.

Apart from the concert or lecture hall, we have three main forms of dramatic entertainment: the theatre proper; the music-hall, and the kinema. Between the first two are the "revues", and "musical-comedy" type of shows. These suffice for the majority, but for those who appreciate more subtle humour than is usually found in them, there remain such affairs as political meetings, the House of Commons, and similar places, where they neither toil, nor spin anything, but yarns. The Christian churches as centres of attraction are notoriously ineffective, as so many parsons

preach what they do not believe, and yet attempt to instruct a twentieth century population in fifteenth century theology. To fill the churches would be easy if the clergy would but fill their own minds before undertaking to instruct others. But the Church, having lost all intellectual hold is now fast losing its emotional appeal by the competition of secular drama.

Municipal Possibilities.

The typical English music-hall is the development of the "public house" smoking concert, which was perhaps the nearest approach to a municipal meeting place such as old fashioned municipalities do not provide for their citizens, the town-hall being reserved for business only, and known only to the citizen through its frequent and insistent demands for his money. Why most towns do not insist upon the provision of a suitable *real* town-hall, where citizens may meet at any time, and have refreshments, and see such plays as they wish, cannot be understood. There are many art galleries, more or less appreciated, but no municipal theatres. There are even municipal parks, market-halls, free libraries, swimming baths, and other institutions of value to citizens. But not in all Britain is there a Municipal Theatre.

That Britain, and that part of India with British ideas, is sadly behind in the proper encouragement of the arts is everywhere evident. But to find that absolutely no encouragement is given to the great art of the Theatre is astonishing, when we artists may enviously survey the vast progress which has been made in countries like Germany, Russia, Norway and Sweden, and even in America, which land has long been artistically backward, but where much practical enthusiasm is now developing on the "Little Theatre". Those who long for the awakening of India may examine this progress of the Theatre in other lands with real benefit to their ideals.

The "People's Theatre" in Germany.

The development of the "People's Theatre" in Germany is of great interest. In 1890, in Berlin, there existed a Society called the "*Free Stage*". It had been formed by people thoroughly disgusted by the absurdities of the ordinary theatre and its plays, to produce for its members the works of the new school of playwrights, productions of whose works were either forbidden by the Censor or would not be risked by the

Commercial theatre, because they "would not pay." The impetus was entirely artistic and not political. Membership of this Society was confined to the wealthier classes of the community owing to its cost. At that time the German Social Democracy had just been freed from Bismarck's ban, (under which to talk of socialism or even to belong to the movement was illegal), and was endeavouring to become truly articulate. Berlin Socialists, awake to the possibilities of the Theatre, were fired by the example of the "Free Stage" Society and, being excluded from it by the cost of membership, formed a society of their own called the *Free Folk Stage*. The first public suggestion was an article in the *Berliner Volks-Blatt* by Dr. Bruno Wille in which he said:—"The Theatre should be a source of exalted artistic enjoyment, of moral improvement and of powerful intellectual stimulus. But it is for the most part degraded to the level of stale salon wit, polite literature, yellow-back reading matter, or circus entertainment. The stage has been subjected by capitalism, and the taste of all classes of the community has been corrupted. In the meantime a certain portion of our people, stimulated and led by sincere poets, journalists, and public men has freed itself from this corruption and for the working classes of Berlin the need exists not only to read but to see the plays of their choice. The public production of plays in which their lives a revolutionary spirit, runs aground on the police censorship, or on capitalism, which has no place for anything but box-office successes."

Freedom for Art.

These hindrances do not exist for the closed Society. The declared aim of the *Free Folk Stage* was to give thoughtful plays at the lowest possible cost, to a large public. Their plan was to rent a theatre for one Sunday afternoon a month, to beg or hire the services of players who were sufficiently interested, and to cut out all unnecessary expenditure. The first performance took place on Sunday, October 19th, 1890 at the Ostend Theatre, Ibsen's *Pillars of Society* being the play produced. The cost per member was about sixpence.

Success of the People's Theatre.

The Society became a brilliant success; it caused newspaper comment all over the world, and raised a storm of protest in aristocratic

Berlin, where it became known as the *Social Democratic Theatre*. The Sunday afternoon performance idea became so popular that even the commercial theatres copied it!

Soon the people behind the Berlin police grew suspicious, and in 1891 a notice was served that the *Free Folk Stage* had been "adjudged a political organisation" as it was having an influence on public opinion, and would accordingly, like other political societies, be forbidden to have women members. The case was eventually taken to Court, and Dr. Wille, the clever director of the *Stage Society*, admitted that the plays were sometimes of a Socialistic tendency, but he drew a distinction between a political movement, and the art which expresses it, and claimed that the *Free Folk Stage* was solely an artistic society. Astonishing to relate, the judge concurred and the *Society* won its case against the police. But new troubles arose. The members accused Dr. Wille of not being sufficiently democratic, and they voted him out of the directorate. Dr. Wille then formed a new Society which was called "*The New Free Folk Stage*". In November 1892 this Society's first performance—Goethe's *Faust*—was given in the "Belle-Alliance" Theatre. Among the prominent and able men associated with Dr. Wille were Maximilian Harden, the political writer; Emil Lessing, a famous producer and director; and Victor Hollander, a composer.

In the winter of 1893—1894 the membership was trebled, chiefly due to the success of Hauptmann's '*The Weavers*' forbidden by the censor "owing to its inflammatory effect on the working classes". In 1894 the police again interfered, taking exception to a play called *Alone* and ordered that all plays must be first passed by the police censor. Half the members gave up hope and voted to disband, but after a period of suspension Dr. Wille, by personal visits to the police and judge made arrangements for the Society to proceed unmolested. There does not appear to have been any "compromise" for *The Weavers* was promptly again produced.

About 1903 Max Reinhardt joined the Society and brought his great influence as a brilliant producer, fired with tremendous enthusiasm. When he was made director of the famous *Deutsches Theatre* in Berlin he gave special performances for members of the

Society, who then arranged with other theatres for special performances of any plays of note which they staged. Later the Society commenced giving *nightly* performances and in 1904 rented a theatre.

In 1914 the original *Free Folk Stage* amalgamated with the new Society and the joint membership was over 70,000 in a city of about two million inhabitants. In the same year the Society built a new theatre at a cost of £250,000, seating 2,000 people, and having a stage fitted with all the marvellous technical improvements of the German Theatre.

Municipal Theatres appreciated.

In the art of the Theatre Germany stands far in advance of the rest of the world. In over 50 towns there are endowed theatres, many of them Municipal Theatres, with subsidies ranging from £7,000 to £30,000 per annum, in days before the war. In Lubeck with a population of about 100,000 is a theatre which cost £120,000 to build, accommodates 1,200 people and received a subsidy of £7,750 a year, which is one of the most artistic theatres in the world.

The charges in German theatres were nominal, one mark (equal normally to 12 annas) or even less, was a usual price, in pre-war-days for admission to performances. In the Societies it was cheaper, each Member paid one mark membership fee, and fourteen marks for tickets for fourteen performances. If he wanted to go to more than fourteen, or required tickets for friends he paid a slightly higher charge.

The Municipal endowed theatres in each town give a certain number of free performances each season, for the benefit of poorest people or series of very cheap performances are arranged with Trade Unions and other Societies. For instance in Munster performances were given twice a week at a uniform rate of half a mark for a play and one mark for an Opera. All the performances were "sold out". Fifteen Operas and twenty-six plays were given during the 1913 season. In Cologne in the Municipal Theatre, out of a total of 294 performances in the 1912 season 43 were given for the people *free* of charge, and in the Municipal Opera House, out of 241 performances, 20 were given for the poor people free, and five for large Societies and Trade Unions. In these theatres, the ideals in the standard of plays performed, the acting, the

beauty of the stage-scene are such as have never been reached in Britain or India, but there they are everyday standards.

A Producer's Opinion.

Basil Dean, a well-known London producer, speaking of his own experience of German productions, said:—"Previous to my visit to the *Kammerspiel Theatre* to witness a performance of *Fruhlings Erwachen* I had never realised to the fullest extent the power and influence which the work of the more exalté writers for the stage can have upon an audience. This play of Wedekind's, which deals with one of the more serious aspects of the sexual problem was received in total silence. The audience filed out of the theatre at the close of the performance as silently as though they had been present at some most impressive religious rite, and with such a spirit of genuine devotion that it visibly affected even the most callous. No applause could be so expressive; congratulatory alike to the genius of the author and to the competent talent of the players. Think how this play would have been ruined by the more unthinking part of an English audience!"

Speaking of a performance of Sophocles' *Œdipus*, directed by Max Reinhardt at Frankfurt before over 5,000 people, he says:—"The play was played without a single interruption and lasted nearly two hours and a half. Scarcely a sound could be heard throughout the performance! Think what this means. Two and a half hours of uninterrupted Greek tragedy! There was a tremendous feeling of kinship between the players and the audience. Right from the start this could be felt. The emotional stress of the play's action seemed but to strengthen the feeling. We became knit together in one bond of sympathy: humanity aghast at the mystery of its own annihilation. Then at the close, as *Œdipus* staggered from the arena a hush which must have lasted two or three minutes! Then the applause! It lasted for twenty minutes by the clock. Never have I seen such a demonstration. The largest proportion of the appreciation came from the shop-assistant and artisan class—young men and young women—truly appreciative of the giants of the Drama. They stood there applauding until the distracted officials were forced to bring Reinhardt from the seclusion of his hotel to accept their thanks in person. One was proud,

amazed, enthralled, and depressed by turns. Could we see such a thing in England?"

The Psychology of the Theatre.

The function of the Theatre is two-fold, and though to *educate*, intellectually, morally, socially and spiritually, is its premier function or aim, it cannot therefore be considered as of *greater* human importance than its other function which is the delight and joy of all Art. The Theatre is a great composite organisation of all branches of art, in literature, poetry and prose, in the play presented; in music of language, voice, and instrument; in rhythm, in dance and in every gracious movement of the human body; in the picture with colour, line mass and form in the scene; and its power for the creation of joy is greater than the power of all these arts summed together.

Art is the creation of such a response in us that our emotions become nobler; our instincts finer; and we experience an exultation of joy. It is only when response is aroused in us by the overwhelming power of art that we experience this. Modern educationists, no less than political thinkers have been strangely neglectful of the immense opportunity offered by the Theatre for presenting in its own dramatically vivid manner, pictures of humanity suffering in the toils of various exploiters. George Bernard Shaw is practically the only dramatist in Britain who has used the Theatre in this manner. Yet the same understanding which impelled the early Church to adopt this method of teaching by appeal to the eye should be impelling the progressive movements to use the same means to awake sluggish imaginations to a realization of all the horrors of humanity, ground between the millstones. It is a commonplace that the average man looks to *others* to articulate his emotions—he responds to the expression given if he feels its truth. The aftermath of war has brought a great revulsion against the unspeakable ugliness and horror of commercial battle orgies, and humanity has need of a great lyrical expression of beauty, after this animal degradation. Unconsciously they demand a great reward of joy to balance their great privation in suffering, a happiness that can come only from art, with its beneficent power, healing the wounds of humanity. The Theatre can give them this and *must* give it, in nobility of sentiment, in poetry of language, in music and rhythm, in colour and light.

At present in our Theatre there is almost no joy because there is no beauty; the worst instincts, instead of the best in the audience are appealed to. But it is for us to decide now what the Theatre of the future shall give to its audiences, who are ourselves. The Theatre is not merely a place of amusement but it is the great educative and joy-giving instrument of modern society, for old and young, for rich and poor. In India, if anywhere in the world, do the people need all the lessons and all the happiness of life that a true drama on an artistic theatre can bring to them. Unlettered, but not necessarily uneducated, this is the royal avenue to the possibilities of their intellectual and emotional happiness.

Art and the Joy of Life.

Let us examine the potentialities of fine dramatic art. We cannot do better than quote the words of an American writer:—

"Real happiness means education; real education means happiness. And in regard to our drama there can be no sounder, no more enlightening conviction than this truth; that by whatever name we choose to call it, the influence of our theatres is a colossal, a national influence in forming the taste, the moral will, the mental capacity of our people. Whether we realise it or not, our theatres are supplied—in passion, imagination, and delight—with means of appeal far more potent than any possessed by our schools or colleges; and whether we like it or not, night after night, year after year, our theatres *are* educating our people, by the millions and tens of millions. The question is *shall the theatres educate those millions right or wrong?*"*

A great concourse of people nightly demand emotional exaltation, rarely knowing, beyond that only half-conscious hunger, exactly what they desire; not only receptive of any ideal put before them but absorbing such ideals as standards of judgment and conduct, rapidly acquiring pathetically low and degrading standards from such pernicious or inane fare as is regularly offered in a theatre shackled with all the vices of capitalism, and mainly in the control of men whose *last* thought is of social betterment. Here is an imperious call to actively become concerned with that reconstruction of the ideals of the Theatre which already has been begun.

*Percy Mackaye: *Playhouse and the Play*.

Gilbert Cannan says:—

"Vision is as much a necessity of man as digestion. Vision is that which raises him above the rest of creation."* and again:—

"The life of men cannot be changed till a change has been wrought in their minds. Social evolution *follows* the evolution of Art."* and further:—

"The influence of the Theatre is so powerful because in it the average man, on almost the only occasion in his daily life, is forced to detach himself from the trivial things of daily existence and to concentrate his mind and senses on one object. As a result that object goes deep—deeper than any other occurrence of daily life, as deep as facing death or the creation of life."*

Art and the Universities.

In Indian education there is a peculiarly suitable place available for the drama. In ancient times all her teaching came through the recited poem, often accompanied by music. There is no real reason why much modern teaching, especially that important part concerning the arts, should not also be presented to the youth of the country through the medium of the drama. Therefore it is a phase of educational work that should certainly be consistently developed in all colleges and universities.

Why should Indian universities follow the mediaeval notion of some European universities, which assume that all culture is on affairs of text-books and examination, of lectures and essays, instead of also being and doing things, rather, than merely writing about them?

The production and acting of simple plays is the proper medium for the co-education of the sexes. In early days, before any thought of specialisation for the necessities of commercial life arises, it can include, music, singing, dancing, drawing, design, needlework and much other craft work in the making of "properties", all in organised work, which all centres on the stage. It is not so important in such early work to have an audience, which is often only a nuisance. Even in the outer world an audience is regarded as merely the universal supplier of profits. And the notion of a definite duty to a purchaser is but slowly rising. Linked with good dramatic work may be geography, history, and quite as much arithmetic in actual calculations as is good for small children. The sense of due pro-

portion in words, thought, and action—the greatest attributes of real character, is stimulated by living art more than by any other means. Acting oneself, and criticising the art of others, is stimulating and while developing individuality in expression there is ever present the necessity for the coherent work of the real team spirit of social life. A better realisation is gained of the relation of all parts of such a production to each other, and it is fully realised that those helpers, whose work may not be seen as actors at the final production, are none the less just as essential as those people who do the most talking on the stage.

The value of such dramatic work in early schooldays is incalculably tremendous. The effect on young minds is that of finding a real use for the whirling imagination of childhood, instead of an unhealthy repression, which cannot be avoided if lessons are imposed without a realisation of their use to the youthful person who is to learn them, and who is the most important person to be considered, in his own estimation. He is not so far wrong as we used to think. It is better to act than to listen.

Of what drama might be in the early schooldays of the people much might be said, if ideal conditions were had for asking. The tiniest child responds with a beautiful instinctive rhythm to the simple dance; its desire for motion is satisfied, and its taste for beauty in bodily motion is retained. Instead, we order them to sit still in school-rooms for regulation periods which have no conformity whatever with natural rhythm. The early years of every child ought to be compact of art—and nothing else; the natural unconscious empirical art of all young minds; orderly as its own necessity dictates. Science should be given only when reasons are asked, when the methods of doing things are to be solved. Science, whether great or small, provides the data for technique, whether for works of art or works of abstract thought.

The Indian Theatre and Cinema.

If Indians would properly support the work of their own dramatists, there would be immediate possibilities in at least a few places, for the development of a municipal theatre.

With enthusiastic support such as these able dramatists thoroughly deserve, the financial difficulties could be easily surmounted. The expense of putting up a small building for stage

**The Joy of the Theatre.*

performances, is not too great. It is better to build a small theatre, for not only is initial expense less, but renovations are cheaper, and it is better to have small place full than a large hall half empty. As municipal property, such a hall could also be let for lectures, meetings or exhibitions, as well as for producing plays. Also the producers of Indian kinema pictures ought to be encouraged by the development of municipal support of the theatre. It does not matter if such a municipal theatre would compete with commercial concerns. The public would finally decide to support those which gave the kind of work they liked best, and would be able to have a voice in their municipal theatre in the selection of plays, which at present they have no concern with. Now, they can either take what is put before them or go without.

Not only the dramas of ancient Hindustan should be played for young India of to-day in such circumstances as to bring home their real value and beauty, but the plays of modern Indian dramatists should find an honored place in the programme. If at first funds are scarce, players should give their time, painters help to make what scenery is needed, workers help with costumes, or rich men interested would give many of such things as are required, if they knew exactly what things are wanted. Those who know how and where to ask, frequently receive.

So far as the kinema performances are held, they should be given often in the daytime, and school children should be taken to these special shows, when films dealing with the history of India and the stories from the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* are being shown. There is certainly a splendid future for such films not only in India but in Europe and America. All that is necessary is that the idea or story being shown should be made quite intelligible to all audiences, and be produced by an artist.

The expense of producing a play is often overestimated, for if very simple scenic decoration and lighting be adopted, much expense is unnecessary. Once the building is arranged, with its stage and adjacent rooms, the rest is comparatively easy. Any single rich man desirous of helping modern Indian drama could build and equip a municipal theatre and not notice the cost. But he would do more for the development of a true national and modern Indian art than any school could do, for the

drama gives incentive to living art by itself being alive.

The "Theatre of the People" as an art, has barely reached its youth; a glorious maturity lies before it. But it should be emphasised that the vast potentialities of the Theatre must be a matter of deep concern to all concerned with the welfare of the people.

No leader, whether the creative and slowly building educationist, or the turbulent and erratic politician, can for a moment afford to neglect the tremendous psychological source of emotional power now rising in the latest forces of drama and kinema.

PART II

Stage Decoration : Scenery, Light and Colour.

Little attention more than is technically necessary need be paid to the actual building of theatres, for present needs are too urgent to wait for special buildings. It will suffice if such buildings as exist are obtained and alterations made to fit them for the dual purpose of easy hearing and easy seeing, with comfortable seats at reasonable prices.

The actual conditions will be determined by the plays that are to be produced, and it is their technique which will determine what is required on the stage. These conditions arise from the places to be suggested, which is done by the producer, using all the modern aids of good painting, electric light, and bright colours on scene and costume. Even the simplest productions, those done against curtains, which means using only large curtains for a background and dispensing entirely with painted scenery, need some care and attention in colour grouping, and in lighting.

Therefore a brief consideration of the development of stage decoration will be useful to those who feel that they would like to undertake the apparently complicated business of producing a play. It is hoped that schools, colleges and universities will feel impelled to undertake the production of more and better plays, and in a better manner, than some of them do now. A well considered simplicity goes a long way towards success, by which is meant the making of a clear and definite impression on the audience, so that the performance will live in their memories for long

after. An endeavour should be made to produce one at each religious festival of importance; and on days of academic functions.

Early Scenery.

In the indigenous theatre of India and China there never was any scenery in the modern European meaning at all. In both these countries art retains its traditional forms, and the theatre has never completely lost its religious inspiration. Their drama remains largely in the forms of ancient poets of national greatness, often historical or mythical in form and not secularised. In India it is still usually performed in the hall of a palace or similar building and it is a common sight in the villages to see a recital, in more or less fitting costume and surroundings, of some fragment of Ramayana or other dramatic poems. In both countries great care was formerly bestowed on costumes for the players, which were most sumptuous in character and material.

Contemporary Egyptian drama appears to have been solely religious, and was performed always within the precincts of the temple, with symbolic costume but no scenery but the building itself.

The Greek drama grew out of religious ritual through which was the birth of modern Drama in every civilization which has developed a theatre. The semi-religious rites took place either in the open air, in a temple or in a church, this depending on the form of the religion, climate and the historical period in which this conception of drama occurred. In Western Europe, it was long after Greece was but a name—in India and China the drama existed before Greece had reached her prime.

Early Greek drama was partly a processional pageant, ending at the temple door for the mass of the people; costumed inside for the educated people. Here symbolic religious worship was the principal aim.

When the popular Greek drama had become completely secularised, its theatres were built into an excavated hillside on which the spectators sat, and facing this a platform and a wooden booth in which the actors robed. Later theatres on the same plan but with wooden seating were also built. Later still, owing to their collapse theatres were built in stone, still retaining the original form on a hillside which was cut in curved terraces, stone seating constructed, tessellated pavement laid in the orchestra and stone platform and actors' robing

houses erected. The whole structure was designed in accordance with the laws of acoustics. At the back of the stage was a lofty wall, usually the height of the colonade, running level behind the highest row of seats in the amphitheatre. This wall was the "skena". It had wings projecting at right angles and three doors leading to the dressing room. The portion comprised within these three walls was the stage, usually 8 or 10 feet deep. It was about 5 feet to 10 feet above the orchestra, to which steps led down so that the chorus could move from one place to the other. In front of the wall was a row of columns about 12 or 13 feet high forming an architectural facade.

The stage buildings had a roof or platform on which the gods appeared when they descended from Olympus at the end of the play. There was never a change of scene in any Greek play. But if it was necessary to indicate different places, cloths with woven or embroidered figures were hung between the columns. In later developments more elaborate painted scenery was used, in the time of Sophocles according to Aristotle, but Vitruvius states that the first known scene painter, named Agatharcus, worked for Aeschylus in Athens.

The stage was constructed deeper, during the Hellenistic period, and eventually in the Roman theatre when the audience encroached on the orchestra, was considerably enlarged in order to accommodate the actors who were driven from the chorus in the orchestra area. Its floor also had to be lowered nearer to the level of the orchestra floor so that the person sitting there might see the stage, for owing to its height, the closeness of the spectator the high angle of vision placed him in an uncomfortable position, with head thrown back to meet.

The Romans used painted scenery more elaborate than that of the Greeks. From Vitruvius, whose writings in the first century give much information on the theatre and which were taken as a text book for the later Italian theatre, we learn that there were three sorts of moveable scenery known in his time.

(1) For Tragic Drama—facades with columns, representing Public buildings. (2) For Comedy—Private houses with "practicable" windows, balconies and doors. (3) For Satyr Plays—Rustic scenes with mountains, tress and caverns.

As the time of the Kali-Yuga drew inevitably onwards, so came the descent of the

drama from its high office of spiritual education and guidance of the people, to the present abysmal depths of its degradation as a popular circus of emotional prostitution and intellectual druggery.

In Roman times "literary drama" was not popular with the masses whose tastes were definitely catered for, in "Bread and Circuses." The Roman preferred the gladiatorial and similar shows; like the modern Englishman, he preferred the "Music Hall" of the period. At the opening of Pompey's great Theatre—which is said to have seated 40,000 people,—500 lions and 20 elephants were killed. The popular boxing or baseball match of to-day are mild affairs in comparison, from which we may draw the conclusion that the "Sporting instinct" is less definitely brutal to-day than 2000 years ago, perhaps due to its outlet in international warfare, as compared with the localised lethal arguments formerly known as wars. Thereafter the Theatre as an institution died, which is not surprising. Europe would have none of it; the religious sense of the people, very fervent and ill-directed at this period, revolted against it; and it is not till about the 16th century that the history of scenery in the Theatre recommences.

Origin of Imitative Realism in Italy.

At the rebirth of the drama in the 16th century the theatre in Italy developed on classical lines, as every thing did except true religion. The scenery there was architectural in form, and this became the distinctive feature of the scenery during this period. But now the stage buildings of genuine stone were entirely replaced by wood and canvas replicas and these later gave place to painted imitations on flat cloths. This was greatly accelerated by the discovery of scientific perspective. The various types of columns, rows of statuary in niches—in these scenes were painted on the flat, had no depth, and were hung straight across the stage. The three doors or entrances of the classical model were retained but the scenes completely differed in their introduction of aggressive perspective.

The architects in this active period of Italian architecture being all round practical men often expended their energies on the building of theatres, besides designing the scenery, and even costumes. Sebastiano Serlio, Nicolo Sabbattini, Peruzzi, the Bibiena Bros, Pozzo, in Italy, and

other lesser men including Joseph Furtenbach in Germany—all wrote on architecture. In their books we always find in addition to sections on churches, public buildings, and so forth, a section on the theatre.

Pozzo, a Italian monk who invented wings, was in great demand for decorating churches, and he also made the necessary scenery, often very elaborate, for use in the churches when the popular dramatic representations of bible stories were given, according to the Catholic system. These were founded largely on Buddhist and Greek models. In connection with these semi-religious representations Father Pozzo designed scenery but soon, being a business man, he turned his attention to the secular theatre and it is here the first trace of "wings" is found in the history of the theatre. It is to his idea of wings and perspective effect for illusive imitation in designing the scene that we can attribute every vice of stage-decoration existing to-day.

The sixteenth century saw the introduction into France of the Italian Ballet—and in the following century the introduction of regular opera occurred. Opera is an Italian invention, and is one of the blackest stains on their artistic history. Stage scenery, almost without exception, up to the end of the 19th century, was designed by the Italians especially for Opera and faithfully reflected all its artificiality and stupidities. We have Italy and its Church to thank for the degradation of the drama, from the subtle art of psychological suggestion, to the crudities of ignorant imitation.

The British have for five centuries foolishly gone to France and Italy for art forms, and except in literature have developed few distinctive artistic characteristics of their own. In other branches of art,—after the vigor of the Elizabethan period had faded—we took France as our model for the arts of the theatre, and thus now suffer incalculable harm from the thoughtless adoption of a theatre unsuited to the British type of national talent, got from Italy through France. Those countries such as Russia and Germany which did not slavishly adopt the Italian model have a national theatre of free and vigorous growth, while the British have no decorative arts of the theatre worthy of our very considerable art of the drama.

Such is the unavoidable fate of all arts which foolishly descend to emulation of others, instead of concentrating their whole strength on the

proper development of their own peculiar characteristics.

English Realism.

When in England the secular drama suddenly burst into full flower in the 16th Century, theatres did *not* follow the classical models at first, but diverged as completely as Gothic architecture replaced the Saxon type to be itself replaced by Italian forms. This was due largely to the fact that plays were performed on a platform in an inn yard and it is this material circumstance which biassed the architecture of the Elizabethan theatre, for when the inn yard was surpassed and actual theatres were erected their form was based on the inn yard and platform. The stage was a platform projecting, as it had done from the Inn wall, out into the central space; the gallery round the first storey of the inn yard was repeated, and, on the stage at the back was built a two storey tiring house. The gallery or "boxes" were taken right round over this tiring-house.

The first attempts at easily changeable scenery seem to have been in connection with Court and civic ceremonials—such as the pageant of the "Field of the Cloth of Gold", and the Revels at Kenilworth Castle when the Earl of Leicester entertained Queen Elizabeth. With the "Masques" of the 16th and 17th centuries these scenic effects became more elaborate, costly, and complicated. They are described as being of great splendour, having gorgeous buildings, landscapes, clouds, and mountains, and again it was the architects who were responsible. Inigo Jones, the first "official" architect, and Ben Jonson collaborated in the production of masques, and Jonson's words were set to music. The masques, often performed in the open air, were highly artificial compositions of opera and ballet, usually designed to honour some particular personage. Inigo Jones designed scenic effects. These scenic devices were most elaborate during the Tudor and Stuart period. For one production at the Inns of Court in 1633, for Charles I, the scenery alone is said to have cost £21,000. They reached their most extravagant and sumptuous effect at the artificial Courts of Louis XIV and Louis XV in France, where they were more refined and were inspired by the art of Watteau, Boucher and Lancret, in whose oil paintings are probably reminiscences of them. Louis XV himself appeared in these Ballets as "Le Roi Soleil". He was the royal

amateur of the theatre, being rivalled only by Wilhelm II in our time, and a Russian princess who is now a professional stage artist.

Simple scenery, mere background cloths, was first used as early as 1605 but the elaborate gorgeousness of the open air masque effects was not introduced into the Theatre proper till the Restoration period subsequent to the closing of the theatres by the Puritans.

Sir William Davenant was responsible for the introduction of elaborate scenery. In 1656, under his direction the *Siege of Rhodes* was performed at "a sort of a theatre at Rutland House in Charterhouse Yard". Later the "Duke's Theatre" was opened in Lincoln's Inn Fields under his management. Betterton and other well known actors of the Restoration imitated the meretricious French style of those days, and this with the influence of the elaborate effects of the masque resulted in the previous simplicity of the British stage being completely replaced by gaudy elaboration of furnishings and costume, and over-decoration of resplendent scenery. Evidently he considered the theatre well worth his attention, and so have many artists. Many of the best known men have designed and painted scenery for the theatre—Raphael in Italy, Watteau, Boucher, Servandoni, Lancret, in France; Alnia-Tadema, Seymour Lucas, Burne Jones, and Herkomar and many others, not to mention modern western designers.

Victorian Realism in Art.

Towards the end of the 18th century the first use of built-up scenes was developed. We owe the origin of this idea to Phillip James de Loutherbourg, R. A. whose attempts at this method of creating a stage picture begun in 1777, and rapidly found favour. At the end of the 17th Century the theatres of San Carlo at Naples; La Fenice at Venice; and La Scala at Milan were the most famous in Europe, all using scenery and decoration on the imitation basis.

The tremendous mechanical and other achievements of the 19th Century resulted in the last traces of beauty giving place to ill-considered and vulgar ostentation. The chief characteristic of all decoration in this period in Britain—architectural, pictorial or theatrical, furnishing or clothing—was absurd over-elaboration; expense without artistic effect. Artistic development during the 19th century tended to a greater elaboration as time passed with a corresponding

loss of beauty, as the creed of materialism gained strength.

At Drury Lane Theatre, London, in 1823, a great sensation was caused by an Indian scene *A Cataract of the Ganges* with "a cascade of real water". In ideas no advance has been made since 1823—the only difference being that stage-managers do not splash water at the wrong moment, but use much more "wet" to get the same "thrill". At Drury Lane also in 1842 under Macready there was for *Acis and Galatea* a moving wave effect painted by Stanfield. Sir Henry Irving, at the Lyceum Theatre, was famous for his scenery. His productions are said to be "the earliest noteworthy alliance of Shakespeare and spectacle; the art of Royal Academicians being happily (?) enlisted to add lustre and distinction". The R.A.s referred to are Alma-Tadema, Burne Jones and others.

Among the productions of Shakespeare's plays, of *Romeo and Juliet* it was said "perfection could go no further" but *Much Ado about Nothing* with "Telbin's superb church scene" was the crowning success. From 1847 to 1855 at the Lyceum there was the long series of extravaganzas by J. R. Planche: *The Golden Bough*, *King of the Peacocks*, and *Island of Jewels* for which the scenery was done by William Beverley, and here at Christmas 1849 originated the fantastic and absurd so-called 'fairy pictures' called 'transformation scenes'.

Phelps at Sadler's Wells Theatre (1844-1862) and Charles Kean at the Princess Theatre (1850-1859) and Booth in America worked on the same model and achieved those "triumphs of splendour and accuracy" which have killed Shakespeare's real dramatic beauty for his fellow-country-men.

At Drury Lane under Sir Augustus Harris, in the modern-melodramatic period, spectacle became more and more costly. The Drury Lane tradition became one in which "absolute fidelity of painted representation" of known localities was attempted, as in one instance, by bringing a full size railway engine in front of waving yards of painted fields. For a run of 10 weeks as much as £16,000 was spent on one of these productions. Our drama has been quite smothered under a paraphernalia of scenery and "properties". The same tradition has been carried on by Tree at His Majesty's Theatre with Alma-Tadema and Percy Anderson and others designing the scenery. Many en-

gravings indicate the kind of scenery this was, and mention of Harker, Helmsley, and Tritschler brings us to the end of the Victorian era.

Three Technical Principles.

Those countries which have not accepted undue influence from the Italian tradition have now a virile and growing Theatre, as in Russia, the Scandinavian countries and particularly in Germany. Artists and dramatists in Germany in the first years of the 19th century, such as Goethe, Tieck, and Immerman became convinced of urgent need for complete reform in the production of plays. There are few more fascinating books for the student of the Theatre than Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister* with its details of the theatre of his time and its illuminating examination of characters in Shakespeare's dramas. These artists and writers believed that only in a return to the thoughtful simplicity of earlier times was the possibility of obtaining an effect of greater artistic truth and artistic reality in the theatre. In 1829 Schinkel planned a theatre from which "wings", "flies", and such technical paraphernalia were excluded, and replaced by a fixed frame-work of dark red color harmonising with the plain material of the curtain. It had a front or "apron-stage" projecting into the auditorium. Thus commenced the revolt against over-elaboration, and here were instituted three technical applications of the principles underlying the modern art of the theatre, not one of which has yet been achieved in modern English theatres. These three are: the abolition of superfluous and blatantly artificial scenery, the introduction of colour and lighting in harmony with the play, and the "apron" stage. This is the first occasion since the Greek period in which it becomes possible to use in connection with scenic art the word "harmony"—a word, and even a conception—which until this date was completely foreign to dramatic decorations. The apron stage is an adaptation, to modern requirements, of one feature of the Elizabethan stage. It is becoming increasingly popular as its possibilities become better understood. Yet of this originally English idea there is only one example in England to-day, and even the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre at Stratford is constructed without an "apron". These apparent digressions into the subject of the structural characteristics of stage or auditorium are not really unimportant side-issues, for decorative lighting and scenic reforms are always closely

connected with structural necessities and improvements of the building both on stage and auditorium.

The form of stage devised by Schinkel has persisted with only slight modifications since his time. On this together with the principles enunciated by Goethe and others, has been based that development of stage reform which has resulted in the distinctive modern movement, towards a unifying conception of drama and decoration. The progress of this endeavour at scenic reform was greatly hampered by the system of realism. A movement known as the "Stage-reform movement" had its inception in Austria about 1875 in a revolt against the painfully obvious artificiality of current stage-scenes. In Vienna an immense impetus was given in 1881 to reform, partly as a result of the complete destruction by fire of the Ring Theatre and the consequent need to guard against any possible recurrence of this and previous fatal fires. A demand for constructional reform in the theatre resulted and mechanics noticed the new possibilities of technical improvements for the stage. Many systems were evolved, applying all available methods of modern mechanical science, developing finally into the excellent technical equipment of the modern German theatre. It is unnecessary to detail all the varied and ingenious technical inventions and contrivances but the modern stage, in Germany and Austria and in one or two notable theatres elsewhere has certainly obtained a wealth of mechanical aids which render its possibilities as distinct from those of the stage of 50 years ago as any two similar arts could well be.

Mechanical Realism.

These contrivances make it possible to do things which before have been utterly unpracticable, and hence the realists of the theatre have habitually indulged in an orgy of realism, which has given us the Drury Lane type of "spectacle" with its "real railway collision;" its avalanche of "tons of real water"; its group of "real race-horses" passing the Grand stand; and on its less vulgar and more sincere side the distressing "descriptive realism" of the Moscow Arts Theatre, and the so-called "realism" of the early Repertory theatre movement.

The movement of mechanical realism spread rapidly all over Europe, except France and England, which were the last to be reached. While the movement had almost become ex-

hausted by 1895 in Germany and Austria, those countries, along with Russia, have since developed the distinctive modern decorative movement, yet in England and France we see Realism still in great favour and new ideas are seldom tolerated.

Forty years ago, Vienna was far in advance of England in scene painting, so much that scenery for Drury Lane and Covent Garden theatres was imported from Austria. But by 1911 England was well forward in the production of realistic scenery, for both Drury Lane and Covent Garden were exporting scenes as well as plays to America. Actually, England had dropped out of the true forward movement in stage decoration, and had entirely ignored the new spirit which flourished on the Continent of Europe.

At the Moscow Arts Theatre the aim at realism, as a sincere attempt in an artistic method, had its great vogue until it reached the logical but ludicrous extreme. This theatre was the attempt of two enthusiastic artists to break away from the limitations of visual artificiality. The extreme of realism was their ambition, and, carried to its logical conclusions, it eventually happened that in one play they flooded the stage with a real rain-storm so that stage and players alike were covered. Naturally there came the revolt against this. A great Russian actress, Vera Kommissarzhevski started a theatre of her own, and invited Meyerhold to be her stage decorator. He supported the modern movement, utterly opposing the naturalistic method of the Art Theatre, for the essential difference between the mediæval idea and the modern ideal in stage-decoration is not merely one of the method, but it differs in its fundamental principles. At the moment we are concerned here only with the decoration and scenic art of the theatre and shall not, except where necessary, touch on other phases which may equally need artistic reform.

Behind the design method of all the stage scenery of the Italian and French mediæval period was one governing principle to which they all conformed. In every one was an endeavour, in which the principal aim of the designer was to reproduce actuality so far as the technical limitations, and the method in vogue would permit. This was the realism of the Moscow Theatre, and the popularity of this school of design in England was evident. One English artist in a standard work says "the landscapes in particular are

sometimes works of great beauty; very beautiful effects of lake scenery with trees, and mountains reflected in the water being got by setting great sheets of plate glass at an angle on the stage floor so that a real reflection is thrown from the painted scene. For magical scenes a curtain of vapour is sent up by a perforated steam pipe in a groove in the stage". The bland and complacent stupidity of such imitations is only possible with a public that is artistically atrophied. True art is synthesis and selection, not imitation—still less is it slavish reproduction, masquerading as "Realism". When we look at these scenes there are so many points of competing interest that the eye restlessly searches, trying to understand them; and the brain is set in a whirl trying to co-ordinate them, and so the play can receive only partial attention for we are unable to concentrate on words and action.

From Realism to Art and Suggestion.

It is essential to realise that in the theatre, as in pictorial art reality cannot be reproduced by imitation, but it is possible to produce an *impression* of reality by subtle *suggestion*. The orgy of "realism" in the theatre was naturally contemporary with the period of "realism" in pictorial art. Reform only began when it was recognised that "realism," as a method, means not to be "true to nature" but rather to the appearance of nature, which is a vastly different fact. An attempted literal reproduction of natural objects is entirely useless as art, for a number of reasons. The eye does not "see" every detail in any particular scene at any one moment; nor at any one time does the eye see any individual object as it actually is, but sees it only in relation to surrounding objects and under the particular phase of light that falls on it.

More recently, many of the "realistic" school of scenic artists have apparently realised that artistic truth lays in suggestion rather than in imitative reproduction, but some did not apply this principle far enough. Wagner was one who completely realised it, for he says that attempts at physical deception in drama only interferes with the artistic and emotional sensation of actuality; the concentrated idealising state of mind being far more effectively induced by suggestion. But he held that in Opera this was not so, as the words are sung and not spoken, and all pretence of realism being dropped the

production is frankly artificial. As his chief interest was in Opera, he did not throw his energy into developing the other ideal, but in fact was responsible for prolonging many evils in scenery, through always employing great artists, whose work having interests in itself tended to attract too much interest away from the play.

Herkomer also realised this defect, knowing that the secret of perfect scenic art lay in illusion and that mere realism would never accomplish any dramatic result of value. He knew that by the attempt to get effects by painting so much mystery was lost on the stage. He was most scathing about "realism" and he attacked painted strips of sky as "so much washing on the line". He blamed the audiences' acceptance of these barefaced childish stupidities without kicking, when they would mercilessly criticise an actor whose wig was not perfectly correct. Men of this way of thinking did much to sweep away the sheer idiocies from the stage, but these improvements were only accomplished with the idea of making the scene an added interest, and not with a realisation of the true function of the scenes. Herkomer disclaimed any desire to "reform" scenery. Although he was a keen critic—Herkomer writes of "the besetting sin of over-lighting the stage. Light is the most potent factor in scenic art. It is proper lighting, rather than good painting, upon which the success of a scene depends. Real objects on the stage can be made to look like painted cardboard by such over-lighting. Footlights will always remain an unnatural method of lighting the stage. They are after all only a survival from the period when candles were used."

Much of the attention of decorative stage-artists has therefore been directed to the casting of light over their scenes. They have slowly realised that we only see objects when they are properly lighted. According to the character of the lights, so is our estimation of the character of an object formed, whether animate or inanimate.

Importance of Proper Lighting.

There are few, if any, stages in this country really well lighted, yet the importance of proper stage lighting can scarcely be overestimated. The relative values of the combined arts of the drama in order of importance are: first, the play; second, the speaking and acting; third, the light-

ing; fourth, the scenery; and fifth, the dresses. Stage lighting may be defined as the art of placing, or graduating, and colouring light and shade. The plays of older civilisations were usually in the open daylight and artificial light was seldom required.

The value of lighting was appreciated as early as A.D. 750 at the Byzantine Court, and in 1160 we find sconces of candles used in miracle plays, flares and squibs especially being employed to give local colour to the appearance of those sons of the Church, the devils. It was not until 1556 that Edward VI granted his players a definite structure in which to produce plays, and half a century later saw the birth of the Elizabethan drama. Yet artificial lighting was practically unknown in England until 1682, when Sir Christopher Wren built the first English theatre at Drury Lane, and Inigo Jones contrived the stage mechanism. Candles were then used, and a "patent stage lamp" was invented in 1785. The aesthetic value of lighting was first completely studied at the Lyceum Theatre under Sir Henry Irving, who used gas lighting.

To-day stage lighting needs both science and art, calling both for aesthetic perception and engineering skill. In the ordinary theatre light is still used in substantially the same way as the candles in 1775 and gas in 1880. Lighting is obtained by (1) the overhead batten, (2) the footlights, (3) standard arc lights, (4) bunches of glow lamps behind transparencies. The chief fault is the hardness of the unnatural shadows and lack of diffusion. Nature has two methods of lighting—by direct beams from the sun or moon, and by light diffused from the sky. Old-fashioned methods have failed to provide the second form of natural lighting on the stage. A complete illuminating surface resembling the sky cannot be easily obtained. Gordon Craig, who used overhead inverted arcs some years ago, attempted to meet the difficulty, but did not illuminate the actor's face.

Diffused Lighting.

The "Fortuny" system, utilising reflection from coloured sheets of silk, is excellent both in its delicate colour-matching and harmonious shadow effects. A tightly-stretched field of coloured silk, illuminated by white open arcs, returns a reflecting light which is completely diffused, and therefore casts practically no shadow. This diffusion is the basis of the Fortuny system, and the results are very beauti-

ful, since slow graduations of light can be used, and different colours can be mixed on the reflecting screen, just as an artist mixes colours on his palette. Escape of reflex light is guarded against by the use of black velvet, which has a co-efficient of reflection of only 2 per cent. Of special beauty is the Fortuny "firmament", which may consist of a semi-circular wall at the back of the stage, painted azure blue, and stretching from the floor of the stage to a level well above any line of sight in the auditorium. The drawbacks to this system are that it requires a specially-designed theatre, and involves much loss of light by reflection, and further causes high cost of maintenance for current.

At the Court Theatre, London, an attempt was made to produce the diffusion of the Fortuny system by less complex methods, using a series of gas-filled lamps of 1,000 candle-power at an angle of 45 degrees, coloured by gelatines and rendered semi-indirect by treated glass screens. The footlights were also indirect. To imitate the Fortuny artificial sky, a large semi-circular cloth painted azure at the top, but shaded to grey in the lower parts, was used. This was also illuminated by 1,000 candle-power gas-filled lamps, so spaced to give uniform illumination. Semi-indirect moveable lights were also used on the stage. There are, however, still difficulties in getting the requisite uniformity of tint and gradual changes of colour in suggesting a natural sunlight or sunrise. The method, however, seems to mark a distinct advance.

The art of stage lighting is assuming an importance second to none in impressive power. The great success of Reinhardt's productions lay in his ability and power of synthesising and combining the skill of the painter, the sculptor, the engineer, and the psychologist. Stage lighting may be said to be unnatural, but all art is unnatural; yet it is not necessarily crude or grotesque. To see an actor with four shadows round, with him in the centre of a gigantic St. Andrew's cross, is highly grotesque and disturbing, whereas to see him with one unnatural deep shadow may be improbable, but yet beautiful. The whole question of lighting in relation to stage effects deserves most careful study.

Simplicity in Decoration.

To return from lighting to the scheme of decoration: In one of his famous essays on the Theatre A. W. von Schlegel says:—

"Our system of decoration was properly

invented for the Opera to which it is in reality most suited. Among its inevitable defects I reckon the disproportionate size of the player when he appears in the back-ground; the unfavourable lighting from below and behind; the contrast between the painted and the actual lights and shades. Amongst its errors which might be, but seldom are, avoided, are want of simplicity and of great reposing masses; overloading the scenery with superfluous and distracting objects, either from the painter being desirous of shewing his skill in perspective, or not knowing how otherwise to fill space; and architecture full of mannerisms; at variance with possibility and coloured in a motley manner resembling no kind of stone in the world. Most scene painters owe their success entirely to the spectators' ignorance of the art of design, vitiated for splendor of decoration and magnificence of dress."

Von Schlegel emphasises simplicity. All good art is in a certain sense simple. The modern stage decorator has at last learnt to simplify his works. He is rapidly acquiring the ability to eliminate all inessentials without falling into the merely rudimentary defects of many pioneers. But true artistic simplification means selection rather than elimination. The function of the scene is to assist in the creation of the predominant moods in each act, more or less unconsciously, in the spectator. Successful decoration is only achieved by carefully emphasised selection of those essentials which most readily induce and intensify emotional experience through the eye, against which the psychological action of the play will best display itself. An artistic unity must be achieved between this psychological movement and that of the complete decoration and lighting, so as to contribute to the eventual artistic unity of the complex rhythms of the dramatic conception.

Modern Schools of Stage Design.

Modern stage-decorators are endeavouring to achieve this end by various methods, for there is room for experiment along all paths. The main "Schools" with their distinctive features and their merits or demerits may be now analysed.

There is one feature, however, which all have in common that completely distinguishes any stage decoration in the modern spirit from any in the old; each scene is an essay in design. An artist, in painting a picture, aims at making every line and mass, every colour and tone, in

his finished work, part of a rhythmical whole, and so also does the modern stage decorator with his stage picture. Hence also the importance of considering costumes as part of each colour scheme.

Light and Line.

Adolphe Appia, an Italian Swiss, is the first notable name in the modern decorative movement. His work was mostly for the Wagner Opera and he is directly opposed to Gordon Craig in his insistence on the importance of the actor. He did not depart far from traditional methods of painting scenery but to him more than any other artist is due the credit for his emphasis on the most important and vital factor in modern stage decoration; which is light. All the beauty of modern stage decoration, by whatever method it is achieved, is dependent on the modern methods of lighting which Appia originated. In his early work he used scenery painted with some amount of detail. It had little beauty of line but did achieve considerable beauty of mass, and, perhaps for the first time in the theatre, the scene had "atmosphere". The component parts of his scenery and the moving players all became artistically related to each other in his simple arrangement of lighting, just as the several parts of some distant hilly landscape are related in nature, by the intervention between us and them of what is termed "atmosphere", which is a quality of gradation in both light and colour, dependant on seeing distant objects through a greater mass of air than the objects that are close. This has the effect, familiar to painters, of apparently altering the "local colour" of distant objects, by the added colour of the air. This was achieved on the stage by more indirect lighting, and the change showed an added beauty that needs only to be seen to be at once admitted.

Another genius of the theatre is Edward Gordon Craig, the son of Ellen Terry, who toured the English provinces playing Shakespeare before he concentrated on designing scenery. His mother financed his productions in London but for long he had little encouragement. In 1904, he was invited by Count Kessler to go to Weimar, and afterwards he went to the Moscow Art Theatre to decorate the great "Hamlet" production, some of his models for which were exhibited in Liverpool a few years ago. For some years in both Germany and Russia he held advisory positions

but does not seem to have done many actual productions. Later Lord Howard de Walden founded in Florence the School of the art of the theatre and installed Craig as its Director. Here Craig works, and his great contribution to the art of stage decoration is an excellent use of line, producing an achievement of grandeur and simplicity. There is something colossal about his designs which makes them inspiring. But they are frequently lacking in colour and have sometimes a tendency to even dwarf the play by their artistic magnificence. Craig is really a greater artist than Appia but probably Appia's use of light is more important in stage decoration than Craig's manipulation of line in design.

Design and Colour.

Although these two men are undoubtedly the main founders of this new form of art it must not be imagined that they were actually the first to work at all on these lines, nor are all the later designers mere slavish imitators. Craig and Appia were ignorant of much that is new and of vital import, for much of the greatness of modern stage decoration arose after their chief work was done. There is colour, the contribution of the Russians; and the sense of coherent design in the work of the Austrians and Germans.

The Russian emphasis in decoration is certainly a masterly use of bright strong colour, as we have seen in their work, during the visits to England of the Russian Ballet. They still indulge in the painted scene, and crowd their scenery frequently with a distressing mass of detail. In this respect Bakst, the best known of Russian designers, is strangely enough perhaps the worst offender. A scene remains before spectators for a good period,—half an hour or even one hour, and it should not aggressively assert itself, to the detriment of the performance. Bakst's work is unfortunate in this respect, and loses interest through lack of coherence. Other Russians such as Fedorowsky, Roerich, Golovine and others, presumably influenced by the idea of simplicity in design, are working on simple lines and much may come from this growing combination of simplicity with their splendid sense of colour.

The Moscow Art Theatre, in their reaction to the influence of Vera Kommissarshevski and Meyerhold, produced Maeterlinck's *Blue Bird*. Later they produced it again, not so well, in Paris.

The "No-Scenery" method.

The "No-Scenery-at-all" group is represented in England principally by Mr. William Poel and in Germany by Herr Sovits. They reject all scenery and insist on the rightness of producing Shakespeare's plays in a manner exactly imitating the conditions of his time, considering this essential to obtaining the authentic atmosphere. They do not, however, allow on their stage a crowd of impertinent "Bloods" as Shakespeare's actors had there to worry them. There are other exclusions, and if they admit any divergence how can they logically refuse to admit other modern improvements? At the play the eye must observe something. That this method does not convey any gravely disturbing impression is all to the good; but it seems wrong that it does not have the opportunity of conveying impressions to the eye in artistic harmony to those carried to the ear. Since Shakespeare's time there have been discovered means to make the stage picture both beautiful and true to the emotional mood of the play, and it is perverse to refuse to use these means for giving further artistic power to a production.

Another phase of the "No-Scenery" idea is that which is developed, often in a beautifully satisfying manner, by using no other back ground but curtains of a single colour. This has also been usefully combined with other methods, as by George Sherington in his designs for Martin Harvey's production of *Hamlet*, at Covent Garden Theatre.

The "Permanent-set" system.

Next there is the "Permanent-set" method of suggesting a scene. At each side of the stage is a set—it may be of pillars or walls, or both—arched or roofed across the stage to each other, which remain through the whole play. The scene behind the central opening thus formed is altered as required. A curtain is drawn to indicate a room; a monument placed to suggest a public place; or trees to suggest a forest. Its great advantage lies in its allowing the possibility of playing Shakespeare, for instance, without any stop being necessary for change of scene; thus allowing a long play to be given without "cuts". It also gives a useful impression of unity; there is a familiar impression in scene after scene, which is of great value in achieving an artistic completeness of production. But it also has some grave defects. In

a production of *Macbeth* done in this manner, it was somewhat disturbing to see at one moment Macbeth's Castle, with its two great pillars against bare grey walls, and in the next scene, in the "Witches' Cave," find the same two pillars against the same walls.

A remarkable development of the almost miraculous use of light on properly designed scenery, was shown in a show at the London Hippodrome in 1921. Following on a method of harmonic colour analyses and contrast described by M. Luckish, in his book *Colour and its Applications*, the scenic set was so painted with different sets of colours, that when it was illuminated under successively changing coloured lights, it presented as many totally distinct appearances. The display was a veritable triumph for the apostles of the creed of light and colour.

The "Relief-Stage" Method.

Another distinct method of production is what is called "relief-stage". In a theatre with a stage that is shallow from back to front, limitations which this imposes are not evaded but boldly accepted, and turned to artistic advantage as a convention. The scene is designed to place the actor more or less in silhouette, or more correctly in relief, and an indication only of place is given. This method was used in a marvellous manner by Fritz Esler at the Munich Art Theatre, in his setting for the Cathedral scene in *Faust*, with nothing more than a great stone column towering up against a dim background, rising from a tasseled pavement. The success with which the mood was induced seemed astonishing, considering the economy of means.

An interesting variant of the relief stage is that known as the "Silhouette Scene" in which a semi-transparent cloth, with the lighting behind it, fills the stage. The actors move, with or without music, and their figures are thrown in sharp relief against the lighter background. The silhouette scene often appears with excellent dramatic effect in kinema landscapes; and its artistic value on the stage when properly used is very great. By simplification of colour; by a strong light behind and weaker light of different colour at each side, very beautiful and striking effects can be obtained. But the method is applicable only to productions where marked bodily movement is a principle characteristic, as in a dance.

This method merges almost imperceptibly into the last distinctive method which is known as "Stylisation". The "Stylist" does not attempt to simulate even the appearance of nature, and in this respect he is in accord with most progressive pictorial art. He conceives the production of a play as an essay in artistic convention and in this spirit he designs the scene as a pure decoration. He further subjects all the sentiments or ideas of the play to the control of one guiding principle or sentiment which he has selected. Success will depend on the sensitiveness evinced in discovering the leading sentiment of the play being produced, and on his cleverness in finding forms that appropriately express that sentiment. The task is by no means an easy one. It is also not possible to treat all kinds of plays in this manner.

In one sense any setting has style which has a real unity, but "stylisation" means more than this and means something which is admittedly almost impossible of explanation. The production of a play on the stage is not natural but artistic, and must be so treated, or it becomes at once an absurdity by challenging an impossible comparison. A competent stage artist will therefore keep in that spirit and make the setting an artistic one, an essay in a unified decorative scheme, of form, light and colour, as a true vehicle of the play.

Conclusion.

This brief survey of the principal different methods of "mounting" a production clearly illuminates one vastly important fact in stage decoration. This is the impossibility of dealing with all kinds of plays in merely one individual style of decoration or setting. While the plays themselves can be printed in one kind of print, perhaps in one volume, their graphic presentation may thus remain uniform. But uniformity is the opposite of art, and in designing the decoration of a play, with its scenes, its costumes, and its lighting, diversity between various plays is to be sought, so long as each individual play is unified. Various methods and styles, then, will be considered, after a thorough reading of the play, and the style most suitable to the full characterisation of the work as dramatic art will be chosen. The producer must therefore, have some knowledge of all styles. He must obviously fit the play and with it the scenery on his stage. He should also emphasise the play for his particular audience.

He must proceed according to his funds, and his art knowledge will allow him to economise money without loss of eventual effect. He will aim at breadth of effect in all his decoration, leaving necessary points of emotional emphasis to the players.

It would be a useless task here to summarise the work of modern designers in various lands, for it would be a mere catalogue of names, unless in great length and with some examples of

their work. Let it suffice to say that much work of excellent attainment and splendid promise is now being produced in Western Europe, and even in America. Let us repeat that in India, incalculable good is possible through a wise educational development of actual artistic work in the production of plays by students. Then there should be dramatic societies in each large town, helped by the rich men of each place, for the proper artistic development of the best of Indian dramatic works.

JOHN, VISCOUNT MORLEY.

By PROF. AMARNATH JHA, M.A.

The death of Lord Morley removes from our shifting scene the last great Victorian. Philosopher, man of letters, journalist, statesman, he adorned whatever sphere he moved in. "It has been my fortune to write some pages that found and affected their share of readers; to know and work on close terms with many men wonderfully well worth knowing; to hold responsible offices in the State; to say things in popular assemblages that made a difference." With the above words Lord Morley bade farewell to the realm of literature, broke the wand and buried the book; and now, five years later when the hand that penned those words is still, what more pathetically appropriate words can we use than his own uttered on the death of his master Mill: 'A strong and pure light is gone out, the radiance of a clear vision and a beneficent purpose.' To have been one of the leading biographers of all time, a critic whose opinions even professed scholars received with profound respect, a thinker whose *Compromise* stirred to the depths the self-complacency of the Victorians, to have sat in three Cabinets, to have been the main inspirer of Gladstone's ill-starred Home-Rule scheme, to have presided over the destinies of Ireland and India, to have had the refusal of almost all Cabinet appointments—and, to pass

beyond material success—to have combined in himself the learning and scholarship of the bookman and the commonsense and judgment of the man of affairs—this is a record that must rouse at once the envy and the emulation of all. Bacon in the sixteenth century took all knowledge to be his province. In his encyclopaedic wealth of information, in his knowledge of history both wide and deep, in his faculty of clear thought and fair deduction, in his catholicity of taste, Lord Morley resembled Bacon, Leonardo da Vinci, Christopher Wren and the other great humanists of a bygone generation. In our modern age of specialism, such a claim might well be disputed, but who that reads Lord Morley's works and glances even cursorily through the subjects discussed therein, men and measures and policies, theology and history and politics, literature and the numerous niceties of literary criticism, who can deny that upon all that he has written, he has brought to bear sound learning, accurate information, much skill in portraiture, great gifts of style? We have mentioned above Bacon—that wonderful genius who have been described as having written philosophy like a Lord Chancellor; we may remark equally truthfully that even in the misty purlieus of the Irish and India Offices, in the arena of the Commons and

the astral region of the Lords, John Morley never forgot that he was a disciple of Burke and Mill.

Long and Crowded Career.

John Morley was born in 1838, the son of a Blackburn surgeon; eighty-five years have elapsed since then, and the world has travelled far. The mail-coach whence De Quincey had his vision of sudden death still existed, the railway had not emerged from the cloud of opposition. Wordsworth was living, though the fount of inspiration had long since run dry; Tennyson was engaged in singing in immortal strains his love 'for the rare youth who, though his shining course was turned in two-and-twenty years, yet in that scanty span was able to impress with his vigorous understanding and graceful imagination more than one of the loftiest minds of his time'; Darwin's *Origin of Species* was not to be published till twenty years later, and the magic of the Wizard of the North was just losing a little of its glamour. To have lived through, seen and taken a leading part in many of the movements that have culminated in the modern age, to have known and lived on intimate terms with Mathew Arnold, Mill, Swinburne, Meredith, George Eliot, Herbert Spencer, Huxley, Victor Hugo, Mazzini, George Sand, Leslie Stephen, persons of such divergent characters and in such varying walks of life, to have been associated with the greatest statesmen of the century in the greatest but least successful of his measures—this was no mean achievement. But he was no mere 'dreamer of an empty day'. In one of the noblest prose passages ever written, Milton says: 'Whoever in a state knows how wisely to form the manners of men, and to rule them at home and in war with excellent institutes, him, in the first place, above other, I should esteem worthy of all honour. But next to him, the man who strives to establish in maxims and rules the method and habit of speaking and writing received from a good age of the nation, and, as it were, to fortify the same round with a kind of wall, the daring to overleap which let a law only short of that of Romulus be used to prevent.' Judged by these exacting standards, few men in these days are more worthy of esteem than the great philosopher-statesman whose death we mourn to-day. And what a long and crowded career it has been! In 1875 an address was presented to Carlyle by his colleagues in

letters; another to Tennyson in 1889; Ruskin received one in 1899; Meredith in 1909, and ten years later, in 1919, Edmund Gosse was similarly honoured. Lord Morley was the only one that signed all these five addresses. As a statesman, 'honest John' was a sobriquet that was in itself a tribute to his unsullied reputation. An uncompromising critic of Government in the South African War, the pilot that steered the Indian Reforms of 1909, Lord Morley proved that the administration of a country can be guided by the wise maxims of political philosophy. As a speaker he was classed with Canning and Macaulay by no less distinguished an orator than Lord Curzon. He perhaps did not possess the indefinable 'parliamentary manner', of which Viscount Grey is regarded as the best modern exponent; but no one can take exception to the words of Meredith who said: 'As an orator and as an author, Mr. Morley is comprehensible to the simplest of minds, while he satisfies the most exacting critical taste and adds to our stores of great speeches and good literature.'

Sincerity and Honesty.

The ashes of many controversies in which Lord Morley took part are hot yet, and any final estimate of his political work must be deferred. But even when men differed most from him, they gave him full credit for sincerity and honesty. A land-agent in Ireland, who had no love for John Morley's politics, was forced to admit that if Morley said something would be done, he certainly would do it. In that unfortunate land no Chief Secretary has been so widely trusted. Viscount Goschen called him 'the St. Just of our Revolution' and a contemporary critic described him in his earlier days as a writer who preter-calmly, sub-silently, super-persuasively, but subtly and potently is exercising influence on the most advanced and most earnest thought of the present generation; who, by a refined, destructive criticism is solving the faith of thousands, is not contributing an iota to the reconstruction of a systematic body of thought which can help the educator in floating the tiniest skiff on the troubled waters of life. In spite of the violence of its expression, the complaint is in a measure just. In the region of pure philosophy or theology, Lord Morley's contribution has been mainly of a destructive or 'dissolving' character; he has exposed the hollowness of accepted

creeds, shattered many idols, pulled down several tabernacles, but he has not put forward any adequate substitutes. In religion he was like the Hyde Park orator, who exclaimed 'Thank God, I am an atheist'! And it was to him that Lord Hugh Cecil addressed the peroration of his speech on the second reading of the Education Bill of 1902:

'I hope also that it may obtain support from that other class who may be described as adopting the position of Christianity in everything except its theology, who possess the morality of Christianity, its sense of right and wrong, its delicate sensitiveness of conscience, though they are unable themselves to accept its theological basis. These men, it may be said, erect in the mansions of their hearts a splendid throne-room, in which they place objects revered and beautiful. There are laid the sceptre of righteousness and the swords of justice and mercy. There is the purple robe that speaks of the unity of love and power, and there is the throne that teaches the supreme moral governance of the world. And that room is decorated by all that is most beautiful in art and literature. It is gemmed by all the jewels of imagination and knowledge. Yet, that noble chamber, with all its beauty, its glorious regalia, its solitary throne, is still an empty room.'

It is an eloquent commentary on Lord Morley's agnosticism that his only child became a nun.

Most Attractive Talker.

Alfred Lyttleton once told 'A.G.G.' that in his opinion Lord Morley was the most attractive talker of our time, and that if he were to be cast on a desert island, with only one companion, he would be the companion of his choice. He placed him above Mr. Balfour because, while in his own excellent phrase, Mr. Balfour would supply the butter of conversation, Lord Morley would supply the bread as well as the butter. There is, the Charles Greville of our day proceeds, a fragrance about Lord Morley's conversation—a tenderness, a light and shade, a certain gentle pathos of memory—that is unique; it is sensitive and personal, touched with emotion. If Lord Morley had confined himself to letters alone, he might have attained the eminence of Johnson, whose wholesome Toryism would however have rebelled against the radicalism of Morley. Startling as it may appear, there are points of resemblance between

the two. A saying of Morley's which puzzled Gladstone and amused Fitzjames Stephen appears like one of Johnson's 'rugged maxims hewn from life'—'The love of truth is often a true name for temper'; or 'toleration is more often than we think only another name for indecision'—one would think these came straight from the pages of Boswell.

India and Ireland.

Ireland and India were his two political loves. Once in reply to Mr. Asquith he had said: 'And how should I feel as to Ireland? Ireland, that is my pole-star of honour even if I were to know that I am driving straight on to failure.' That his efforts in the direction of Home Rule did not bear fruit cannot be a reproach against him but must be explained, as Lord Rosebery has explained it, by the theory that there has been throughout the past history of England and Ireland a malignant fate counteracting every auspicious chance, and blighting each opportunity of beneficence as it arises, or else by Froude's remark that the two countries are an ill-matched couple between whom divorce is impossible. As to India, after Lord Ripon, Lord Morley must be mentioned among those responsible for an attempt to introduce the element of popular responsibility in Indian administration. In these days when advance is desired not in strides but in gallops, the Councils' Act of 1909 may seem slight and insignificant; but those who have read the fascinating pages of the second volume of *'Recollections'* know what obstacles Lord Morley had to overcome. It is true that he described the Partition of Bengal as a 'settled fact' and spoke of 'impatient idealists crying for the moon', but how warmly did he support the administrative changes inaugurated in 1912! Mr. Ratchiffe's recent volume on 'Sir William Wedderburn and the Indian Reform Movement' shows how responsive Lord Morley was throughout to Indian demands and in what liberal and reasonable a spirit he approached the question of Indian reforms.

His Works.

Of a life so full and varied it is obviously not possible to take an exhaustive survey. He possessed 'a genius for friendship,' a quality which he himself noticed in Joseph Chamberlain. Mr. Carnegie presented to him Lord Acton's magnificent library which with a fitting appro-

priateness. Lord Morley made over to the University of Cambridge, saying in that sonorous style which never failed him: 'The very sight of this vast and ordered array in all departments, tongues, and times, of the history of civilised governments, the growth of faiths and institutions, the fluctuating movements of human thought, all the struggles of churches and creeds, the diverse types of great civil and ecclesiastical governors, the diverse ideals of States—all this will be to the ardent scholar a powerful stimulus to thought.' Lord Morley's own works, comprising as they do *Burke*, (1867); *Critical Miscellanies*, (1871-77); *Voltaire* (1871); *Rousseau* (1873); *Compromise* (1874); *Diderot* (1878); *Cobden* (1881); *Studies in Literature* (1891); *Machiavelli* (1897); *Cromwell* (1900); *Gladstone* (1903); *Notes on History and Politics* (1913); *Recollections* (1918)—will remain an abiding source of inspiration. His French studies are considered by some to be his chief contribution to literature; but it is '*Compromise*' that seems to us to be the most solid piece of work which Lord Morely achieved. To find him at his best we must turn to that vehement outburst of 1874, so influential in its own day, and so instructive now. The dry light of reason that burns low but burns steady, the diatribe against all dogma, the spirited protest against putting immediate social convenience in the first place and respect for truth in the second, the resounding trumpet-voice that called upon the generation of complacent men to wake up from the lethargy of 'Victorian compromise',—it is these that found and touched a vast multitude of readers, did a great deal to 'search some of the sophisms by which sound common sense was avoided'. The volume contains so many truths well expressed, so many half-truths trenchantly exposed, so many common fallacies disproved, so much that is thought-provoking that it will be long before men willingly let it die.

Power of Portraiture.

The highest gift of a historian—that of vivid portraiture—was his. Here, for instance, is a passage. He is describing the memorable scene when Gladstone was moving his Home Rule Bill in the Commons:

'No such scene has ever been beheld in the House of Commons. Members came down at break of day to secure their places; before noon every seat was marked and crowded benches

were even arrayed on the floor of the House from the mace to the bar. Princes, ambassadors, great peers, high prelates, thronged the lobbies. The fame of the orator, the boldness of his exploit, curiosity as to the plan, poignant anxiety as to the party result, wonder whether a wizard had at last actually arisen with a spell for casting out the baleful spirits that had for so many ages made Ireland our torment and our dishonour, all these things brought together such an assemblage as no minster had ever before addressed within those world-renowned walls. The Parliament was new . . . Those who were moved by professional ambition, those whose object was social advancement, those who thought only of upright public service, the keen party men, the men who aspired to office, the men with a past and the men who looked for a future, all alike found themselves adrift on dark and troubled waters. The secrets of the Bill had been well kept. To-day the disquieted host was first to learn what was the great project to which they would have to say that 'Aye' or 'No' on which for them and for the State so much would hang.....More striking than the audience, was the man; more striking than the multitude of eager onlookers from the shore was the rescuer with deliberate valour facing the floods ready to wash him down; the veteran Ulysses, who, after more than half a century of combat, service, toil, thought it not too late to try a further "work of noble note". In the hands of such a master of the instrument, the theme might easily have lent itself to one of those displays of exalted passion which the House had marvelled at in more than one of Mr. Gladstone's speeches on the Turkish question, or heard with religious reverence in his speech on the Affirmation Bill in 1883. What the occasion now required was that passion should burn low, and reasoned persuasion hold up the guiding lamp. . . . Of that best kind of eloquence which dispenses with declamation, this was a fine and sustained example. There was a deep, rapid, steady, on-flowing volume of argument, exposition, exhortation. Every hard or bitter stroke was avoided. Now and again a fervid note thrilled the ear and lifted all hearts. But political oratory is action, not word,—action, character, will, conviction, purpose, personality. As this eager muster of men underwent the enchantment of periods exquisite in their balance and modulation, the compulsion of his flashing glance and animated gesture, what stirred and commanded

them was the recollection of national service, the thought of the speaker's mastering purpose, his unflagging resolution and strenuous will, his strength of thew and sinew, well tried in long years of resounding war, his unquenched conviction that the just cause can never fail. Few are the heroic moments in our parliamentary politics, but this was one.'

His Style.

A truly brilliant passage this. Set it beside Macaulay's magnificent description of the scene in Westminster Hall on the occasion of the impeachment of Warren Hastings, or beside Burke's picture of Marie Antoinette, and it does not suffer by comparison with pieces written in the style in which, in their own way, both Burke and Macaulay were supreme. And here, a word may be said on Lord Morley's style. While it would be the merest partiality to place Morley among the first great masters of English prose, while we cannot claim for him the same eminence as a stylist, which, for instance, Pater, Stevenson or Newman, Carlyle or Ruskin attained, and while, also, we feel at moments that he is laying on just too many purple patches, we must yet acknowledge that his writings are perfectly free from that insincerity and affectation which he regarded a mortal sin in every art. What appeal most in his writings are his sturdy commonsense, the profound critical insight, the penetrating analysis of character, the wide and charitable view which he takes of movements. And above all, his straightforwardness, his keen sense of humour, his sound literary instinct establish for Lord Morley a high place among the writers of the nineteenth century,—and in the twentieth century, the first quarter of which is almost over, there has not so far appeared any prose-writer of note who can be mentioned in the same breath with either Morley or Frederic Harrison or Rosebery or Birrell—not to go to others greater still.

Pioneer in Literary Biographies.

Lord Morley might also be regarded as a pioneer in literary biographies. It was his memorable *Englishmen of Letters* series that made literary monographs available for a large public. That useful series has since had numerous progeny. It was a brilliant achievement. Leslie Stephen, Froude, Myers, Pattison; Minto, Saintsbury, Ward, Huxley; Henry James, Sidney Colvin, Symonds, Dowden—to bring this

varied and difficult team in hand was a brilliant achievement. It must for ever remain one of our unavailing regrets that Mathew Arnold and George Eliot contributed no volume to the series. Lord Morley himself wrote but one volume—that on Burke. As to that, it is enough to say that it satisfies that most exacting of critical canons that it should stimulate us to go back to the original writings of the subject of the biography. Morley's sympathy for Burke's nature, fervent admiration for his political writings, keen appreciation of his 'veneration for hoary fabrics of belief', clear understanding of his faith that 'when reason and history have contributed all that they could to the explanation, the vital force, the secret of organisation, the binding framework must still come from the impenetrable regions beyond reasoning and beyond history',—these keep the charm of the book ever fresh, so that it may truly be said that successive study adds to the original delight. Burke's was a difficult life to describe. He abounded in wit, in wisdom, in eloquence, in unbounded loyalty to the constitution. He was, besides, an artist, and both the vices and the virtues of the artist were his. He was an enigma; his nature was not a logical consistency; it was complex; it was full of contradictions; it was violent and yet again gentle as a child. Whether we imagine Burke as dallying with the poetic muse at Trinity College, Dublin; or serving 'his apprenticeship in the slippery craft of the literary adventurer'; or running into debt in order to purchase Beaconsfield; or vehemently defending the party system; or breaking away from the friendships of a life; or writing his *French Revolution*; or as an old broken man, shattered in health, eating too much, sleeping too little; or finally, as mourning over the death of his only son who left him behind like an oak tree torn up by the roots and lying prostrate on the earth—we have to admit that, fascinating as the character is, it nonetheless baffles analysis. That of such a man such a biography should have been written is one of the rare instances of literary good-luck.

The Last of Victorian Liberals.

And this last surviving link between those now living and those that lived and wrought in a previous generation is snapped. The beacon quenched in smoke; the watchman silent; the stately column broken—what image is sufficiently adequate? In his latest words addressed in

May last to the Montrose Burghs Liberal Association, Lord Morley complained that 'present party designations have become empty of all contents—impressive nicknames with no recognisable meaning in real things of political acts, bottles with bits of the old label, but with no inspiring liquor left'. The last of the Victorian Liberals is laid low, and the voice that from the retirement of Flowermead occasionally brought

us to a realisation of the deeper truths is dumb. While his own light burned bright, numerous others went and kindled their modest rushlights at his shrine. And well might he say in the words of the poet he loved so well :

*"Much have I seen and known, cities of men
And manners, climates, councils, governments,
Myself not least, but honour'd of them all.
There lies the port: the vessel puffs her sail."*

BURKE'S CASE AGAINST HASTINGS.

Its Permanent Value.

By ROBERT SENCOURT.

Burke gave the first personal expression of his zeal for Indian affairs when he made his great speech on the Nawab of Arcot's debts. He was led to do so by the belief that the inhabitants of India were being robbed and oppressed by the Company. Historians have decided that in this, as in the greater instances of the impeachment of Warren Hastings, he was misled as to the facts ; and yet there can be little doubt that, whether or not the occasions which aroused his energies were adequate to focus the blazes of his wrath, there was a tendency amongst the servants of the Company to forget their moral responsibilities in their zeal for commercial success. For, as the Nawab pointed out, the Company's servants, in spite of the fact that they were not private traders, went out on condition that they be allowed to engage in private trade, and, though they were paid only small wages, accumulated large fortunes in a short time. How did they do it? Two means only Burke could suggest ; one was spoil, the other fraud. Now the genius of Burke was always at the service of the great cause of honourable dealing, the moral counterpart, of the ideal of ordered freedom which inspired his efforts on behalf of the balanced constitutions of both France and England. It was on certain universal moral perspectives that the fabric of the state depended and "Fraud,

injustice, oppression and speculation engendered in India are crimes of the same blood, family and caste with those that are born and bred in England." Burke was too well acquainted with human nature to imagine that conscience is adequate to do all the work of criticism, of that obligation to answer and explain to others which is the essential meaning of responsibility ; and with all his pride in the traditions and constitution of his country, he saw nothing in the British character to exempt it from the tendencies of human nature. Let Englishmen therefore look carefully towards India and scrutinise the facts which the Nawab's case suggests to them. "Fortunately" he says, "this case is not a great deal involved "in the labyrinths of Indian detail . . . for the "interior regulation of India a minute knowledge of India is requisite. But, on any "specific matter of delinquency in its government, you are as capable of judging as if the "same thing were done at your door". Not but that human nature again affected England in preventing them in taking a well-proportioned view of the world, in ranging the sphere of their duties in insular perspective as, by an optical delusion, the briar at their noses may seem greater than the oak five hundred yards away ; and Burke was disgusted to see how the details of a niggardly retrenchment in

domestic politics occupied the minds to the exclusion of examining abuses in India, which were, he said, both ruining that country and drawing off millions from our own. Let Englishmen do as they would to put India from their thoughts, it remains inseparably associated with their public interest and their national reputation, and "if the scene on the other side 'of the globe which tempts, invites, almost 'compels to tyranny and rapine, be not inspected with the eye of a severe and unremitting diligence, shame and destruction must 'ensue."

It was with these reflections that Burke exhorted the House of Commons to approach the consideration of a matter which has long since become historic. The speech on the Nawab of Arcot's debts was a prelude to Burke's stirring composition on a theme which was the unworthiness of India's first Governor General and of all who administered the authority of which he was the ultimate upholder. It sought to establish our relations with India on the foundations built by Heaven in the human mind and heart, and adverted to Indian conditions only to exhibit to clearer view the mis-shapen fabric built over the mire and clay of irresponsible, dishonourable and ambitious greed and of the lust for unquestioned power.

But, then, for a few references to the Monsoon and the geography of what is now the Presidency of Madras, the importance of the speech depends in the chief upon that cloudy splendour of rhetoric for which it is famed in the world of literature and enjoyed by the historians who most resent its tone with regard to the Company's administration. Its style, like the tropic forests rising round Vailima in Samoa, maintains a luxuriance which would be rankness, but for the grand height to which it rises and the varied beauty in the contours of the ground from which it springs. It is nourished by the richest juices drawn forth by a genial sun, and it is freshened by clear streams of inspiration passing from time to time in the shade which is scattered thick by its profusion. It is a style which reminds us of our best translations of the Old Testament, though it is more fanciful and unrestrained. Its force has a calculated elaboration which in the Bible is at least disguised. When Burke speaks of the perversion of the Commonwealth from the moral end for which

it exists, "instead" he says "of what was but "just now the delight and boast of the creation, "there will be cast out in the face of the sun a "bloated, putrid, noisome carcase, full of stench "and poison and offence, a horror, a lesson to "world." He commiserates "the unhappy and "deluded souls who were still weak enough to "put their trust in English faith;" and he sums up his knowledge of the Company's transactions in the following violent comparison:—"their false moderation and their "affected purity by the operation of everything "false and everything affected become pander "and bawd to the unbridled debauchery and "licentious lewdness of usury and extortion."

This is an arresting style and its force fixed the attention of England on her responsibilities in India. In two passages he paints pictures of India with its richest splendour; the first expressed that enthusiasm for ancient Indian institutions to which he was so often aroused in his review of the case of Warren Hastings: "The Carnatic" he tells us "is refreshed by "few or no running streams or living springs, "and it has rain only at a season; but its product of rice exacts the use of water subject to "perpetual command. This is the national "bank of the Carnatic of which it must have "perpetual credit or it perishes irretrievably. "For that reason, in happier times in India, a "number, almost incredible, of reservoirs have "been made in various places throughout the "whole country; they are formed for the "greater part of mounds of earth and stones, "with sluices of solid masonry, the whole constructed with admirable skill and labour and "maintained at a mighty charge. In the "territory contained in that map alone I have "been at the trouble of reckoning the reservoirs, "and they amount to upwards of eleven hundred "from the extent of two or three acres to five "miles in circuit. From these reservoirs "currents are occasionally drawn over the fields, "and this calls for a considerable expense to "keep them properly scoured and duly "levelled. Taking the district in that map as "a measure, there cannot be in the Carnatic "and Tanjore fewer than ten thousand of these "reservoirs of the larger and middling dimensions, to say nothing of those for domestic "services, and the uses of religious purification. "These are not the enterprises of your power, "nor in a style of magnificence suited to your "Minister. These are the monuments of real

"kings who were the fathers of their people ;
 "testators to a posterity which they embraced
 "as their own. These are the grand sepulchres
 "built by ambition ; but by the ambition of
 "insatiable benevolence, which, not content with
 "reigning in the dispensation of happiness
 "during the contracted term of human life, and
 "strained with all the reachings and graspings
 "of a vivacious mind to extend the dominion of
 "their bounty beyond the limits of nature, and
 "to perpetuate themselves through generations
 "of generations, the guardians, the protectors,
 "the nourishers of mankind."

Burke rose to even higher levels of magnificence when he declaimed on the waste wrought by Hyder Ali in the Carnatic: De Quincey's description of the Flight of the Kalmuk Tartars over Eastern Asia rings with the same passionate sympathy for a sublimity of hardship and horror, but it is not more lofty than these sentences of Burke. He tells us how "When at length Hyder Ali found that he had "to do with men who either would sign no "convention, or whom no treaty and no signature could bind, and who were the determined "enemies of human intercourse itself, he "decreed to make the country possessed by "those incorrigible and predestinated criminals "a memorable example to mankind. He "resolved in the gloomy recesses of a mind "capacious of such things to leave the whole "Carnatic an everlasting monument of "vengeance, and to put perpetual desolation as "a barrier between him and those against whom "the faith which holds the moral elements of "the world together, was no protection. He "became at length so confident of his force, so "collected in his might, that he made no secret "whatever of his dreadful resolution. Having "terminated his disputes with every enemy, and "every rival, who buried their mutual animosities in their common detestation against the "creditors of the Nabob of Arcot, he drew from "every quarter whatever a savage ferocity could "add to his new rudiments in the arts of "destruction ; and compounding all the "materials of fury, havoc, and desolation into "one black cloud, he hung for a while on the "declivities of the mountains ; whilst the "authors of all these evils were idly and stupidly "gazing on this menacing meteor which "blackened all their horizon, it suddenly burst "and poured down the whole of its contents "upon the plains of the Carnatic. Then ensued

"a scene of woe the like of which no eye had
 "seen, no heart conceived, and which no tongue
 "could adequately tell. All the horrors of war
 "before known or heard of were mercy to that
 "new havoc. A gloom of universal fire
 "blasted every field, consumed every house, and
 "destroyed every temple. The miserable
 "inhabitants, flying from their flaming villages,
 "in part were slaughtered ; others, without
 "regard to sex, to age, to the respect of rank, or
 "sacredness of function—fathers torn from their
 "children, husbands from their wives—
 "enveloped in a whirlwind of cavalry and
 "amidst the goading spears of drivers and the
 "trampling of pursuing forces, were swept into
 "captivity, in an unknown and hostile land."

Under the impulse of passion Burke raised to such majestic heights of literary achievement a sympathy which occupied him for twelve years with the study of England's relation to India. In 1783 Burke was a member of a Committee in the House of Commons which conducted an enquiry on Indian affairs in regard to the administration of the Company. Its report is to a very large extent his writing, and in his work on this Committee Burke began to be familiar with the subject which absorbed his energies for a term of years, the alleged crimes and misdemeanours of Warren Hastings. Before proceeding to that *cause celebre*, it will be well therefore to give a summary of the report, or rather the two reports, of the Committee.

The first point of the report is one which Anglo-Indians of the present day (or at least the *Chhota Sahib* who is but ill nourished on the kuchha tiffins prepared by his badmash of a bearer) would do well to bear in mind. It avows its determination to speak to Englishmen in English, to avoid the use of those technical terms from oriental languages which persuade the plain Briton that Indian affairs are too subtle to understand. After this preliminary, it plunged into its subject, the leading particulars of the abuses which prevailed in the administration. It first pointed out that the Proprietors were liable to corruption as a Court of Final Appeal, and that little regulation was exercised over the Court of Directors. From this it passed on to the remaining intentions of the Act of 1773. It asserted that the Act had been a failure, that after it was passed disorders and abuses were multiplied. The Committee then laid down the principle that the prosperity of

the inhabitants of India must be secured before the Company carried out projects for its own profit.

From this the Committee passed on to review the connection of Great Britain with India and on this subject Burke wrote a sentence which demands the notice of historians. "The two great links" it says "by which this connection is maintained are first the East India Company's commerce ; and next, the government set over the natives by that Company and by the Crown." The report goes on to show how the first principle of the Company's trade was that England should pay in silver for Indian wares ; but in 1765 a great change took place and a system of "investments" was begun by which the surplus products of Great Britain were instead palmed off on India in exchange for the rich westward traffic of the Company. "And" wrote the Committee in an interesting and suggestive sentence "this main cause of the impoverishment of India has been generally taken as a measure of its wealth and prosperity. Numerous fleets of large ships, loaded with the most valuable commodities of the East annually arriving in England, in a constant and increasing succession, imposed upon the public eye and naturally gave rise to an opinion of the happy condition and growing opulence of a country whose surplus productions occupied so vast a space in the commercial world." The report then shows how great was the misfortune which this false impression disguised, how the Government and the Company had made a compact for their mutual advantage without taking into account its effect on the Indian population, and how all the well paid appointments were in the hands of the English. Bengal bore the great burden of this arrangement, and thus the report was led to draw a contrast between the then state of commerce in Bengal and what it had been in times past. In earlier days, that fruitful province had not depended on its sea-borne trade : by inland routes had come a great supply of silver and gold and many kinds of merchantable goods, especially from the higher provinces of the Mogul Empire which were populous and rich. Through these provinces passed a great trade to Persia and its frontiers, and to Tartary, and through Persia to the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, and all the ports of the Turkish and Persian Empires and so to all places that had

trade with those. But in the course of history all this trade had been destroyed.* What was true of Bengal was not less true of the Carnatic. And all this, says the report, by reason of the final blow given by British arms and influence !

By these steps the Report arrives at examining the effect of the revenue investment† of the Company in relation to the internal trade of Bengal in six different commodities, in silk and raw silk, in cloth, opium, salt and salt petre. In the course of this detailed investigation, it brings charges against individuals, one of the chief of those was Barwell ; the chief of all was Warren Hastings.

Now Hastings was "no poor, puny, trembling delinquent," no petty trader of some outpost on the Ganges ; he was, as all knew, the Governor General of British India, a Government originally established there by the authority of the Company, and afterwards modified by Acts of Parliament in 1773 and 1780. "This system of government", says the report, "appears to your Committee to be at least as much disordered, and as much perverted from every good purpose for which lawful rule is established as the trading system has been from every just principle of commerce. . . . The British Government in India being a subordinated and delegated power, it ought to be considered as a fundamental principle in such a system that it is to be preserved in strict obedience to the government at home. Administration in India, at an immense distance from the seat of the supreme authority ; entrusted with the most extensive powers ; liable to the greatest temptations ; possessing the amplest means of abuse ; ruling over a people guarded by no distinct or well-ascertained privileges, whose language, manners, and racial prejudices render not only redress, but all complaint on their part, a matter of extreme difficulty ;‡ such an administration, it is evident, never can be made subservient to the interests of Great Britain, or even tolerable to the natives, but by the strictest rigour in exacting obedience to the commands of the authority set over it". This all important principle, said the Committee,

*This was due to the downfall of the Mogul Empire, not to the Company.

†Much of the trouble was due to a lack of circulating coinage, which was not the fault of the Company but of crude economic notions in regard to exchange.

‡Francis' own words (*cf.* Speeches), "experiment necessary and even praiseworthy ; impossible to attain perfection at once."

had in late years received very little attention. The more authority was required, the less it was exerted. "Acts of disobedience have not only grown frequent but systematic."³ The Company's servants had assumed a position of absolutism, and it was one the directors appeared not even to dispute, because too far away to know that Pitt's bill gave more power to the Governor General. This overbearing and dangerous independence, this tendency among Indian officials (for the Company had become the Government), to assume a power responsible neither to the Indians to whom it was applied, nor to the ill-informed British Parliament who once had delegated it, to resent the criticism and even to reject the advice of any outsider whatsoever was, the Committee alleged, personified in the Governor General. "We have not 'brought before you an obscure offender'" Burke said afterwards on the first day he spoke in support of the impeachment, "an obscure 'offender who when his insignificance and weakness are weighed against the power of the 'prosecution gives even to public justice something of the appearance of oppression ; no, my 'lords, we have brought before you the first 'man of India in rank, authority and station. 'We have brought before you the chief of the 'tribe, the head of the whole body of Eastern 'offenders ; a captain general of iniquity, under 'whom all the fraud, all the peculation, all the 'tyranny in India are embodied, disciplined, 'arrayed and paid. This is the person, my 'lords, that we bring before you. We have 'brought before you such a person that if you 'strike at him with the firm and decided arm 'of justice, you will not have need of a great 'many more examples. You strike at the whole 'corps if you strike at the head.'"⁴ The rest of the two reports is little more than the formulation of the charge against Hastings, that charge of high crimes and misdemeanours which occupied ten years of Burke's assiduous energy

in supporting, and which left him the greatest (and probably the only) example of a real authority on India who had never visited its shores. "I believe" Burke himself modestly said "I have been as conversant with the manners and customs of the East as most persons whose business has not directly led them to that country."⁵

The first point to which Burke draws attention is India's integral part in the great moral order of freedom and justice to which the British Empire owes its strength. In those remote dominions the obligation to resist lawless power is as binding as it would be in Whitehall. In the case of Hastings, as Burke saw it, the whole theory and ideals of British Government were at stake, for there was principle involved in each transaction. And behind all these was the principle of the responsibility of officials ; not as it would be now tempted only by the natural preference for smoothness in administration or for the progress of a career undisturbed by resentment either at implied criticism of improvement in method, or at contradictory decisions on administrative questions, or yet—as many have thought of the Civil Service of the present day—(and as Burke thought it in his)—by an extreme *esprit de corps* ; no, but by the more sensational allurements of pervading looseness of conscience with regard to the chances of making money. "My lords," said Burke at the end of the trial, "you might as well expect a man to be fit for a perfumer's shop who has lain for a month in a pigsty, as to expect that a man who has been a contractor with the company for a length of time is a fit person for reforming abuses."

Enormous wealth had been pouring from India into England by a thousand channels, and there was a possibility that human frailty might disguise the claims of justice ; (Burke did not grasp the fact that Hastings was trying to revive the Indian code of justice which has different traditions from that of England)—for it had been insinuated that the British had a system of laws amongst themselves, and a way of closing their eyes to fact when it came to dealing with other and subject peoples. "It is feared that partiality" said the counsel for the cause of India "partiality may lurk and nestle in the abuse of our forms of proceeding." But, he had too much confidence in the learning and

³ Francis' Speeches, especially his *Original Minutes of the Governor General and Council of Fort William on the Settlement and Collection of the Revenue of Bengal, with a plan of settlement* Philip Francis recommended to the Court Directors in 1776. London, 1782, p. x. "In the government of distant nations, committed by a most singular dispensation to our care, we have sported with the rights, the laws, the property and the happiness of millions. But we have not been permitted to be unjust to others without sacrificing our own essential interests."

⁴ This was of course inspired by the animosity of Francis.

⁵ Military minutes of Francis' literature. June 1773

liberality of the House of Lords to suspect that they would by any abuse of the forms and procedure of the case, deny justice to so great a part of the world as claimed it at their hands. And, so Burke reminded them, it was a continent rather than a nation which depended on British Government between the Himalayas and Ceylon:—"It is not from this district, or from that parish, nor from this city or from that province, that relief is now applied for: exiled and undone princes, extensive tribes, suffering nations, infinite descriptions of men, different in language, in manners, and in rites—men, separated by every barrier of nature from you, by the Providence of God are blended in one common cause, and are now become suppliants at your bar." Burke was prophetic of a national unity that is only now being realized.

Such was the great domain whose fate depended on this cause; it was an aggregation of the human race suffering, as Burke insisted in one of his most violent diatribes, from deliberate and essential tyranny. He was willing, he said, to allow for the domineering necessities of a pressing occasion, for the inevitable danger of passion in a swift decision, for human frailty and human error. But no one, he asserted, could plead such excuses as these for the crimes of Warren Hastings. "We charge this offender" he said "with no crimes that have not arisen from passions which it is criminal to harbour; with no offences that have not their root in avarice, rapacity, pride, insolence, ferocity, treachery, cruelty and malignity of temper;* in short, in nothing that does not argue a total extinction of all moral principle, that does not manifest an inveterate blackness of heart, dyed in grain with malice, vitiated, corrupted, gangrened to the very core. If we do not paint his crimes in those vices which the breast of man is made to abhor, and the spirit of all laws human and divine to interdict, we desire no longer to be heard upon this occasion. Let everything that can be pleaded on the ground of surprise or error upon those grounds be pleaded with success: we give up the whole of those predicaments. We urge no crimes that were not crimes of forethought, we charge him with nothing that he did not commit upon deliberation; that he did not commit against the direct command of lawful authority; that he did not commit after reproof and reprimand, the reproof and reprimand of

those who are authorised by the laws, to reprove and reprimand him. The crimes of Mr. Hastings are crimes not only in themselves, but aggravated by being crimes of contumacy. They were crimes not against forms but against those eternal laws of justice which are our rule and our birthright." He accused Hastings of devastating Oude, and of looking over "that immense waste of his own creating, not as Satan viewed the kingdoms of the world and saw the power and glory of them; but he looked over the waste of Oude with a diabolical malice which one could hardly suppose existed in the great prototype himself."

And further more, he was "not only a robber himself, but the head of a system of robbery"; nay "our whole conduct has been one perpetual tissue of perfidy and breach of faith with every person who has been in alliance with us, in any mode whatever." And Hastings himself said that before his assumption of control there was a contagion of rapacity and speculation throughout the whole army—a service in which such a contagion suggests an extraordinary lamentable state of affairs.

Not that Burke would allow Hastings the distinction of being a criminal on a grand scale. He described the most conspicuous of the Company's servants as "a man bred in obscure, vulgar, and ignoble occupations, and trained in sordid, base and mercenary habits," as a little man with a mean nature. And if Hastings had done extensive harm it was because his nature was contemptible: "such minds" urged the case for the prosecution "placed in authority can do more mischief in a country, can treat all ranks and distinctions with more pride, insolence and arrogance, than those who have been born under canopies of state and swaddled in purple . . . they can waste a country more effectually than the proudest and most mighty conquerors who, by the greatness of their military talents, have first subdued and afterwards plundered nations," Hastings was at best, said Burke "a creature of the bureau", and "a fraudulent bullock contractor". "We have not said he was a tiger and a lion" Burke said in 1794 at the end of the trial, after the defending counsel had pleaded the comparison of Jenghiz Khan and Tamurlane, "No, we have said he was a weasel and a rat."

Such, therefore, since Burke never had an opportunity of judging Hastings except through the murky glass that Francis held up to his view,

*Every single noun is, of course, a libel.

was the impression that the first Governor General of British India made on the greatest man of his own age, on the most passionate and sublime of political philosophers whom reason and feeling together have made the devoted servant of the British people of British ideals and the British throne. Historians have agreed that a fuller knowledge of the facts of the case should have changed Burke's opinion of the object of his ire; that Hastings was not an arch fiend, but a reformer; nevertheless, though he may have been blinded by passion from seeing facts, there is no historian who has attempted to accuse Burke of deliberate perversion of the fact; and though it has been suggested that he was influenced by a quarrel of his brother with Warren Hastings, and even that he accepted pay from the Nawab of Arcot, there is none who can deny the zeal and sympathy with which he studied Indian affairs; and who can but admit that there was some fire to account for that dark choking cloud of accusations which hung for long about the Governor General's name? "A bad system was made to my hands" was Hastings' one plea. Even if it was a fire that he himself would have chosen rather to extinguish, it had been enkindled by the human nature of commercial agents on too many sides of the vast stack of combustible rubbish heaped up by irresponsibility in India. "The most strenuous advocates of this distinguished person, while they defend his personal integrity, are forced to acknowledge that the whole system of government over which he presided was corrupt and full of abuses."—such is the phrase of Sir John Malcolm.* Burke could not compromise with it. "In my opinion", said he, "it would be better a thousand times to give all complainants the short answer the Bay of Algiers gave a British ambassador representing certain grievances suffered by the British merchants: 'My friend' (as the story is related by Dr. Shawe), 'do you not know that my subjects are a band of robbers and that I am their captain'?† Better it would be a thousand times, and a thousand thousand times more manly than a hypocritical process, which under a pretended reverence to punctilious ceremonies and observances of law, abandons mankind, without help

and resource, to all the desolating consequences of arbitrary power."

To shake that power Burke reviewed the constitutional history of the Company's position; how its first object was purely commercial, as we have seen from Elizabeth's charters, but a commerce increasing with increasing honour: for one without the other was then, and always is, a bad bargain for the country. And how from a company it became an administration, until at the time he spoke, though carried on upon a mercantile plan, it was in fact "a state in the disguise of a merchant". The Company's servants still rose by a graded system of seniority from writers to factors and after that from junior merchants to senior merchants. It was Hastings' wish to introduce the more practical system of promotion by ability; but even this Burke would not approve. He urged that it allowed men to wield authority before they gained experience.

He reminded his hearers how the English in India were not a colony in the ordinary sense of the word. They were, he said "a nation of placemen" and the power of office, then as now, was the sole power in the country. "The consequence of which is, that being a kingdom of magistrates, what is commonly called the *esprit de corps* is strong in it. This spirit of the body predominates in all its parts; by which the members must coincide themselves as having a common interest and that common interest separated both from that of the country which sent them out, and that of the country in which they act. No control upon them exists." And how could any body be its own critic and a check upon itself? Least of all when, as Burke said later "No man can dare show in India an independent spirit".

Next he laid emphasis on the poor pay, and the youth of the Company's servants in relation to their position and responsibilities. He did not mention that these responsibilities had arisen from the nature of the case rather than from the policy of the Company, and that Hastings had responsibilities for which no arrangements were made. Whilst still raw youths, they were put then, as to some extent now, into posts requiring profound learning and experience in the wielding of authority. "These men are sent over to exercise functions at which a statesman would tremble, without any theoretical study and without any of that sort of experience which in mixed societies of business and converse form

*Malcolm. *Political History of India*, p. 40.

†To appreciate the intense sarcasm of Burke's illustration the present day reader should imagine this question coming from Lord Hardinge or Lord Chelmsford.

men gradually and insensibly to great affairs." So untoward had been the results of these arrangements that from the deliberate expressions used by the Governor General in his letters, one would imagine that Englishmen in India were "the filth and dregs of human corruption".

The House of Lords was next given a historical sketch first of the Hindus, then of the Mohammedans of India. The Hindus or Gentoos as they were then often called, were a people whose manners, religion and laws bound them to the soil of India at the same time as they separated them from every other people of the world. They were at once a soft and benevolent race, with a benevolence extending to the whole animal creation, and yet rigid in their alienation from the rest of mankind. They cannot eat with us; they cannot cross the sea; religion, law, and honour all bind them into the rigidity of the system of *caste* on which depends everything which gives a meaning to life. Caste distinctions may be lost not only by voluntary crimes, but also by pollutions which it may not be in their power to prevent. As a nation notwithstanding the Hindus, existing from remote ages to which our "insect origin of yesterday" bears no comparison, through all the changes and chances of history, are stable yet. The venerable influence of their national religion has spread among them a reign of purity, piety, regularity and equity: to a favourable regard, it exhibits them leading lives of happiness and beauty.

After a hurried reference to the ferocious zeal which spread the power of Islam from the Ganges to the Loire (and yet failed to frighten the Hindus from their Hinduism), Burke deals with the constitutional importance of the reign of Tamerlane. Tamerlane came in on terms; he freed the Hindus from their poll tax; he married the daughter of a Hindu rajah; he allowed the native princes the marks of their freedom, independence and nobility; rather than a subject people, he made them (with himself as chief), a confederacy of princely states. And their privileges were still retained when Akbar made Bengal a province of the Mogul Empire, and even when after the collapse of Aurangzebe in 1719 it passed under the rule of independent viceroys.*

*In fact, of course, there were revolutions in every corner of the Empire: only in Akbar's bar is there any such thing as a constitution.

Burke read in full to the House of Lords the Institutes of Tamerlane of which these are the twelve maxims. To spread religion; to associate the people with him in his government; to be patient, generous and courteous; to maintain discipline and order; to meet with difficulties and not avoid them, and to encourage his subjects to deeds of glory; to win people to him by justice and mercy; to favour the good and learned, and poor and holy men and the brave; to be resolute in undertakings, and prudent in the choice of those principles that strengthen kingdoms; to be the father of one's people; to respect rank and faithful service; to honour family ties and form a personal judgment; to esteem the warriors who never flinched in his cause and to consider the soldier who forgot his duty as the most detestable of men—for the empire not founded on morality and religion, and strengthened by regulations and laws, is one from which order, grandeur and power shall pass away. Here were principles to arouse the enthusiasm of Burke's moral and political philosophy, even if a fuller study of India's history might have shown that they were seldom put into practice; here was an appeal he could not resist to do justice to India. "I assert their morality to be equal to ours", he continued, "in whatever regards the duties of fathers, governors and superiors; and I challenge the world to show, in any modern European book, more true morality and wisdom than is to be found in the writing of Asiatic men in high trust, and who have been counsellors to princes." Not that Burke failed to call attention—though it was not a censorious attention—to the full meaning of polygamy when he was analysing the situation of the Harem of the Durbar of Oude; and the shocking difference of the Moguls from European standards in the cruelty of their punishments did not escape him when he read Tavernier. One of the most powerful passages of that passionate invective which rings through the whole impeachment is Burke's description of the tortures inflicted by Debi Singh on the ryots of Rungpore and Dinagepore. If this essay were an investigation of the most disgusting indulgence of sexual instinct perverted to Sadism, we would give that passage in full; but happily those are not our study: and it is enough to mention Burke's reference to the most revolting devices of cruelty under which human flesh and human souls have writhed, as secondary to the outrage which,

depriving a Hindu of his caste, dissolves all the relations of family and the intercourse of humanity and leaves him to be shunned by even the lowest as a pollution and a shame.

The plea so strongly put forward by the defence that the people of India had no sense of honour, and understood the whip not as a disgrace but only as the instrument of corporal pain (a flogging in fact no more humiliating than a visit to the dentist), roused the indignation of Burke to vindicate with all its eloquence the claims of India to national or at least human rights. Was it Hastings' assertion that having "No right to property, to liberty, to honour, or to life, they must be more pleased with the little that is left to them than grieved for the much that has been ravished from them, by his cruelty and avarice?" Burke believed no principles could be more dangerous. If that were so, he urged, if you suppose you are going amongst men in a servile state, a set of miserable slaves, prostrate and confounded in a common servitude, habituated to sufferings, familiar with degradation, you will no longer feel for them as men. "I am influenced", said Burke, "by a strong sense of the evils that have attended the propagation of these wild, groundless and pernicious opinions. A young man goes to India before he knows much of his own country ; but he cherishes in his breast, as I hope every man will, a just and laudable partiality for the laws, liberties, rights and institutions of his own nation ; we all do this, and God forbid that we should not prefer our own to every other country in the world ; but if we go to India with an idea of the mean degraded state of the people that we are to govern, and especially if we go with these impressions at an immature age, we know that, according to the ordinary course of human nature, we shall not treat persons well whom we have learnt to despise. We know that people whom we suppose to have neither laws nor rights will not be treated by us as a people who have laws and rights." It was a matter of which Burke's practical power of imagination saw the urgency as he looked out towards India from England. How wild and groundless such opinions were Burke proceeded to prove ; he showed that the people of India had laws and rights ; that their properties were secured to them there as here ; that they feel for honour not only as the Peers of England but with a more exquisite and poignant sense than any people ; that when corporal punishments are inflicted,

it is not the lash they feel but the disgrace. Lord Morley has summed up in words as ringing as Burke's own the feeling which inspired Burke. "From beginning to end of the fourteen years in which Burke pursued his campaign against Hastings, we see in every page that the India which ever glowed before his vision was not the home of picturesque usages and melodramatic costume, but rather in his own words the land of princes once of great dignity, authority and opulence ; of an ancient and venerable priesthood, the guides of the people while living and their consolation in death ; of a nobility of antiquity and renown ; of millions of ingenious mechanics, and millions of diligent tillers of the earth and finally, the land where might be found almost all the religions professed by men, the Brahminical, the Mussulman, the Eastern and the Western Christian."

Taking the Hindus by their law, a law the oldest in the world, unless for the Mosaic, the duties and privileges of all classes were clearly ascertained ; a Brahmin's property and privileges are inalienable : to all other castes their discriminated rights are guaranteed : each could acquire and inherit property.

As for Tamerlane, his institutes show that he valued the principles of constitutional government : and not only was he ready to give up his time to the conversation of learned men, not only was he humble in the face of the law, but he particularly prided himself on having punished the guilty and delivered the oppressed. Nay, said Burke, in a sentence which proves the honest thoroughness of his investigations, if these were not the actual principles of Timur himself, they were written by one of his counsellors and expressed the ideals of his dynasty. Last, taking the Moguls the science of jurisprudence is so developed among them that they have distinguished legal authority into four separate bodies of law : the Fetwa, the Canon, the Raga ul Mulk and the Commentaries on the Koran. And through them all, Burke insisted, power was not arbitrary but responsible. To whom this responsibility was due, Burke does not however allow himself to suggest.

The Mahommedans were people of "ancient and considerable settlement" in the country, and continued still the most powerful people in it. Their business was almost entirely administrative : they found employment in the law courts and in civil and military offices, but being prevented by the Mussulman law from taking

interest for their money under any circumstances or in any form whatever (at least from their co-religionists), they were compelled to abandon the landed and monied interest to the Hindus who satisfied their worldly ambitions as money-lenders and bankers.

"The third and last system is formed by the English interest ; which in reality, whether it appears directly or indirectly, is the governing interest of the whole country ; of its civil and military interest, of its landed, monied and revenue interest ; and what to us is the great concern of all, it is this system which is responsible for the government of that country to the government of Great Britain. It is divided into two parts, one emanating from the Company and afterwards regulated by act of Parliament ; the other a judicial body sent out by, and acting under, the authority of the crown itself. The persons composing that interest are those whom we usually call the servants of the Company. They enter into that service, as your lordships know, at an early period of life, and they are promoted accordingly as their merit or other interest may provide for them. This body of men, with respect to its numbers, is so small as scarcely to be worth mentioning ; but, from certain circumstances, the government of the whole country has fallen into their hands. Among these circumstances the most important and essential are their having the public revenues and the public purse entirely in their own hands, and their having an army maintained by that purse and disciplined in the European manner. Such was the state of the country when Mr. Hastings was appointed in 1772." As a summary of the constitutional position which the Company took up in India at that period, though Burke was to some extent misinformed, this also is a passage of historical importance.

Before the seven years of Hastings' trial were accomplished, Burke's attention had been to some extent diverted by an example of tyranny and cruelty which outdid even that by which Warren Hastings was accused, by the atrocities of the Reign of Terror. This aroused his mind to more and more passionate reflections on the great principles of Government. His fear that British Administration in India was not being built on the principles which give to human status and constitutions a value in the dispensations of Divinity, spurred the galloping passion of his rhetoric, to tell England

the full story of Englishmen's perverted energies, to make his countrymen ashamed of them before it was too late. It was because he knew himself to stand as a link in the chain of eternal order that he called the world to witness that he and the House of Commons had shrunk from no labour, had made no compromise, had feared no odium in the long warfare they carried on "with the crimes, with the vices, with the exorbitant wealth—with the enormous and overpowering influence of Eastern corruption." It is his pride in the traditions and promises of the national methods of government that guides him through his remarks on Hastings' relation with Cantoo Baboo and Rajah Nundkumar, with the Begums of Oudh, and Ganga Govind Singh, with Sir Elijah Impey and Mr. Nathaniel Middleton, with the Nawab Shujah ud Dowlah and Mahomed Reza Khan. It was his faith in the incorruptible justice of unbiassed, responsible, educated Englishmen which brought him to the weighty and moving eloquence of his final peroration : "There is one thing, and one thing only," he solemnly said, "which defies all mutation ; that which existed before all the world, and will survive the fabric of the world itself ; I mean justice ; that justice, which, emanating from the Divinity, has a place in the breast of every one of us, given us for our guide with regard to ourselves and with regard to others and which will stand after this globe is burned to ashes, our advocate or our accuser before the great Judge when he comes to call upon us for the tenor of a well spent life".

Justice, the practical decision founded on Eternal Truth, the great principle of order, the means and end of freedom : that was Burke's guiding light through Indian affairs. His contention was not that Hastings ravished Oudh and Bengal to enrich himself : such a contention would have been absurd : but that Hastings subordinated universal principles to vigour in administration and loyalty to the Company. Burke never claimed that Hastings' methods were unsuccessful, but that "his whole government of India has been one continual violation of the great principles of justice." The great political philosopher took a long long view : he saw that Hastings' success, if no one protested against it, would be the triumph of unconstitutional methods. The question at issue was whether European principles, or what are known as Asiatic principles, the exercise of

vigorous, immediate, irresponsible power, were to govern the administration of India. Lyall saw it was the same issue when he said that Hastings was undoubtedly cast in the mould of the sons of Zeruiah, of those vigorous lieutenants of the Kings of Israel who in any question of the king's enemies laid their axes to the root of the tree. Like Joab and Abishai, Warren Hastings was relentless and uncompromising; far be it from him to delight in slaughter, but nothing was to interfere in the vigour of administration or to jeopardize established power. Justice was less instant in its working: might it not be too late? If a good end could be at once achieved, why hesitate about the means? Cheit Singh sends a messenger with a bribe, a bribe of £200,000, a bribe sufficient to support an army in peril. Hastings would not take it for himself; but why not take it to support an expedition that meant safety for Madras? It is possible to sympathise with Hastings even while agreeing with Burke. And so Lyall, while admitting the Governor General's talent in political organisation, still insists that "it would be a radical error to suppose that an English Government in Asia can be administered on the Asiatic system." To this Malleon replies that the introduction of European standards into India in the use of opium and in the laws relating to marriage have failed so lamentably as to be actually dangerous. But this is surely a *reductio ad absurdum*. The abolition of Suttee has not brought British Government in India to the verge of ruin yet.

No, when Burke denounced Hastings he was not entirely destitute of political sagacity. In his *Reflections on the French Revolution* he showed an uncanny power of prophetic analysis: his political theory was founded on a practical knowledge of human character with respect to social institutions; and as Sir Alfred Lyall says we may regard Hastings as the founder of the School of administration which has since had a not unsuccessful development in India, and which in fact made esprit de corps and then the State superior to moral principle and divine authority. It was Hastings who gave the final turn to the reforms of the Civil Service carried out by Clive.

Hastings, indeed, showed in public life the same phenomenon as his marriage revealed. Returning as a widower to India, he was much

attracted by a charming lady from Germany, who was just beginning to learn the English language. When Hastings was ill, this German lady nursed him. Her wit, her charm, her culture, the *ewige weibliche* in her, all subjugated him. The fact that she was another man's wife appears to have worried him but little. A dissolution of her marriage was arranged and she became the wife of Hastings. His devotion to her, retaining its romance and courtliness to extreme old age, presents an example rare in history. And yet the fact remains that there were elements of unscrupulousness in the steps he took to make this shining example possible. And Macaulay tells us how in Hastings' mature age at Daylesford he used to read his poems to his guests at breakfast: doubtless it was a cultured pleasure, and yet to twentieth century standards it seems an indulgence verging on the tyrannous: Macaulay himself makes it the subject of an adverse comment.

But, as we have seen, it was not the actual Hastings, against whom the orator thundered. It was the "captain general of Indian iniquity." And as Lord Morely excellently says, "If he did not convict the man he overthrew a system, and stamped its principles with lasting censure and shame." Principles, and a system in matters of state were to him a passion and a passion supported by reason. There it was that the cunning of Francis found a way to arouse the vehemence of Burke. Francis was a virulent enemy, but not a mean and sordid nature. Malleon and Trotter agree with Macaulay that he was not destitute of real patriotism and magnanimity, but he was one of those who nourish the intensity of hatred on a zeal they have persuaded themselves is moral, and who are merciless because they have succeeded in confounding their antipathies with their duties. He persuaded himself, and he persuaded Burke, that Hastings was responsible for all the evil in the Company's administration; the Governor General was not only attacked for his own constitutional shortcomings, but arraigned for those which his tact, his asceticism, his refined tastes and his vigorous efficiency had so resolutely combated: and it was not the least ironical feature of the situation that in clearing himself Hastings at the same time gave circumstances an opportunity to gloss over traditions he deplored.

THE NOVELS OF RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

By MR. D.N.GHOSH.

I. The Home and the World.

The versatility of Rabindranath Tagore reminds us of Goethe and Victor Hugo. As a poet, he has revealed the mystery and the beauty of Life and Nature with an intuition that we associate with deep spiritual experience. As a philosopher he has explained the great problems of the human soul with the keen and comprehensive desire to realise a harmony out of the conflicts of the understanding. As a novelist he has interpreted the profoundest secrets of the human emotions—with a Shakesperean intensity of vision, and a power of psychological analysis that is equal to Browning's. This wonderful diversity of creative energy is one of the most conspicuous elements in his writings.

The Home and the World is, all things considered, the most remarkable work that he has so far written,—in this certainty, that here his versatility attains a picturesque synthesis through the harmonious co-ordination of all his varied powers. The subjective realism of the book, the fidelity with which the development of the complex and conflicting passions of the chief characters has been depicted, is unrivalled by any other Bengalee novel—even from the pen of Babu Sharat Chandra Chattopadhyaya. It is also remarkable for the incisive criticism of some of the most fascinating problems of modern India,—with illuminating side-lights on those world-problems that perplex modern civilisation. Its all-pervading intensity of conception and purpose is relieved by luminous flashes of poetry, which fill the whole work with that supreme joy of creation, which is the characteristic of a "classic". And finally, the style, (most imperfectly reproduced in the authorised English translations), in the original is instinct with a vitality, and like Shakespeare's style, in spite of its metaphorical complexity, reaches a point of expressiveness that is unique, being able to arrest the minutest fluctuations in those capricious emotions that are so difficult to localise, define and comprehend.

It is important to remember that this novel gives powerful expression to the poet's opinions

regarding the great national movement that stirred the genius of Bengal in a way which even the present movement was not able to do. It is at once an expression of that movement, and a commentary on its main tendencies. Rabindranath had felt the essential unreality of the whole thing;—that it was engineered by the impulsive idealism of the few against the immobility of the masses; that that idealism was not always based on spiritual motives, it knew how to be grossly materialistic, that the brutalising passion which passes by the name of nationalism was its essence, not the civilising ideals of "liberty, equality, and fraternity." The novel was, therefore, propagandist in aim, and its message was—"Employ all your strength in the work of creation; you should not spend a farthing of it in the useless excitement of destruction." To-day, in criticising the practical aspects of the Non-co-operation movement, he has been only re-iterating in a more clarified form the ideas which he had expressed in this novel, in which the abstract intellectual arguments, however, were humanised by a keen appreciation of the mind of man.

There is another aspect from which the novel has to be studied. It is, in essence, a story of that "eternal triangle" of European life and literature, which came in vogue prominently after the works of men like Ibsen and Browning. The presentation of this new phenomenon in Bengalee literature, is marked by a convincing realism which seems to laugh derisively at the stereotyped and codified laws behind which society seek to conceal itself from the advances of Nature. For this reason, the novel evoked the most violent feelings when it was first published, but since then these prejudices have worked themselves out, and to-day we have numerous other exponents of this fascinating problem, of whom Sarat Chandra Chatterji is easily the foremost.

Like all propagandist novels there are certain fundamental ideas upon which the entire structure has been based. These may be briefly summarised and explained in order to better appreciate the message of the book.

The struggles of life may be resolved into the revolt of the primitive passions of humanity against his intellectual culture. Intellect is the civilising agency which co-ordinates and harmonises those baser aspects of life which proclaim man's kinship with the animal. In his intellectual capacity man gladly accepts bondages and limitations so that he may express his manhood freely. As an example, we may refer to the origin of the institution of marriage. Marriage originated in the rational attempts of civilisation to elevate humanity in order to make it delicately responsive to nobler ideals of life. All human institutions against which the modern world is hurling itself with such insensate fury in the name of truth and science, are ultimately based on the foundations of a deep-seated reason. Society,—and the individual—can be normal and healthy when the intellect and the emotions are held in equilibrium. But in a sophisticated society—like our modern society—the individual loses sight of the reason that underlies institutions, and forgets that a corporate organisation is not formed for the sake of any temporary necessity, but as an attempt at a lasting solution of the insistent problems of mankind. As a result of this self-oblivion, the unreasoning spirit of destruction flares up into a violent passion, and works feverishly in the region of unreal abstractions. Life loses the wholesome perspective of reality, and becomes grotesquely unreal. Thus originates those revolutions which sweep away the ancient structure, in order to make place for the advent of a new arrangement of things.

Let us now interpret the story in a brief compass.

Bimal, the heroine, was brought up in the orthodox Hindu society, and in the midst of customs that had lost all sense and significance through the paralysing influence of time. She had lost all power of independent thought in pursuit of Truth. Her husband, Nikhilesh, who had realised the great paradox that Truth, in one aspect, is immutable and in another, full of mutations, urges her to understand the freedom of the human soul, and to face reality, not in subservience to dogmas but out of her own personal convictions. But Bimal is unwilling to stir out of her prison of habits;—just like the orthodox Hindu Society of to-day; just like all human institutions, more or less, at some period of their self-evolution. Rabindranath had observed in one of his Bengalee lectures,—“The

fish was in the glass tub; after knocking its head again and again, it realised that the glass was not water: Then it won its freedom in a large pool, but had not the courage to know that the water was not glass.” This intellectual cowardice, however, is not the normal attribute of mankind. It is an artificial degeneration; and therefore it introduces a break in the harmony of evolution, the exquisite action of universal law. Therefore, there is bound to be a corrective re-action, as a result of which, the soul that had been reduced to inertia by habit, seeks to re-estimate its true position in the complex scheme of life; when human life, moving mechanically in an antiquated groove, is startled into activity by the resurgence of a reason which is, in essence, a rebel and a sceptic. Necessarily it must apprehend its complete freedom in the matter of evolving harmony out of confusion and chaos. In the realisation of this, it is at first inspired by a destructive sense of protest against everything that hinders its career, and guided not by concrete facts, but by abstract theories. Nikhilesh derives inspiration from this abstract, metaphysical reason. He is full of a vague dissatisfaction at the spiritual inertia of Bimal under the restrictive governance of social laws. Now so far as he is rational, he is certainly paving the way for the attainment of Truth; but so far as he is abstract, he is rousing the spirit of falsehood, because abstractions have no objective validity, and hence they are unreal.

To Nikhilesh, Bimal's love, however fine and passionate, can never bring peace, for abstract reason can never be satisfied with the blind devotion of a soul which is deprived of independent judgment. Therefore, he did not want Bimal within the “Doll's House” of a legalised morality. He urged her to stand face to face with the complexities of life,—its infinite intricacy, its inexhaustive novelty, its marvellous multiplicity. As he told Bimal, “I will neither speak nor remain silent, but you must come out and stand in the heart of this universe, and realise all things for yourself. Neither you nor I have been created for the narrow domesticity of this life of illusion. If our union is established within Truth, then only will our love attain fulfilment.”

Nikhilesh, the intense lover of Truth, was prepared to meet the consequences of this renunciation of rights with philosophic composure. For as he said, “If I want to see

humanity in its complete aspect of freedom and Truth, I must give up the desire of retaining upon it any absolute right." Therefore when Bimal gradually drifted apart from him day by day, in spite of his personal anguish, he remained passive, without losing faith, without becoming impatient, realising that "the path that leads from a limited space to one that is measureless is full of storms."

For when Bimal confronted the world outside, she was greeted by Sandeep,—who embodies this materialistic passion of humanity,—as his sovereign mistress and queen; and she completely abandoned herself to this ecstasy roused by his passion. There can be no question, that however repugnant, this result is inevitable. If the human mind is suddenly enfranchised from all restraints, naturally it fails to calculate its true position, and seeks to test the validity of its new acquisition, like *Kunti* in the *Mahabharat*. The compulsory harmony that is based on passive submission to uniformity is substituted by the dance of chaos in the infinite voice of negation, where each individual militates against its companions bent on proving its own new-gained freedom. So long as it is unable to recover the equilibrium that results from a perfect adjustment with its surroundings in the new bondage of freedom, disciplined by the rationalising logic of fact, this unnatural excitement will continue. It must realise that freedom from rules means bondage to misrule which is intolerable. For the sovereign of this kingdom of misrule is passion that is aggressively individual and refuses to acknowledge the unity of relationship. Nikhilesh knew this. Therefore he resolved to wait till Bimal regains her composure. "Bimal had confined her life by the narrowing rules of a limited home; when she suddenly came outside, she found those rules unsuitable. When there will be a definite understanding based on a close acquaintance with this outside world, then I will find out what is my place in her life". These words of Nikhilesh are significant of his attitude.

Bimal in accepting Sandeep's worship, became a slave to passion. For to Sandeep, truth was but the reflex of human passions. To use his own words, "Passion is the gas-post, whose light enables us to find out our path-way. Those who say that passion is unreal, speak as though they think they will get prophetic vision by plucking out their eyes." Bimal accepted this doctrine as the ultimate Truth about

life. She listened with joy, to the self-absorbed idealism of Sandeep;—(our passions are always idealising in abstraction). In this way, she became supremely self-conscious of her own individuality in the social scheme, and completely overlooked the need of harmonising with her surroundings. She forgot her concrete and elemental human nature in her desire to abandon herself to an abstract ideal. When the disillusionment came through the inevitable reaction of reality, she admirably summed up her spiritual condition. "By constantly listening to these (Sandeep's ideals)," she said, "I forget that I was Bimal, I looked upon myself as the principle of energy, of art,—without any bondage; for me all things were possible; whatever I touched, I recreated; I created afresh this world of mine." Drunk with this cult of egoism, she rebelled against all relationship, and we survey her, trembling on the verge of moral precipice.

The tragedy was averted, even when it seemed inevitable. It might not have been so but for the philosophical sanity of Nikhilesh. It is the ultimate faith of Rabindranath, (expressed through Nikhilesh), that whatever is true, must always exist in spite of temporary obstructions. Confronted by the supreme crisis of his life, Nikhilesh cried out, "No, no; let me not be afraid; for what is destined to remain for ever, must continue to remain for ever." And when Bimal was freed from her obligations by her husband, she piteously exclaimed,—"My husband told me in the garden, I give you freedom—can freedom be given or accepted so easily? Is freedom a material object? Freedom is empty negation. Like a fish I had swum in the waters of love; when I was lifted in the sky and told, 'Here you have freedom',—I found I could neither move nor live." Bimal gradually realised that she was united with Nikhilesh by ties that external force may sever, but which her mind will always acknowledge, because they were true. Rabindranath's subtly suggestive indication of this is an artistic triumph. The absence of an untrammelled case of conscience born of a sense of being in the right, is Nature's unerring criticism of Bimal's action. She realised that there is nothing so incongruous as being alone. "It seemed to me," she said, "as though all the stars in the sky were afraid of me; this vast world of night were looking at me askance. For I was alone! There is nothing so unnatural as a lonely being. Even he,

all of whose friends and relatives are dead, is not alone ; he feels their companionship through the separation of death. But one whose personal relations are close by and yet far off, who has been completely severed from all human companionship ; it seems as though a glance at such a person sends a shiver through the world of stars."

Bimal's final disillusionment came when she once more confronted the concrete in the creation ;—not the abstract, as heretofore, embodied in its two aspects in Nikhilesh and in Sandeep : Truth came to her through Amulya, the ordinary man, the reflex of her own ordinary self. When she saw Amulya under the hypnotising spell of Sandeep, abandoning himself to the influence of passions that have been emancipated from responsibility, and all altruistic conceptions, she realised the abnormality of her own position. "The motherhood in me was aroused," she said. That is to say, she awoke to the consciousness of her reality in a complex scheme of human relationship. Abstract freedom, as the negation of all bondage, except the bondage to unreasoning passions, is a slavery which must ultimately dehumanise man and unsex woman.

In the end, Bimal comes back to Nikhilesh, purified in the crucible of bitter experience, tested by the touchstone of Providence. In her prayers to God, we can recognise the chastened humility of a purified soul. "Forgive me this once ; oh my lord," she prayed ; "I turned all that Thou gavest unto me into a heavy burden in my life. Now I can neither carry it nor leave it behind. Do Thou once more play upon that flute of Thine, which I heard once before, as I stood beside the crimson dawn of my life ; then all my problems will be easily solved. That only, and nothing else, can piece together what is broken, can purify what is contaminated. Re-create me and my surroundings once again in harmony with the music of Thy flute. There is no other way that I can see."

Nikhilesh recognised the sincerity of this reaction. Unlike those moralists whose only resort is the immutable dogmas, he did not judge what God Himself had adjudged. His words are significant ;—"We compare these joys and sorrows with our worldly experience, with our scriptural prescriptions, and dismiss them with a name—as either good or bad. But has this fountain of pain that is flooding the breast of this gloom any name? In the darkness of that

night, as I stood amidst the silence of those millions of stars, and looked at her, my mind cried out in terror, "who am I to judge? Oh Life, Oh Infinite Universe, Oh Lord of this Infinitude, I clasp my hands and bow down before the mystery that is in you."

This note of reverence for the inexplicable mystery of the human soul, which was so characteristic of Shakespeare and Victor Hugo and Tolstoy, was first introduced into Bengalee Literature by Rabindranath in *The Home and the World*, and has been responsible for shaping the outlook of most of his contemporaries. In Sarat Chandra's *Srikantha*, the idea is thus expounded, "The mind of man is infinite—is this merely a verbal dictum? Why cannot you realise that innumerable marvels collected from your innumerable past lives are contained in this infinitude, and when once startled, they can smash into atoms your spurious philosophy, your so-called learning, and your vaunted capacity to understand mankind. Do you not remember even this that it is the dwelling place of the Infinite Soul?" "Therefore when man professes to have understood the human mind, and without leaving it to God, takes upon himself the task of judging it.....My scheme for my fellow-beings knows no end." Such conception as this is not isolated, but permeates the whole fabric of modern Bengalee Literature. And as the precursor of such an attitude, *the Home and the World* may be said to have revolutionised the basis of our outlook on life.

I would consider myself inexcusable if this attempt to interpret the message of a great creative work should make anyone think that I wish to attenuate a powerful drama of life into mere symbols of algebra to be solved as an equation of reason. My only aim has been to elicit the inner meaning of the novel so far as it helps us to understand the eternal and universal problems of mankind. It emphasises the futility of all passionate striving if it be detached from a permanent centre of gravitation which is Truth. Labour imprisoned for ages within the barriers of wants, dominated by the narrow selfishness of a system of capitalism, proclaims its rebellion by flaunting the banner of destruction. So long as labour and capital refuse to recognise their interdependant relationship, this revolt will continue, with all its inevitable penalties. Similarly woman revolts against man ; and if a solution has to be attained, it will not be through the domination of man over

woman (as Strindberg and Tolstoy desired), nor of woman over man, (as perhaps Ibsen would have preferred),—but by a concession by both to Truth. Man is primarily abstract; as Nikhilesh said,—“We are men, freedom is the goal of our efforts; we will listen to the call of the Ideal, and rush forward, for we must rescue the captive lady by scaling the lofty walls of the demon.” And Bimal comments, “when they (*i.e.*, men) are drunk with the joy of creating with their own hands all their pleasure lies in destroying God’s creation. They will disdain to look at this awful shame of mine,—they have no pity for life; all their earnestness is directed towards some end in view.” Woman, on the contrary is far more “real”, far more concrete. And it is only by a concession to this fundamental aspect of either that any solution of this vexed problem can be attained. These are some of the concrete problems that Europe has been trying to solve for the last century. But she has only created a feeling of despair by refusing to concede to concrete facts in obedience to those abstract formulas which came into prominence towards the end of the 18th century and against which the practical common-sense of Burke so strenuously inveighed. It is believed by theorists that concession to the claims of facts is intellectual cowardice; but as a matter of fact it is the heroic concession to Truth. This has been always the attitude of Rabindranath to the modern age, and to all forms of intellectual insularity that are current in philosophical circles. I find it often stated that Rabindranath is an individualist. This is a profound misconception. Any creed that is held exclusively leads to narrowness of outlook. Intellectual fanaticism is as much to be condemned as religious fanaticism, and Rabindranath has never been a fanatic. He always pleads for an individualism that succeeds in realising its position in a complex social scheme by a process of mutual adjustment. While we must not insult the individual by regarding it as a superfluity—as it had been done in the political ethos of Germany or the social organisation of the Hindus—we must not also make it anarchic in its undisciplined activities. Both the idealism of Nikhilesh and the Nihilism of Sandeep are abstractions of the intellect. The one object of Nikhilesh was to grasp the ultimate truth regarding human life, abstracted from all conventions. Sandeep also fought for Truth,—but it was something that existed within the cupidity of

his own desires, distorted by the caprices of the human mind, and in a way ennobled by that cult of nationalism, which is neither a virtue nor a vice. This difference in the outlook of either has been indicated with sufficient clearness, when Nikhilesh said, “I want the fruits of the morrow, because it belongs to the universe,” to which Sandeep replied, “I want the fruits of to-day because it is mine.” Sandeep is the destructive passion of revolt,—self-centred, egoistic, aware only of his own individuality to the exclusion of everything else. His country to him is an abstraction;—not the mother to be loved (as in *Gora*) but a queen who is to be worshipped. Sandeep is not a person but a problem,—and a problem that distils the very essence of modernism. Therefore it has been said by Mr. Promotho Chowdhury, that Sandeep represents the spirit of Europe, as Nikhilesh represents the spirit of Asia. As a philosophy Europe has systematised it in Nietzsche;—Nietzsche who believed that “there are no moral phenomena, but merely a moral interpretation of phenomena,” and that life is “essentially appropriation, injury, conquest of the weak by the strong, suppression, severity, obtrusive of its own forms, incorporation, and, at least, putting at its mildest, exploitation; life is essentially a-moral.” That there cannot be any such thing as morality was also Sandeep’s emphatic opinion; as he said, “Truth is neither good nor bad; it is truth;—and this is science.” It is the culmination of that insane biological conception of life, for which Darwin is indirectly responsible, and which is receiving correction to-day at the hands of Socialistic thinkers.

Nikhilesh, on the other hand, is a theorist of life, working in slavery to the abstract ideals of the intellect. But man’s life can never be set to any mould. It is something that develops from within, as it carries within itself the Divine law of self-evolution. The profound tragedy of abstract idealism is expressed in Nikhilesh’s pathetic exclamation, “How was I to know that in creating my help-mate I would miscreate my wife?” Rabindranath Tagore has been repeating his great message with the ceaseless energy of intense conviction, that if we want to create a permanent ideal, we must refuse to be bound by intellectual dogmas, and must take a proper account of the human materials that are concrete. The tendency of the modern world is to theorise about life,—to

imprison its wonderful variety within one dominating idea. Rabindranath's protest against this attitude has been passionately expressed through Nikhilesh,—“Modern Europe is discussing this world in such a way, as though man were only a theory of physiology, or of biology, or of psychology, or at most, of sociology. But my appeal to you is this, do not forget that man is not a theory;—he surpasses all theories and points towards the Infinite.” Almost the same idea was expressed by Mr. Romain Rolland in the last volume of *Jean Christopher*—that wonderful epic of modern Europe,—“The smallest among you has the infinite in his soul. The infinite is in every man who is simple enough to be a man; in the lover, in the friend, in the woman who pays with her pangs at childbirth for the radiant joys of motherhood, in every man and in every woman who lives in obscure self-sacrifice, which will never be known in another soul.” It is the fundamental error of Ibsenism and Shavism, and all the host of—isms that mystify the modern man—to recognise the truth of ideas, and ignore the truth of personality. This attitude of the modern age has been expressed by Rabindranath through Sandeep, when he said, “The thing that we call life is so vague; it is a compound of innumerable contradictions. We, men of ideas, wish to see it clearly by reducing it to specific forms.” The absurdity of this attitude, this refusal to recognise the diversity of man in his personal aspect, this attempt to eliminate the soul as a factor to be counted, has been emphasised by Rudolf Eucken, among others, in his analytical study of the main currents of modern thought. “The soul”, said Eucken, in concluding his passionate protest, “will not allow itself to be eliminated. The very attempt to deny the soul only rouses it to greater activity.”

Therefore, Rabindranath's first advice is to take account of the human personality in all works of re-construction, and not to work in servitude to dogmas and formulas. When Bimal drifted apart from Nikhilesh, the latter in spite of his anguish refused to employ the

coercive force of society. “My wife, and therefore, she must be mine! If she says, No, I am myself,—I will at once reply, How is that possible? You are my wife! Wife! Is that by itself reason, or reality? Is it possible to imprison a whole personality in that one word?” Bimal's words, already quoted, have also an exactly similar significance. “Is freedom a material object? Freedom is empty negation.” Life means movement and adaptability. If we try to arrest anything that is vital,—a concrete relationship, or a certain condition of life—and try to stereotype it in an immutable form, the re-action is bound to be destructive.

In order to attain this flexibility, it is necessary for us now and then to be lifted beyond our own selves, and try to see from an objective standpoint. “There are moments,” said Landor, “when if we are quite contented with ourselves, we can never remount to what we were before.” And it is a characteristic of Rabindranath's art always to create a personality, who has this power of absolving the human mind from its own unfortunate limitations. In *The Home and the World* this role is filled by *Master-mahashaya*—“He has the power,” said Bimal, “of placing our minds upon a pinnacle from which we can see at one glance the entire circumference of our life in all its amplitude;—then we discover that what we had always accustomed to regard as the border-line is not so”. The greatest tragedy of modern life is the failure of dogmas to preserve the equilibrium of human passions, and a consequential deterioration of ideals. In *The Home and the World*, there is a comprehensive attempt to restore to our vision, the perspective it had lost by liberating the mind from the tyranny of dogmas which had enchained it beyond redemption. Let us try to see ourselves in relation to our past history, to our present environment, to our future destiny, and by being true to our higher selves, let us attain freedom of the soul to achieve its own purpose. This is Rabindranath Tagore's message to the modern world.

THE CALCUTTA IMMORAL TRAFFIC ACT OF 1923.

A Prospective View.

By MR. CYRIL F. DORAN, M.A., B.LITT., B.COM.

This Act is human and humane from first to last.

"That makes a good starting point," as the boy said when he placed a pin in a vacant chair.

The Act is the work of those who are at once humanists of some practical experience, true sociologists, thinkers of a truly philosophical habit of mind, and observers who understand the great import of their *sujet*. It is an application of fundamental principles and reasoning to the chief social problem of the hour, and its authors have obviously made a fairly close study of conditions on the spot, conditions which cannot be too widely known or too closely studied.

Fairly wide publicity has been given to the Act by the Calcutta press. This is as it should be. Silence on this so-called delicate subject has prevailed too long and its discussion long neglected from a fastidiousness most closely allied to prudery and often carried to an excess positively culpable. But "ignorance does not mean innocence and knowledge need not mean sin". "To be forewarned is to be forearmed". "The fence at the top of the precipice is better than the best regulated ambulance at the bottom". And, as stated by the younger Mill, "the diseases of Society, can no more than corporeal maladies, be prevented or cured, without being spoken about in plain language". So that publicity is capable of doing a work of permanent value because it tells of the miseries of the social vice, reveals most of its causes, indicates some of the snares that are set for the unwary, and suggests remedial or palliative measures—social, hygienic, and legislative—to deal with the insidious evil, a demon of desolation which, although it cannot be eradicated and, like poverty, must always exist, should be restrained as far as possible.

In Europe and America the problem has received the most searching investigation and the closest analysis. We have only to run through the pages of such writers as Parent Duchatelet (whose masterly treatment of prostitution in

France has become a classic), William Acton, Iwan Bloch, Havelock Ellis, August Forel, E. H. Kisch, Benjamin Scott, Engel Reimers, Flexner, Sanger, and several other eminent writers and pioneers in this field of enquiry, to be satisfied that these eminent men have spared no efforts in conducting their enquiries and have even frequently exposed themselves to personal danger in securing reliable data and in publishing the results of their enquiries. Mr. Havelock Ellis, for example, owing to the hypocrisy of the British nation at large, narrowly escaped prosecution a few years ago, and had to place the Mss. of his life-work ("Studies in the Psychology of Sex") in American hands before it saw the light of day. None of these distinguished workers have deemed it to be *contra bonos mores* to communicate the results of their labours to the public and have taken their stand on the unassailable principle that whatever is morally inadmissible cannot be politically, hygienically, or socially advantageous, and have contributed very materially to inducing a one-time reluctant people to cease regarding *la traviata* as inhuman, a creature not fit to be mentioned to polite ears, and it is hoped that even the "ferociously virtuous" of Calcutta Society will in the future allow this most painful subject to form, at least occasionally, a topic of conversation as common as any other, although it carries with it a reminder of shame, miseries and wrongs, which must be always distressing, and, therefore, instinctively shunned; and if the press too will continue to give regular and prominent notice to this one of Calcutta's problems of the hour and aid all they can in the campaign in favour of purity, liberty, and righteousness, combined effort on part of both press and public will not be altogether without effect for good, for—

"The smallest effort is not lost;
Each wavelet on the ocean toss'd
Aids in the ebb-tide or the flow;
Each raindrop makes some floweret blow;
Each struggle lessons human woe".
It would be superfluous to say that the Act

does not concern only one particular race or creed. It concerns all, and is in keeping with the commonest principles of humanity and religion, so much so of the latter that the founder of every religious faith has at some time or other given voice to the condition of the "unfortunates" who are more often than not the victims of circumstances absolutely and altogether beyond their control, martyrs to the avarice of parents, the violence of husbands, the villainous artifices of domestic servants, and the unscrupulousness of wicked men. The Christian Church, for one, has always reckoned it as one of its duties of active morality to attempt the restoration to virtue of "the sinners", among whom are included the prostitutes: a class of people who have always been under the ban of public opinion and generally avoided by such as lay claim to a reputation for sanctity and considered contact with them a pollution. That social ostracism may of course in certain special cases be unjust goes without saying, but that it is on the whole deserved by the victims Jesus Christ himself did not question. In fact, instead of sanctioning the excommunication of the "sinners", Christ openly associated with them, and earned for himself from his ill-wishers the invidious epithet of the "Friend of publicans and sinners". Not indeed, as Sir John Seeley has pointed out, that his intercourse with them could possibly be mistaken for a connivance at their immoral courses. We may be very sure that he carried his own commanding personality into these degraded societies, and that the conversations he held in them were upon the topics he chose, not the topics most usual or most welcome there. He himself asserts this in justifying his novel course—"I am not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance"; "They that are whole need not a physician, but they that are sick"—words implying that he appeared among the outcasts as a missionary or physician of the soul. If it had been otherwise his conduct would indeed have been inexplicable. In heaven, he says, among God's angels, there is more joy over one sinner that returns than over ninety and nine that never wandered. The fragmentary account of the repentance of a prostitute whom tradition has identified with that Mary Magdalene of whose touching fidelity to Christ in the last scenes of his life so much is recorded, has given to Christian art the figure of Magdalene, which, when contrasted with the Venus of Greek sculpture, represents in a very

palpable manner the change which Christ has wrought in the moral feelings of mankind with respect to women (Seeley). But in the story we are told that a woman fallen from virtue entered the room in the house of a Pharisee who was entertaining Christ. We do not know particularly what Christ had done for her, but we can conclude generally that he had roused her conscience and had restored her to virtue by giving her hope and by inspiring her with an enthusiastic devotion to himself. She threw herself down before him and embraced his feet, weeping so abundantly over them she was obliged to wipe them, which she did with her hair. Fragmentary as the story is, it is all-important, as the turning-point in the history of women. Such wisdom, writes Seeley, is there in humanity that he who first looked upon his fellow-creatures with sympathetic eyes found himself, as it were, in another world and made mighty discoveries at every step. The female sex, in which antiquity saw nothing but inferiority, which Plato considered intended to do the same things as the male only not so well, was understood for the first time by Christ. His treatment brought out its characteristics, its superiorities, its peculiar power of gratitude and self-devotion. That woman who dried with her hair the feet she had bathed in grateful tears has raised her whole sex to a higher level. But we are concerned with her not merely as a woman, but as a fallen woman. And it is when we consider her as such that the prodigious force and originality of Christ's mercy makes itself felt. For it is probably in the case of this particular vice that justice ripens the slowest and the seldomest into mercy. "Most persons", says the author of *Ecce Home*, "in whom the moral sense is very strong are merciful mercy is in general a measure of the higher degrees of keenness in the moral sense. But there is a limit beyond which it seems almost impossible for mercy, properly so-called, to subsist. There are certain vices which seem to indicate a criminality so engrained, or at least so inveterate, that mercy is, at it were, choked in the deadly atmosphere that surrounds them, and dies for want of that hope upon which alone it can live. Vices that are incorrigible are no proper objects of mercy, and there are some vices which virtuous people are found particularly ready to pronounce incorrigible. Few brave men have any pity to spare for a confirmed coward. And as cowardice seems to him who has the instinct

of manliness a fatal vice in man as implying an absence of the indispensable condition of masculine virtue, so does confirmed unchastity in woman seem a fatal vice to those who reverence womanhood. And therefore little mercy for it is felt by those who take a serious view of sexual relations; there are multitudes who think lightly of it, and therefore feel a good deal of compassion for those who suffer at the hands of society such a terrible punishment for it. There are others who can have mercy on it while they contemplate it, as it were, at a distance, and do not realise how mortal to the very soul of womanhood is the habitual desecration of all the sacraments of love. Lastly there are some who force themselves to have mercy on it out of reverence for the example of Christ. But of those who see it near, and whose moral sense is keen enough to judge of it, the greater number pronounce it incurable. We know the pitiless cruelty with which virtuous women commonly regard it. Why is it that in this one case the female sex is more hard-hearted than the male? Probably because in this one case it feels more strongly, as might be expected, the heinousness of the offence; and those men who criticise women for their cruelty to their fallen sisters do not really judge from the advanced stage of mercy but from the lower stage of insensibility. It is commonly by love itself that men learn the sacredness of love. Yet, though Christ never entered the realm of sexual love, this sacredness seems to have been felt by him far more deeply than by other men"..... "He exhibited on that occasion (of the woman taken in adultery) a profound delicacy of which there is no other example in the ancient world, and which anticipates and excels all that is noblest in chivalrous and finest in modern manners. In his treatment of the prostitute, then, how might we expect him to act? Not, surely, with the ready tolerance of men, which is but laxity; we might expect from him rather the severity of women, which is purity. Disgust will overpower him here, if anywhere. He will say, 'Thy sin's not accidental, but a trade..... 'Tis best that thou diest quickly'. There is no doubt that he was not wanting in severity; the gratitude that washed his feet in tears was not inspired by mere good-nature. But he found mercy, too, where mercy commonly fails even in the tender hearts of women. And mercy triumphed, where it commonly dies of mere despair."

The above is the Christian doctrine on how fallen women should be treated, and may be taken as fairly typical of the teachings of the social reformers of latter days.

The greatest number of these "unfortunates", according to a Calcutta journalist of more than fifty years ago, have been drawn into destruction by causes in which vice and personal enjoyment have had scarcely any share. In the almost irresistible succession of faults which lead them on, and in which a single attack on their virtue leads fatally to prostitution, it is Society alone which is to blame. Who renders it impossible for these unhappy women to retrace their footsteps? Who renders it impossible for them even to stop in their dreadful career? It is that public feeling, merciless and unjust, which makes an excuse in one sex as a slight and natural fault a whole life of disorder and pleasure, and condemns in the other a single weakness as a crime beyond the hope of pardon or recovery. These girls have never loved their odious trade; and in proportion to their sensibility of the weight and bitterness of their degradation, do they hate themselves. Casting aside the precepts of Jesus Christ and other social reformers, pushing out of sight the faults of human nature, and the heavy share it has in the culpability, Society turns with contempt from these poor girls, hands them over to despair, and leaves them alone with the irreparable. All doors are shut against them; all means of recovery strongly interdicted; and if they endeavour to "turn over a new leaf," Society places its foot upon them. Until, and unless, the men and women of Calcutta—the women especially—radically change their views on these poor abandoned creatures and are ready to give them the chance of "making good", it is futile to expect social and legislative measures, however drastic the latter may be, to alleviate the misery of the abandoned ones for anything more than a very short time. The utmost sympathy and most active aid of Society in general is absolutely essential if we are to assist women who have gone astray from such causes as seduction, procuration; indolence; inconsiderate marriages; inadequate remuneration for work; poverty; want of employment; intemperance; want of surveillance on the part of masters and mistresses; bad example or cruelty of parents; inordinate love of dress or ornament; ignorance, or defective educational and religious instruction, etc. This is not demanding too

Modern gynecologists and alienists record numerous cases of such women. According to Lombroso, such continued ardency of sexual desire occurs chiefly in women with an inherited tendency to crime and to prostitution, whose natures exhibit a commingling of lasciviousness with barbarism (Kisch). It is highly desirable that Society should know something of the sexual "make-up" of women ; such details can never be nauseous when properly expressed, and will help them in deciding for themselves whether or not such creatures (of the nymphomaniac *putain* class) are worthy of assistance or whether they are "beyond the pale" ; Society must allow their religion to come to the rescue, and they must settle the question by the tenets of their faith. May be, then, they will some day be able to say like Ignatius Loyola : "(But) if I shall have been the means of leading one of these (fallen) women to repentance, I shall consider my time as having been well spent, and myself as more than rewarded."

"All legislation", said Mr. E. Villiers, speaking at a recent meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council, "having as its object the suppression of immoral traffic proceeds upon one of the two following principles: (a) that commercialised immorality is an evil which can and must be stamped out at all costs ; (b) that, while recognising it as an evil, great doubts exist as to whether it can be stamped out and legislation is, therefore, confined to discouraging the vice as far as possible and to safeguarding the public against the most patent results of immorality such, for example, as venereal disease. The Bill under consideration attempts the second alternative by an endeavour to effect control in three main directions: firstly, by striking at the pimp and procurer; secondly, by providing for the removal from brothels of girls under 16 years of age, and lastly, by protecting youths from temptation by punishing solicitation."

The clauses concerning the severe legal measures for pimps, etc., which are contained in Calcutta's Immoral Traffic Act, have been so much discussed of late, on the platform and in the press, that it is not the intention of the present writer to add to the discussion that has already taken place. But from a close study of the results of regulations or licenses on the one hand, and in pains and penalties on the other, in all countries and at all times, where such have been attempted, he wishes to state that he has

no faith whatever in such measures unless they are capably assisted by the general public on social and religious lines, a fact which was recognised by the framers of the Calcutta Immoral Traffic Bill ; at the best it can only be a temporary mitigation of some of the evils. He is in complete agreement with a well-known medical writer (R. T. Trall) who declares that, since it is impossible to educate people into sensuality and then try to restrain them in the indulgence of it, Society has no moral right to regulate or license or close their eyes to that which is intrinsically wrong, nor has it any moral right to punish debauchees and vagabonds until it removes temptation from them, and provides the means by which they can secure a comfortable livelihood by honest labour.

There is very little more the writer has to say, but that little is of great importance. The keynote of Calcutta's Immoral Traffic Act is legislative and social rather than "spiritual", which, of course, is unavoidable ; consequently it does not provide a sufficient motive for the maintenance of chastity. Deprived of religion all the grand social and legislative schemes in the world will, as "Four Clergymen" in England have pointed out, prove powerless. The only deterrent to social vices is generated by religion, although "I (the writer) says it as shouldn't," seeing that he himself spells "god" with a small "g". Men of *real* culture, refinement and education do not form part of a prostitute's clientele, and it is unnecessary to appeal to them in the name of religion ; they can easily dispense with it. With the masses, however, it is quite different. Theology has long been regarded, even by ecclesiastics, that is, those who are honest, fearless and liberal-minded, as an excellent weapon for keeping the poor, the uneducated, and the half-educated—"the matric. pass, B.A. fail", so to speak, in order ; and to keep them on the straight path, it is highly desirable to keep them superstitious and to instil them with the "fear of Moses". And this is neither to be critical, nor offensive. Rationalism is of little or no avail in the case of the vulgar. For such, the best possible basis for a pure life is a living faith in their God. Nothing will ever make it seem worth while to such men and women to deny themselves and to face the rigours of chastity except the sense that they owe it to their "Him". When the sense of their God's reality disappears, such men and women alike turn to getting the best

out of the material side of life, and after that purity is rapidly lost, and after that the Immoral Traffic Act of any city becomes a failure. But

that does not prevent the writer from wishing the Calcutta Act the very best of luck and giving it his blessing. On the contrary.....

THE POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS AND THEORIES OF THE HINDUS.*

By PROF. BENI PRASAD, M.A.

Mr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar aims at filling "a gap in the history of the constitutional and economic development of mankind." A spirit of scholarly independence pervades his book. "Indeed, on fundamental points the volume delivers a frontal attack against the traditional Western prejudices regarding Asia such as are concentrated in Hegel, Cousin, Max Muller, Maine, Sanet, Smith, Willoughby and Huntington."

"The world is weary of the Past,
Oh might it die or rest at last!"

So sings the poet. Again,
"No use in the past: Only a scene
Of degradation, imbecility—
The record of disgraces best forgotten,
A sullen page in human chronicles
Fit to erase."

Yet the past has always exercised a fascination on the human mind. To the past even the twentieth century looks for warning and example, for hint and suggestion for insight into the present, for anticipation of the future. A study of the Indian past, if it can do nothing else, can, at any rate, convince one that the Hindu genius is not essentially unpolitical and that it has tried all sorts of political experiments and formulated corresponding schemes of political theory.

At the dawn of authentic history, the Hindu communities passing beyond the patriarchal stage of organization, emerge as republican commonwealths. The Sakyas, for example, assembled in the great mote-hall at Kapilavastu to transact all important business and elect a

President or Raja who resembled the Athenian archon and, in a lesser degree, the Roman Consul. The powerful Lichhavis elected a general assembly of 7707 members which decided questions of war and peace, public finance and general administration and perhaps elected a president. Every proposal had to be read thrice and be voted upon either by the secret method (ballot) or whispering method or open method. A cabinet of nine chiefs formed the executive. The ultra-democratic judiciary consisted of seven tribunals of the hierarchy in succession, every one of which must find the accused guilty before punishment could be inflicted. The sentences had to conform to the book of precedents. The Lichhavis, Videhas and six other republics combined into a republican federation which borrowed its chief constitutional features from the Lichhavi organisation and which probably aimed at stemming the rising tide of monarchical aggression. Local government, a necessary feature in an extensive republic, was likewise pervaded with the democratic spirit. In one direction, it left even Athens far behind. It was joint committees of men and women who laid out parks, erected communal halls and rest houses, constructed reservoirs and maintained inter-village roads and paths. It may be mentioned that republics were called Sanghas or Ganas and their chief officers Sanghamukhya or Ganamukhya. The Buddhist ecclesiastical orga-

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nisation derived its name, and principles of government from the prevalent republican polity.

It was under republican auspices that Hindu civilization achieved some of its highest triumphs. Charaka formulated his system of anatomy, therapeutics and medicine; Panini compiled the most scientific of all grammars; Patanjali and Nagarjuna patronised metallurgy and alchemy; the atomists, monists, sceptics and materialists systematised their various schools of philosophy; lawyers and sociologists started the theories which were destined to be incorporated in Manu and Yajnavalkya; political speculators prepared the ground for Kautilya; Valmiki and Vyas composed or edited the greatest of all Indian epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharat; the Gita preached the highest mysticism and spiritualism; above all, Gautama Buddha inculcated the ethical code which has exercised boundless influence on world-culture.

Gautama, indeed, was deeply attached to the system of polity of which he was the most distinguished product. When Ajatsatru, King of Magadha, threatened to extirpate the Vajjians, "mighty and powerful though they be", it was the Buddha, who from his retirement, exhorted the Republicans, with apostolic fervour, to offer a firm, unflinching resistance and above all, to keep their federal union intact. The Vajjians repelled the Monarchists but the days of republican preponderance were over. The vastness of the uniformly level plains of North India, the community of language, manners and customs, of habits of thought and mental outlook, coupled with the growth of commerce and industry, insured the rise of extensive county-states. The absence of facilities of rapid communication and the resulting impracticability of representative democracy, meant the instinctive evolution of Monarchy. Republics survived in certain tracts for centuries to come but from the 5th century B. C. the prevailing form of political organisation was bound, through sheer force of geographical circumstances, to be monarchical. The kingdom of Magadha, like the nearly contemporary military monarchy of Macedonia, swallowed numerous small republics in quick succession.

During the transitional period, illuminated by Greek accounts, one can discern a remarkable variety of organization. In the city of Patala, on the apex of the Indus delta, the military command was "vested in two hereditary kings of two

different houses, while a council of elders ruled the whole state with paramount authority." Diodorus has it that the Sarbaceae dwelt in cities and enjoyed a democratic form of government. Curtius says that the Gedrosioi were a "free people with a council for discussing important matters of state" and speaks of another tribe whose form of government was "democratic and not regal." In war, they were led by three elective generals. Arrian calls the Oreitai, the Abastonoï, Thexathori and the Arabitai "independent tribes with leaders". The Nysians formed an aristocratic republic with a president and a council of three hundred wise men. The Arattas and the Kathians, notorious for predatory warfare, were "kingless" though the precise character of their polity is obscure. It is interesting to note that Alexander's pressure welded the erstwhile ferocious foes, Malavas and Ksudrakas, both intensely jealous of liberty, into a close alliance, cemented by "wholesale inter-marriage, each giving and taking ten thousand young women for wives."

The same Greek pressure, exerted at first by Alexander the Great and then by Seleucus Nikator, furnished one, though only one, of the causes which reduced the number of sovereign states, particularly of republics—for war demands concentration of authority—and which produced the mighty Mauryan Empire. Thanks to the fragmentary quotations from Megasthenes and to the Asokan inscriptions on pillars and to the contemporary Kautilya's Arthashastra (the recovery of which at Trivandrum, about 1905, marked an epoch in ancient Indian studies) it is possible to form a tolerably clear idea of the working of Mauryan institutions. The capital Pataliputra and the central regions were under the personal charge of the Emperor while the provinces were ruled by his Viceroy. "Uniformity in administration and penal procedure" was sought to be maintained throughout the vast territory. The Imperial executive comprised 18 departments, each with one or more boards of advisors. They managed the excellent system of canal and tank irrigation, constructed roads, erecting pillars at about every ten miles to indicate the by-roads and the distances, supervised handicrafts and the operations of huntsmen, carried out a census of the population and a cadestral survey of the land, collected the land-tax, customs and cesses on the sale of almost every article of human consumption and last but not least, promoted learning and morality and

sometimes religion, performing, in short, all the functions of a police and culture state. The Emperor as well as the Viceroy had a nominated Council of State of 8 or more ministers each in charge of a department, each assisted by two under-secretaries, each transacting ordinary business, while reserving questions of principle and policy for joint consultation. The designations and duties of the divisional officers are obscure but it is apparent that at the lowest rung of the bureaucratic ladder stood the Gopa, a sort of magistrate-collector in charge of five or ten villages, ultimately responsible to the Samaharta or collector-general. He maintained the boundary marks of villages, fields, pasture lands, irrigation works, groves, bathing places, assembly-halls, temples, charitable houses and cremation grounds. He supervised the transactions of gift, sale or mortgage of real and moveable property, kept a census register classifying the people according to castes and occupations, noting the number of slaves (if any), quadrupeds, and birds in each household and as well as the taxes and tolls due to the government, a veritable Domesday Book.

The actual administration of village affairs, however, including the adjudication of petty disputes, rested with the immemorial elective panchayat which, subject to general governmental supervision, enjoyed a high degree of autonomy. The example of village panchayats seems to have influenced some features of municipal organization. The Pataliputra Corporation which may, or may not, have been partially elective, consisted of thirty members, divided into six committees of five each (1) controlling local industries and handicrafts, (2) registering, watching, escorting and, if necessary, feeding, medically treating and otherwise helping foreigners, travellers and pilgrims, (3) registering vital statistics, (4) regulating sales of produce, weights and measures and issuing licenses to merchants, (5) supervising manufactures and (6) collecting tithes on sales in the city. Collectively, the corporation looked after finance, sanitation, water-supply, the provision and up-keep of public buildings, fruit and flower gardens, funeral routes, etc., and probably controlled the drink traffic and gambling. A well was provided for every ten houses. Against outbreaks of fire, water-vessels were kept along highways and public squares and in front of the royal palace. It is not unreasonable to suppose that other cities had similar corporations which

performed similar functions. In respect of civic organisation, the Mauryan Empire stands higher than the Mughal which though respectful of village autonomy, knew nothing of urban municipalities.

The conciliar principle, indeed, permeated the whole Mauryan administration. The War-Office, for example, consisted of six departments each administered by a board. An army of secret agents served as inspecting officials, detective police, news-recorders, and military spies. The expenses of the huge administrative and military machine and of the benevolent activities were defrayed by the land-tax, generally one-sixth of the produce: the government monopolies of mines, fisheries and salt; excise; tolls on sales; customs and irrigation dues; taxes on liquor and gambling and fines on criminals. Next to the Emperor and the Viceroy, there seem to have been six grades of two kinds of courts, located at the successive head-quarters, each consisting of three "learned" judges and three assessors. The *dharmasthiya* or inferior courts dealt with cases of contracts, debts, theft, defamation, assault, boundary disputes, damage to crops, public roads, etc., domestic affairs and so on. Curiously enough, the *kantakashodhan* or superior courts seem to have been entrusted not only with the protection of craftsmen and merchants but with the relief of famines and other national calamities. Such relief certainly formed one of the recognised duties of the government as in Mughal and modern India but the character of its administrative machinery still remains to be cleared up. Alongside the royal courts, stood guild-courts which maintained internal discipline within the guilds of merchants and craftsmen that formed a characteristic feature of Indian communal life. The village panchayats formed the lowest link in the chain of judicial administration. Here the principle of trial by jury reigned supreme. For, as Sukra says, "In the village the cases are to be settled by persons who live with both parties, *i.e.*, by neighbours," they being the best judges.

Such was the system of government that prevailed in the Mauryan dominions more than two thousand years ago. The empire comprised the whole of India except the extreme south but the Imperial authority was not exercised everywhere with the same directness. As with the Roman Empire, protectorates acknowledging the Imperial suzerainty and surrendering the

control of foreign relations to its direction, but enjoying internal autonomy, have always formed a feature of the Indian state-system. Under the Mauryas, the protected states seem to have approached the position of subordinate confederates rather than that of mere feudatories as under the Mughals. It was one of the triumphs of Mughal rule to have imposed, tactfully and peacefully, its superior notions of government and organisation on its clients many of which still retain the Mughal administrative jargon. The Mauryan protectorates, too, seem to have been deeply imbued with the principles and policy of the enlightened central government.

In spite of the presence of federal, democratic and conciliar elements in the governmental hierarchy, it must, however, be admitted that the Emperor was a despot. In theory, the law, as in Athens, was the sovereign, but the absence of an independent tribunal to interpret the law left the monarchy practically absolute.

Yet the despotism was tempered not only by the Law and Custom but by fear of revolt and assassination. In the Aitereya Barahman, a king says, "Between the night I was born and the night I die, whatever good I might have done, my heaven, my life and my progeny may I be deprived of, if I oppress you". So in the Mahabharat, Venu's son Prithee swears, "I shall always regard the bhauma (country) as the Brahma (the highest God). And whatever is to be prescribed as law on the basis of statecraft I shall follow without hesitation, never my own sweet will." Venu himself had been deposed because he was vedharma or unconstitutional and "the slave of wrath and malice." Kautilya summarised a chapter of political experience when he laid down....."the popular wrath is the most dangerous of all wraths" The Mahabharat, with its usual vigour, proclaims that a tyrant is to be executed by the people. Sukra says that he is to be "deserted". "The king" says Manu, "who through foolishness arbitrarily tyrannizes over his own state is very soon deprived of his kingdom and life together with his kith and kin. As the lives of living beings perish through torture of the body, so the lives of kings are lost through torturing the kingdom."

The operation of the hereditary principle of succession, even when modified in practice, was bound sooner or later to place a tyrant or a fool on the throne, when the popular "right to revolt", prescribed by the highest law-givers,

was actively exercised. A furious city mob expelled the homicide Nagdasako and installed the Sisunag dynasty in 602 B.C. Gopal in the 8th century was elected by the people. Rudradamana (C. 125-150), based his claim to the satrapy of Western India on his "election by all the orders of the people". Harshavardhan (606-648) was elected Emperor by the ministers and magistrates in an assembly presided over by the "distinguished" premier Bhandi. The people's approval of the choice was "shown in their songs". In the selection of the heir-apparent, too, as in the Ramayan and the Mahabharat, the popular voice asserted itself with the decisive effect. It was a popular revolution which had placed the Mauryans on the throne and which hurled them down in about a century and a half.

There was, indeed, another potent and ever present cause of political changes. From one point of view, Indian political history resolves itself into a conflict of centripetal and centrifugal forces. The fundamental geographical and cultural unity of India and the clear demarcation of the country from the rest of the world, favoured the growth of all-India sovereignty. But the long distances, the awkward Vindhya and Satpuras and the tremendous difficulties of communication, promoted disintegration. Society tended to organise itself on a local basis; local government to lose touch with the central administration. As a result, a young, vigorous, enterprising state, led by a capable warrior-statesman, often expanded over the whole of northern or southern India and sometimes over nearly the whole of the country but military weakness or administrative oppression on its part eventually opened the gates to centrifugal forces.

So the fall of the Mauryan Empire in the 2nd Century B. C. was followed by the Andhra Supremacy and later by the establishment of a number of independent principalities, frequently at war with one another, under the influence of the same unifying and disintegrating tendencies. On their governmental organisation, our information is tantalizingly meagre but the Gupta Empire in the 4th century A. D. and the Vardhan Empire three centuries later, described, by Chinese pilgrims and reflected in contemporary literature, display the chief features of Mauryan organisation—features which were partially adopted by the "Pathan Kings" of Delhi and which were fully revived, of course with adaptations, by the Mughal statesmen in the sixteenth century. It is not unreasonable to conclude that

throughout the fifteen centuries that separate the Mauryan Empire from the Muslim invasions, the principles and institutions of the former, except perhaps the urban municipalities, subsisted, with local variations, throughout the country, in spite of foreign invasions, border troubles and internecine warfare.

During this period, as afterwards, the monarchy was the predominant type of polity, but republics appeared in the southern Punjab, Rajputana and Malwa (C. B. C. 150-350 A.D.). The Vandheyas, 'Heroes of Heroes', elected their chief or Maharaja who also acted as Mahasenapati or Commander-in-Chief. The Arjunayans, Malavas, Sibis, Kunindas and Vrisnis, too, flourished for a while under republican forms of Government.

Of the framing of budgets, etc., during this period we know practically nothing. Hiuen Tsang furnishes something like a balance sheet of Harshavardhan (606-648). State-management and provision for sacrificial offerings forms the first charge. The second provides subsidies for ministers and chief officers of state. Honorariums for men of distinguished ability came third while charity constituted the fourth charge. The higher ranks of the service which absorbed the second charge, were generally assigned, as under the Mughal regime, pieces of land for their support. Only the fifth century Gupta Emperors, as we learn from Fahien disbursed regular salaries. The Civil Service was drawn largely from the Brahmans and Kshatriyas but partly from the other classes as well. As might be expected from the general toleration in Hindu India, religion never formed a consideration in the recruitment of the services. Kautilya vigorously advocates military recruitment not only from the Kshatriyas but also from the other three castes. Throughout the long span, Hindu law, constitution and organisation display certain features which deserve a passing notice. Students of European history are sure to be struck by the consistent secularity of the state system. The jurisdiction even of the highly organised Buddhist sangha, though modelled on the contemporary Republican polity, was confined within the monastery walls. Later, Brahmans entered state councils and public departments but the priesthood, as such, never presumed to direct the policy of the state. On the other hand, the state generally left the community free to evolve its various systems of religions and doctrine and ritual. Hindu society

still retains some patriarchal tendencies but the institution of inheritance and partition of property *per stirpes*, as opposed to that *per capita*, reveals an early emancipation of the individual from the head of the family. The low position of woman is the darkest blot on Hindu society but, be it said to the credit of Hindu Law, both Jimutvahana and Vijnaneshwar, on the basis of older authorities, declare stridhana or "woman's special property", incapable of alienation. "In Hindu India", as Mr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar puts it, "the husband has absolutely no right to whatever a woman may have acquired by inheritance, purchase, partition, seizure or finding the five origins of property in Gautama's jurisprudence. Besides, when the husband dies, sonless Hindu widows have for ages been entitled to enjoy the husband's property for life. But the right does not extend to alienation, except under specified conditions."

Learning always formed one of the chief concerns of Government. The state richly endowed the Universities which counted their teachers by the hundred, and students by the thousand. We have it on incontestable Chinese testimony that research in all departments of knowledge went hand in hand with the highest teaching in the arts and sciences. The University of Nalanda in Bihar founded by Narsinha Gupta Baladitya in the 5th century, enjoyed an endowment of more than 200 villages in the 7th century and boasted of eight grand halls and three hundred spacious apartments. "The richly adorned towers" writes Hiuen Tsang "of the fairy-like turrets like pointed hill-tops are congregated together. The observatories seem to be lost in the vapors of the morning and the upper rooms tower above the clouds." It counted 1,500 teachers and 10,000 students. In the 9th century, the University elected the Afghan scholar Virdeva as its Chancellor. By the way, Nalanda like Takshshila, Nadia, Madura and other Universities, provided the students and teachers alike with messes, hostel accommodation, and medicine free of all cost. Needless to say, no fees were ever charged for instruction. Benares, a huge immemorial, unorganised University, still exhibits the relics of old arrangements. With the Universities co-operated the numerous literary academies in the fostering of intellectual life. For generations the state patronised the Tamil Sangam at Madura which, in the second century, consisted of forty-nine critics and poets, who laboured to

check the growth of literary weeds. It resembled Richelieu's French Academy with startling exactness. State support, generously supplemented by private charity enabled hundreds of academies to specialize in grammar, logic, philosophy, jurisprudence, political science, mathematics, chemistry, medicine, etc. Very important were the peripatetic academies which served to keep scholars all over India in touch with one another and to co-ordinate research work. One of the 'applied sciences' in which ancient India attained high proficiency was village-planning and town-planning. The shilpa-sastras lay down minute instructions about the selection of the site, the location of temples, gardens, etc., division into quarters, routes or roads, the erection of houses and so on. Besides organised literary and educational institutions, patronage of individual poets or authors formed as under the Mughal regime, an important channel of royal and private charity. For the state, while actively beneficent, demanded popular co-operation in the higher values of life as well as in the detection of crime and the maintenance of the social order. Nay more, Kautilya lays it down as one of the imperative duties of the citizen that he should constantly look out in the streets whether the trader has paid the prescribed toll on his ware. "You should never keep screened, or give protection to, men of wicked activities, thieves, bad characters, malicious and offensive persons as well as other wrong-doers."

Space fails to elucidate the other aspects of Hindu political organisation but a word must be said about the schools of political philosophy which arose to explain or direct political action. The vast range of Sanscrit literature, of which twenty-five thousand Mss., a mere fraction, are briefly noticed in Anfrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*, deals with every form of human activity "from cooking, dancing, painting, cattle-breeding, gardening and grooming to erotics, thieving, warfare, navigation and manufacture of military implements, in other words, of dharma, artha, kama and moksha." A critical study of its economic, legal and political works has already begun to widen and enrich the field of political science. The Mahabharat clearly ascribes the origin of the State to a Pact and anticipates the concepts and even the phraseology of Mariana, Hooker, Hobbes, and Locke who wrote three thousand years later. Weary of the anarchy in the state of nature,

where the people devoured each other like fishes in the water and began to perish—that is the famous Matsya Nyaya, 'logic of the fish' of Sanscrit literature,—weary of disorder and uncertainty, the people gathered together, made a pact, formed a government, and agreed to pay taxes to it. From the Mahabharat the doctrine of the Social Contract passed to the legal and political Sanscrit works and thence, in the middle Ages, to vernacular literature, of course, with modifications during the process. For example, a Hindi Mss., preserved in the Chhatarpur Library, substitutes divine guidance for spontaneous human initiative in the establishment of government. Out of the chaos called Matsya Nyaya, the state evolved dharma or law, justice and duty. It is to protect and promote these that the state exists. Dharma, as law, is identified with truth, the creation of Brahma, by the Brihadaranyaka-opanishad. According to Manu, Vashishtha, Bandhayana, and Yajnavalkya it is the practice of the virtuous and the learned. According to Apastambha, it is that which is "unanimously approved in all countries by men of the Aryan society who have been properly obedient to their teachers, who are aged, of subdued senses, neither given to avarice nor hypocrites." It was this law, the eastern counterpart of Greek,—particularly Stoic—Roman and Patristic conceptions of law as morality, which the state was expected to conform to and to enforce. Hence, dharma or rather Vyavahara dharma, came to be identified with positive law in the Austinian sense in Kautilya and Sukra. Jaimini, indeed, anticipates Austinian phraseology when he defines dharma as that desired-for object which is characterized by command, because, he says, "the relation between the word of command and the purpose to which it is directed is eternally efficacious."

The application of law to concrete cases is justice, says Manu. "If justice is violated, it destroys the state, if preserved, it maintains the state. Therefore justice must not be destroyed." Justice, says Sukra, ministers to the virtue of the rulers and the ruled alike and promotes the commonweal. Dharma, as one's duty in life, must be strictly enforced. "Neither a father," says Manu, "nor a teacher, nor a friend, nor a mother, nor a wife, nor a son, nor a domestic priest must be left unpunished if they do not keep within their duty." The state should be a "virtue" state in the Platonic sense, a culture-

state in the modern European sense. The institution of legislation, adjudication and enforcement of duties by the state lifts man out of the law of beasts.

So long as the monarch defends the people, and enforces the true law, justice and duty, he is to be served and revered like a God on earth. A king, says the Mahabharat, is not to be slighted because he is a man. He is really a mighty deity in human form. Manu and the other later law-givers only emphasize the idea. But if the king violates law, justice and duty, he forfeits all loyalty. As we have seen, the Mahabharat counsels the execution of the tyrant at the hands of the people. Kautilya warns the monarchs of the dangers of the public wrath. "The king" says Manu, "who through foolishness arbitrarily tyrannizes over his own state is very soon deprived of his kingdom and life together with his kith and kin." The popular discontent, says Sukra "may gather head and destroy the monarch with his whole family". Further, "repression" may "alienate" the monarch from the subjects and ruin him altogether.

The normal state-machinery consists of seven limbs—sovereign, minister, ally, territory, army, fortress, finance, the seven categories of Hindu political speculation. The sovereign, says Sukra, "is the servant of the people. His revenue is the remuneration for his services. He is a sovereign or master solely in order to protect." He must personally inspect the villages, cities and districts in his realm. He must personally invite and investigate complaints of oppression by state officers and must personally attend to "matters brought forward by the people." Sukra advises the king to "dismiss the officers accused by one hundred men." The Arthashastra prescribes a detailed, minute routine of life for him. The King, however, is advised both by the Agni Purana and the Matsya Purana, "not to decide on the policies alone." As Sukra puts it, even trifling cases can be decided with difficulty by "only one individual." "What can be performed by an unfriended person for a kingdom that is considerable?" "Even the king who is proficient in all the sciences and a past master in state craft should never by himself study political interests without reference to ministers." They are expected to "deliver a king who has gone astray". Indeed, there can be no prosperity in a country where "ministers are not feared by the

king." Pure arbitrariness, adds the law-giver, will degenerate into tyranny and provoke a sweeping revolution. In short, as Kautilya puts it, the ministry is the "sole prop" of the state, and as the Mahabharat says, the counsellors are "the natural leaders of the people." Indeed, in the ancient Aitereya Brahman and the Satapatha Brahman, the king or the president at the time of "election" was expected to "worship" the people "in and through their representatives, the Ratnins, among whom the head of the village elders is one." Sukra says that a king who follows his own whims in defiance of ministerial advice and popular will, is no longer a "legitimate" monarch but "a thief in the form of a ruler", an "exploiter of the people's wealth," a persecutor, a tyrant.

The king and the ministers are enjoined by Manu to realize the maximum possible revenue without inflicting the least possible annoyance—a rather difficult condition. "Just as fruits are gathered from a garden, as often they become ripe, so revenue shall be collected as often as it becomes ripe," such is the ruthless maxim of the Arthashastra. Certain later theorists go further and advise the government to suck the people dry in the manner in which "leeches, calves and bees" help themselves upon their food. Hindu fiscal theory leaves no resources untapped but enjoins at the same time the development of agriculture, reclamation of waste land, encouragement of industry and other national resources. A notable Jain Sanscrit aphoristic work called the Nitiyakyamrita, published for the first time the other day, lays down that "treasure is the life of monarchy."

In normal times, fines, land-revenue, excise, etc., should not be enhanced, says Sukra, "nor should holy places, religious establishments or properties consecrated to the gods be assessed as sources of public income under peace conditions. (But) extraordinary duties and fines may be levied when the state is preparing to maintain an army on war-footing". While the community at large is to be drawn upon for war-finance by regular enhancements of the rates, the pressure of the state is to be borne more distinctively by the rich. And the doctrine is laid down that loans are to be floated by the government to which the wealthy classes should be invited to contribute. The "public debt" is to be redeemed, however, with interest when the national danger is over. As is apparent from these injunctions, Hindu theory

displayed a clear notion of the essence of property. The Hindu conception of the origin of property tallies with the conclusions of modern science. "A field" says Manu "belongs to him who cleared away the forests, and a deer to him who first wounded it." It is, however, only after the emergence of the state, that property receives general recognition. The essence of property consists not in mere bhoga or enjoyment but in namatva or svatva, that is, ownership. Hindu theory certainly dreams of extra-statal and super-political regions where exists no idea of property but it never seems to have contemplated either Platonic or modern communism. Vehicles, apparel, ornaments, jewels and other articles, we are told, "must be enjoyed by those to whom they belong" and one's wife, children and food "must not be encroached upon by others." To ensure this security and enjoyment, the state should inspire fear and inflict punishment. It is impossible to enter here into the Hindu analysis of the distinction between real and personal property, or of the right to use, destroy, transfer, bequeath and sell each species of property, but throughout the whole discussion, Hindu theory recognises that it is state sanction that gives validity to the "seven modes" of acquiring property, to its "three titles" and to other legal incidents.

Besides the internal institutions of the state, interstate relations naturally formed one of the subjects of deep political speculation. The conflict of the centripetal and centrifugal forces divided India into a number of states frequently at war with one another and occasionally falling under each other's subjugation or tyranny. On this point, Hindu theory is curiously self-contradictory. On the one hand, Sukra says, "Great misery comes of dependence on others. There is no greater happiness than that from self-rule." Kautilya lays down that under other-rule the country is "impoverished" and treated "as a commercial article"—the "cattle farm" of John Stuart Mill. On the other hand, the Mahabharat inculcates ceaseless "upward striving" on the ruler. According to Kaman-daka, the *elan vital* of a ruler lies in "the aspiration to conquer," that is, in the destruction of the independence of neighbouring regions. The Rajasuya or Ashvamedha Yajna, the initiation of universal conquest, of Chakravarti or Sarvabhauma rule is a sanctification of unprovoked imperialism. Sanscrit poets and writers are unanimous in lavishing praise

and adoration on heroes like Raghu who, in the pages of Kalidas, for example, runs a rapid career of conquest. Victory, says the Mahabharat, is the root of right. Such unprovoked costly fruitless aggressions on the weak and the harmless has no morality about it but in fairness it must be acknowledged that imperialistic thought only reflects the imperialistic practice which the conflict of unifying and disintegrating forces generated. Sukra says that "all rulers are unfriendly", that "they are secret enemies to those who are rising, vigorous, virtuous and powerful." "What wonder is this? Are not the rulers all covetous of territory?" Every monarch regarded his immediate neighbours as his enemies and the latter's immediate neighbours as his friends and so on. This was the celebrated doctrine of *mandal* or sphere of influence and alliances which, though fanciful at first sight, receives striking corroboration from the history of Indian and European diplomacy.

Force on one side provokes force or fraud on the other. An atmosphere of force and fraud, enveloping a number of independent rival states relaxes the bonds of political thought on political circumstances, that like circumstances in 15th century Italy and ancient India produced exactly the same type of real *politik*. As a school of thought, Machiavellism, in spite of its unpleasant odour, cannot be dismissed lightly. If Machiavelli is, as Acton remarks, "not a vanishing type, but a constant and contemporary influence", it is because, to quote Morley, "energy, force, will, violence still keep alive in the world their resistance to the control of justice and conscience, humanity and right." In one sense, we are shocked by Machiavelli's maxims, "in proportion to our forgetfulness of history". Real politics, specially in an age of intense warfare and diplomacy, must, on its practical side, resolve itself into the negation of morality. It has been said that some pages of the *Prince*, whose author is recognised to be a master of "simple, unaffected, direct, vivid and rational"—an Italian critic says "divine"—prose, are "written with the point of stiletto," but in frankness, vigour and force of style, Machiavelli had long been anticipated by the arch-Machiavellist Kanika, "the counsellor of iniquity" in the Mahabharat.

Briefly we are told, the foe should always be slain, even a weak one is not to be neglected. One should play the blind and the deaf and

otherwise practise deception to achieve the end in view. So long as the times are unfavourable, bear the foe on your shoulders but when the time comes, dash him like a jar on the rock. "One should slay the enemy by (false) oaths or again by bribes, by poison or by treachery ; never should one hesitate. Speak sweetly while you are about to strike ; speak sweetly while you are actually striking ; after the slaughter, profess mercy, mourn and weep.....Without tearing the vitals of the enemy, without performing some dire deeds, without treacherous slaughter, one never attains to dominion". Mr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar does not deal with this subject but it is possible to trace Machiavellism through the whole range of Sanscrit literature. In Bharavai, "Magh" Dandin, Chanakya and others, the stern gospel of "reason of state" overriding all morality is reduced to a code. In contrast with Machia-

vellism stood the school of honest politics which is represented in the Mahabharat by Vidura. It sought to spiritualise politics and inculcated perfect truth and straightforwardness in all dealings. Its teachings were occasionally put to the test, as in medieval Rajputana, but experience generally led to the preference of realism over idealism.

Such are some of the main lines of political speculation observable in ancient Indian literature. The centuries following the death of Harshvardhan witnessed a series of revolutions in quick succession in India. The alteration in the political situation naturally modified the content and methods of political philosophy but the stream of thought never ceased to flow. To instance a single vernacular literature the Hindi works of the last eight hundred years are capable of yielding material for a voluminous treatise on Medieval Indian Political Theory.

AKHNATON, PHARAOH OF EGYPT.

By MR. F. HADLAND DAVIS.

The recent discovery of Tutankhamen's tomb was not an event of exclusive interest to Egyptologists. No discovery in the ancient world has evoked such wide-spread interest. Distinguished visitors poured into the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings. Press representatives and film-operators jostled each other in their eagerness to record, with pen or camera, the wonders of Egyptian art three thousand years ago. Humorous artists have played facetiously with the first syllable of Tutankhamen's name : up-to-date advertisers have offered toffee, pens and motor tyres in a quasi-Egyptian manner, and society women have worn dresses directly inspired by the recent discoveries. In short, Tutankhamen, about whom we know but little, and that little of trifling importance, has become a newspaper stunt, a sensational boom that has moved the civilised world. It has sent those who knew little more of Egypt than that it contained the pyramids and the Sphinx to the

Egyptian Department of the British Museum to gape in wonder at the Rosetta Stone, at huge images of the Gods, at scarabs, canopic vases, mummies and ornate sarcophagi. Granted that the Press has been largely responsible for this boom, worked up from a pianissimo of much promise to a final crescendo before the blue-and-gold resting place of Tutankhamen, the extraordinary response is due, I think, to an innate love of the wonderful and the strange, and above all to that primitive regard most of us possess for buried treasure. The popular interest is a little too fervid and too emotional to last, and soon the more thoughtful members of the community will realise that there are records of life in ancient Egypt, to be found in the British Museum, of far more permanent interest than anything that has been discovered in the newly opened tomb. There they will find a wreath of faded flowers and comb worn by Cleopatra, and in Berlin they will discover a bust of Nefertiti,

wife of Akhnaton, which is so perfect in conception and execution that it will compare favourably with the best work in ancient Greece. This is all the more remarkable when we remember that this exquisite work of art was created long before the Golden Age.

Tutankhamen has received posthumous honour quite beyond his deserts. Like Malvolio he has had greatness thrust upon him, and unless he proves to be the Pharaoh of the Exodus, which seems unlikely, he will soon be forgotten. We may wonder if the soul of Tutankhamen has been disturbed by frequent mention of his name three thousand years after his death. We can picture him in the Fields of Aalu, the *Ushabti* statuettes, made living by priestly incantation, ploughing the soil, sowing the seed and gathering the rich harvest. Tired of celestial joys, one of which was complete cessation from toil, he could visit earthly haunts and even enter his tomb and partake of offerings he found there. It is to be hoped he did go to his earthly resting place this year. If he did, we may be sure that being Tutankhamen was not an unmixed blessing, and that he changed himself into a bird or crocodile or god, into any form that did not remind him of his existence as Pharaoh of Egypt. So only could he escape the attentions of a prying and peeping world that does not honour the dead as the Egyptians honoured the departed when the Nile flowed through Egypt thirty centuries ago.

Rameses the Great defeated the Hittites, subjected Ethiopia and established a fleet in the Mediterranean. If we can identify him with the legendary Sesostris, he was one of those conquerors who almost achieved universal empire. But there was one greater than Rameses II. I refer to Akhnaton. He was not an empire builder, or in any sense a warlike king. He was a dreamer of dreams, and from a material point of view was a lamentable failure who sacrificed his country because his dreams were more desirable than earthly possessions. Three thousand years ago his noble aspirations were in advance of his time, and had he lived to-day he would not have escaped the cry of "madman". Many would have pointed the finger of scorn at him, a God-intoxicated king who, having realised the significance of a Supreme Deity, sought love in the world and hated war.

Mr. Arthur Weigall, in one of the most fascinating books written about Egypt, describes Akhnaton "as the world's first idealist,"

but it seems to me that he goes a little too far in asserting that this Pharaoh "evolved a monotheistic religion second only to Christianity itself in purity of tone." As a matter of fact, long before the birth of Akhnaton, there was more than a trace of monotheistic worship in the Amon-Ra cult. Indeed, side by side with polytheism we have records preserved to this day revealing, in phrases of much beauty, that though the masses followed after many gods and were steeped in every kind of foolish superstition, there were priests and worshippers who had found the One God*. Akhnaton was doubtless aware of this higher form of worship among a few choice spirits, and he can hardly be said to have established monotheism independently of those who preceded him. What he did was to raise monotheistic worship, as he found it, to a higher level, to rob it of priestcraft and complicated liturgies, and make it, not a theological abstraction, but a joyous message that could be spoken as well outside a granary, or on the common highway, as in a subterranean room heavy with incense and loud with the droning voices of the priests of Amon-Ra. To Akhnaton the One God was not simply "the Great Spirit of the Egyptians", but the Supreme Deity of mankind, regardless of nationality.

It is said that the ancient Egyptians were lacking in originality. Perhaps the foreign blood in Akhnaton corrected this national weakness, for no Pharaoh displays a more original character or one less bound by convention. At cosmopolitan Thebes he was probably as familiar with the hymns of Adonis and Baal as he was with the chants of Amon-Ra. There were men in that city who had trafficked in many waters, who had visited Crete, Sardinia, Sicily and Cyprus. There were others who could tell of Arabia and Persia, of Libya and Ethiopia. All that was wonderful, beautiful, strange came to Thebes, and in that city the eager young Pharaoh, with his marked religious disposition, could sift the grain from the chaff, and with quick discernment grasp those truths of enduring value.

It was not the sun, or the sun's disk, or the light and heat of that luminary that inspired the religious and poetical heart of Akhnaton. He was alive to the sun's beauty at dawn and sunset, its splendour at noon when it rode in a

*See *Egyptian Religion*, by Sir E. A. Wallis Budge, pages 18-22.

clear sky, bright as lapis-lazuli. These things were manifestations of the benign Deity. God was light that banished darkness, and filled the heart with joy. Akhnaton had discovered a truth that seemed to him so good that there was no city in Upper or Lower Egypt worthy of its reception. He desired to build a city of his own, a city not priest-ridden or full of animal-headed gods and religious rites that pandered to those who were blinded by superstition. He selected the site of his new city, the City of the Horizon, or Amarna, about 160 miles from the modern Cairo. It was a bold step to take, and one not favoured by those who had previously been responsible for the State religion. Having made up his mind, nothing was allowed to prevent him from carrying out his plans. On this new site he built a palace and great temples, fair gardens and houses for his nobles, roads and causeways, and on an island he erected pavilions and pleasure-houses. Here was a city built in honour of Aton. "All flowers blew", said Akhnaton in one of his hymns, "and that which grows on the soil thrives at Thy dawning, O Aton. They drink their fill (of warmth) before Thy face. All cattle leap upon their feet; the birds in their nest fly forth with joy; their wings which were closed move quickly with praise to the living Aton." And again: "Thy rays encompass the lands... Thou bindest them with Thy love." Love was the keynote in all Akhnaton's wonderful psalms. It was always "the Lord of Love", and unlike the Hebrew psalmist, there was never a suggestion of jealousy or hatred. There was no room for these petty human weaknesses, for as Akhnaton said: "Thy love is great and large." There was no graven image in that city, and only one religious symbol, the sun's disk with extended rays, each ending with a small succouring hand. Already the Egypt Exploration Society at Amarna has discovered many wonders of that city. It yielded in 1887 the famous "Tel-el Amarna Tablets", and in a field of singular promise there is every hope that other valuable discoveries will be made.

There is sufficient evidence to show that Akhnaton's religious aspirations were a guiding force in his life. He was devoted to his wife and children, and contrary to the art conventions prior to his reign, he was frequently depicted, not as an austere Pharaoh, but as a man riding in his chariot with his wife Nefertiti, with his arm about her on some ceremonial occasion, or

in the act of kissing one of his daughters. His manner of life was open to all men. He stood for simplicity. He showed freely his happiness, and cared little, if at all, for the exclusive pomps and ceremonies of kings. Akhnaton detested cruelty, and it is worth recording that during his reign there is not a single pictorial representation of slaves or prisoners being in any way ill-treated. We can only record one act of intolerance, and that is when he ordered the name of Amon to be obliterated throughout Egypt. It was not only erased from temples and tombs and religious texts, but also on distant rocks in the desert and on domestic utensils in private houses. It was the act of a religious fanatic, and even the curious value attached to the written word in ancient Egypt can hardly excuse the Pharaoh from a kind of Cromwellian outburst incompatible with that teaching of love that should have seen in Amon a way to the One God, even if that way were dark and crooked.

The last two years of Akhnaton's life would have moved a man of less deeply-rooted religious ideals. The Hittites had invaded Syria. His God was not like Baal, or Tishub, or Ishtar. He was an uncompromising pacifist, and he would rather lose his far-flung empire than make a mockery of love by adopting warlike measures. He believed "that a resort to arms was an offence to God." Those who were loyal to Akhnaton in distant parts of his kingdom had to contend against overwhelming odds. Urgent letters were sent to the Pharaoh for the prompt dispatch of armies. In one appeal we read: "If his soldiers and chariots come too late, Aziru will make us like the city of Niy... And now Tunir, thy city, weeps, and her tears are flowing and there is no help for us." Again we read of a yet more poignant entreaty: "Let the King take care of his land, and.....let him send troops.....For if no troops come this year, the whole territory of my lord the king will perish." Akhnaton took no notice of these appeals, and sent no soldiers to the aid of those who strove to maintain his kingdom. With mis-shapen head and stooping shoulders, clad in simple raiment, without a single jewel, he chanted hymns of praise to Aton in the City of the Horizon, fondled his wife and children with no concern for the lowering horizon of his empire. At a time when Syria was lost to Egypt he celebrated his jubilee festival, and he had hardly concluded these mock splendours

when news reached the city of other serious losses. With the same inconsistency that marked his Jubilee celebration he gave orders that the names of all the old gods should be erased, so that the name of Aton should alone be glorified. "In the space of a few years," writes Mr. Arthur Weigall, "Egypt had been reduced from a world power to the position of a petty state, from the richest country known to man to the humiliating condition of a bankrupt kingdom."

Akhnaton was an epileptic, and it is probable that this disease, fostered by wide-spread disaster, accounted for his sudden death at a time when Egypt was plunged in darkness and had temporarily fallen from her high estate. "In imagination there seems to ring across the years a cry of complete despair, and one can picture the emaciated figure of this 'beautiful child of the Aton' fall forward upon the painted palace-floor and lie still amidst the red poppies and the dainty butterflies there depicted."

The body of Akhnaton was embalmed and carried to the tomb he had caused to be prepared for its reception. To the last he had never faltered in his worship of Aton. Those who followed after other gods might well point to his failure, and, as a matter of fact, there were many who not only did so, but denounced him as villain and heretic, and erased his name. The City of the Horizon was abandoned, and everything done to execrate the memory of this dreamer of dreams. When his body was discovered in 1907, the coffin had fallen from the bier, and thrown on the ground what little remained of the mummy. A golden vulture, jerked from its original position, had its claws grimly fixed in the left eye-socket of the skull.

All the skill of the embalmer had not saved Akhnaton's body from dissolution, and Time could hardly have dealt more harshly with this royal tomb. Had the old Gods of Egypt, despised by Akhnaton, conquered after all? Had they brought upon this heretic Pharaoh disaster in life, entered his tomb and disordered his last remains? Had they made a mockery of his religious aspirations and blotted them out for ever? We find something more than a broken bier and coffin, bandages turned almost to dust and a gleaming skull. Engraved on gold foil we read an inscription, probably written by Akhnaton himself: "I breathe the sweet breath which come forth from Thy mouth. I behold Thy beauty every day. It is my desire that I hear Thy sweet voice, even in the north wind, that my limbs may be rejuvenated with life through love of Thee. Give me Thy hands, holding Thy spirit, that I may receive it and may live by it. Call Thou upon my name, and it shall never fail."

Those words seem to me a treasure that transcends any work of art found in the tomb of Tutankhamen, any act of Rameses the Great. Akhnaton's dreams were in advance of his time, and they are in advance of our time too. That he should have seen so much three thousand years ago, and remained true to what he saw, is more wonderful than the Great Pyramid or the Hanging Gardens of Babylon. The city he built will be built again, the ideals he stood for will be accepted by the great reformers of the future. No priestly hand can erase his memory, and all the waters of the Nile and Euphrates cannot wash away his vision of Divine Love.

REFORMS HAVE TWO SIDES.

A Simple Study in the Psychology of Change.

By MR. HORACE G. FRANKS.

Reformers are universal and as old as times. The man who has never thought of some kind of a reform has never thought of anything. And yet, for some as yet unfathomed reason, any man who willingly and freely and publicly takes upon himself the role and title of "reformer" at once becomes the target of, at the best, ridicule, and, at the worst, abuse. Roosevelt, himself one of the most rabid of reformers, classed all lovers of change as members of the "lunatic fringe" of society. But as Roosevelt always had a reason for everything he said or did, doubtless he was referring chiefly to those political reformers who were so blind as never to be able to see themselves in the true light, for on one momentous occasion this great American reformer said of such people: "If they polished up the mirrors, the world would not miss so many of those best and healthy of all laughs—the laughs at on's own expense."

All this is by way of an introduction to a Western student's simple thoughts on the much-talked-of Reforms in India. Not that we intend herein to discuss their political merits or demerits, but rather that an attempt might be made to show that the very principle of reform has two sides and that individual psychology has a good deal to do with the enunciation and the propagation of any reforms. And this doubtless suggests a study in humanity instead of an essay on politics—which is exactly the idea intended.

It is known to the writer, of course, that the Reforms in India are by no means new; and yet, as we are so apt to see things with a distorted vision if they are directly under our noses, no apology is made for taking a hurried glance at other "reform-centres" of the world, recognising that a true perspective all too often depends upon a distant point of view. Reforms and reformers have been plodding their weary and thankless way among the sons of men in all ages—and they have worked wonders

of change; but never in all history has there been a gladder and happier and more fruitful time for mild or wild revolutionaries than this quinteth of years that has succeeded the Great War. Scarcely a country in all the world has withstood the temptation to make extraordinary reforms, either in statecraft, national policy, social life, economics, or science; and the result is that we are living in a "new" world, although few will say a "better" one. In some of these cases, the reforms have apparently been forced by circumstances; although a study of those antecedent causes will nevertheless reveal behind each change some dominant individual who belonged to that "lunatic fringe." And what a medley of personalities one finds in this gallery of reformers!

Take the one-time blacksmith, Mussolini, the Cromwell of Italy. The motherland of the Tiber has had many reformers in its time, but none so picturesque and so romantic as he who now succeeds to the dictatorship of Caesar. To-day Italy is ruled by the Fascisti, those black-shirted reformers of the new Rome, but the Fascisti owe their very existence as well as their power to the one man Mussolini who but a few years ago was a struggling socialistic, almost anarchistic, journalist. What a study in psychology is made possible by this man's career! Or take Wilson, the reformer who traded in ideals. In benign blessing he placed his hands on the world's head but, as some cynic has unkindly observed, "look at its coiffure now!" Yet as far as study and morals and wisdom and academics were concerned, there never lived a human creature so ideally fit to suggest and institute reforms as that President-Professor of America. Yet how rejected have been the man and his ideals, making us wonder whether any reforms that are worth having will ever be accepted.

And so we could go on, making these cursory analyses of modern reformers; but that is not our real purpose. We wish to analyse

collectively rather than individually, to examine in a wholesale rather than in a retail way. A study of current history around the world shows that in this matter of reforms, preachers come first and teachers second, with college professors taking the lead of the pedagogues in general. Whether or not there is a *really scientific or psychological* reason for this may be open to doubt, but the following is a suggestion. Kellar, the great magician and illusionist, has said that whenever he had to ask persons in the audience to go up on the stage to examine the apparatus and see how the trick was done, he always gave preference to a clergyman or a college professor, because, he said, those classes always have a theory beforehand. A boy of fourteen looks for everything, for he has done nothing else but learn from others all his life. But with preachers and teachers the case is vastly different. They approach a new situation with a set of preconceived convictions as to how that trick was or should be done, and so they miss the evidence because they are so busy with a theory. And who will deny that this is the cardinal fault of many a reformer?

Again, recent happenings have shown doctors to be very good material either for instigating or advocating any new reform. Baron Gato, known as the Roosevelt of Japan, is a doctor; Riza Nour Bey is a doctor exercising great influence over the new Nationalist Party of Turkey; Mussolini has a private cabinet of men who are doctors; whilst, to go back a little further, when Russia broke up one of the first men to be assassinated by the communists was Shingareff, a little doctor from the interior who was fast becoming the most progressive councillor of Russia's destinies. It may be that the doctor's inherent or acquired love of diagnosis and prescription and his habit of changing the condition of his patients—for better or for worse—is responsible for the presence of medical practitioners in reform schemes; but the fact remains that this profession is particularly susceptible to all suggestions for change.

On the other hand, experience in western lands (particularly with modern Anglo-Saxon peoples) has shown that lawyers are generally very careful about accepting reform suggestions and need to be shown thoroughly before accepting; but that, having once accepted, they stand firmly to the reform they have sponsored. If this is a universal fact, then India has apparently made the best start possible with her

reforms, for undoubtedly it is the men learned in the laws of the land who are her Reform leaders.

Then again, the trouble with most reformers is that they are really selfish. Many a firm believer in change likes reform in direct ratio to the distance it is away from himself; whilst yet another view of the rear side of Reform reminds us that all too often we go off only half loaded. By means of phrases, well-rounded and attractively chosen, we proclaim abroad our intention of doing someone good and we enunciate what looks very much like a plan; but when we have had our say and are pausing for breath to utter more platitudes, a practical person sends us staggering by requesting us to explain step by step just how our plan is to be worked out and on what foundation it is based. Of course, such things as those are not reforms; they are only smoke-castles. But how common they are in the world today!

And so, under the searchlight of simple analysis, how fickle and unromantic reforms and reformers really are! Yet how necessary, how useful, how dangerous! But reforms, like trees, are known by their fruits, and so the acid test of any reform or revolution is the character of its rank and file, that essential part of the scheme which is made up of those ordinary creatures who believe heartily, who hope enthusiastically, who sacrifice cheerfully, and who are foursquare on the movement for betterment. True, they may be wrong and deceived; but they comprise the back bone of progress, the conscience of change—and hence are indispensable. It is to this portion of the community that the leaders of the Indian reforms should now look; upon them should be placed the great responsibility of decision. In India that will undoubtedly be the hardest work of the generation. But it must be done—and by Indian leaders—if any Reforms are to be effective. And with this observation our dissertation must cease, unless we take just a little space to repeat what the disciple of Roosevelt has to say on this question of the "lunatic fringe" of society. And if every reformer, either in or out of India, were to graduate in this course of logic and reasonableness, then would all our reforms be subjected to a test which would forever decide their victory or their fate. This is the outline of that course:—

"If you are going to be a lunatic, be a good

one; be reasonable. Ask yourself these questions :

"Do I know what I am talking about? Have I the facts? Am I following a real cause or I am following some other fellow's personal ambitions to be famous at my expense? What is the A B C of the idea? Am I listening to phrases, or is there a real bill of particulars?

What will it cost? What will it achieve? What effect will it have on the world a century hence? Will it then be considered a real reform or merely a fanciful whim of a foolish man? Am I a sensible lunatic or a senseless one?"

And who will dare deny that any of us would be the worse for sitting for such an examination dealing with our pet reform?

THE FUTURE OF COTTAGE INDUSTRIES.

By MR. L. N. GOVINDARAJAN.

When the West is revising her judgment of her own economic institutions, should India adopt them wholesale in order to repeat in her own soil the social evils of the West? Should India's Industrial system be a feeble echo of the western system of organisation? The problem before us should be, "What changes must India's socio-economic institutions undergo in order that India shall be progressive, and yet be India retaining the Indian type and spirit?"

I. The Survival of Indigenous Industries.

The cottage industries of our country represent a type of organisation which has been discredited in the West. There, with the industrial revolution, began the tendency towards massive production. The cottage organisation gradually declined and became extinct in many industries. Even in India the old indigenous cottage organisation is generally regarded as a medieval form of industry which has become obsolete. The reason for this general dislike of cottage industry is not far to seek. Handloom weaving, which was the most important rural craft, suddenly and rapidly declined during the last few decades in competition with the mill industry, and this illustration is used to show that the extinction of the cottage system in other industries also will be inevitable. But it is forgotten that the decline of handloom weaving was not due solely to economic causes

but also to the repressive commercial policy of the East India Company.

The advantages of large scale industry have often been overestimated by some Indian Economists. They do not recognise that huge operations require increasing reliance on hired labour and less on spontaneous self-interest. The *doyen* of English Economists, Professor Marshall, observes shrewdly the fact that in small industries the master's eye is everywhere, and that there is no shirking by his foreman, no sending half-understood messages from one department to another, and no divided responsibility.

A study of the existing cottage industries of India shows that many of them have great vitality even under the present depressing circumstances. We may well contend that they are living forms of economic organisation, which, if certain improvements both in the mechanical processes as well as in business management are adopted, have a brilliant future before them.

How are we to account for this steady persistence of such a type of organisation in this country? We can account for this by saying that they are adapted to the peculiar environment of this country. Just as the economic institutions of the western world are suited to its physical and social environment, so also the Indian geographical and historical atmosphere has evolved its characteristic type of economic life and organisation. This explains the sur-

vival of small industries with an astonishing tenacity. Consequently it would be wrong policy to introduce wholesale systems and methods of industrial organisation which have suited a different environment leaving our indigenous crafts to die a natural death.

Agriculture in all lands is associated with small industries carried on at home. In our country the necessity of running small industries is easily understood if we remember that nearly three months in the year agriculture is at a standstill. Moreover large scale farming is unknown in our country on account of our systems of land-tenure and inheritance. Landed property is subdivided and each member of the family gets only a small plot of land to cultivate. When the number of small proprietors increases, small rural industries develop as subsidiary vocations. In England the destruction of cottage industries is primarily to be ascribed to the rural exodus. On the other hand the prosperous agriculture of France has been always a support to village industries.

In India at present during certain months of the year, cultivators are turned into basket-makers, rope-makers, and weavers of coarse cloths. Industry becomes the second string in the bow of the agriculturist. As industry is carried on in the midst of the family, the artisans can work for longer hours; women also in the interval of their domestic work may assist the artisans in the easier processes of industry. The artisan finds a wholesome support not only in the collaboration of the members of his family, but also in the moral element which is the consequence of work at home. Now-a-days facilities are being provided to bring mechanical appliances and motive power within the reach of small autonomous producers. If electrical energy generated by water-power is transmitted over long distances, many a cottage industry can be placed on a sound business footing.

The cottage producer knows the personal needs of his customers and can satisfy individual desires. If every customer desires his own taste to be consulted, the old indigenous industry will be given a new lease of life. In proportion as people develop the artistic sense and individuality of taste, the manual dexterity of the artisan will play a more important part in industry than at present and repel the encroachments of machinery. Only in so far as standardisation of products is possible machinery will be useful. When articles have to be made to suit the

aesthetic sense of every individual, cottage industry can easily hold the field.

It is worthwhile therefore to encourage the development of our indigenous crafts and industries, and in this process of revival and formative growth, the best methods of applied science of the West will have to be adopted. In an immense number of trades, it is not the superiority of the technical organisation in a factory which militates against small industry, but rather the more advantageous conditions for selling the produce and for buying the raw-material. These difficulties can be solved by the universal adoption of Co-operation.

II. Co-operation and Cottage Industry.

(a) Co-operative Finance.

Mutual credit societies help the artisans with financial aid. Not only are the artisans unable to effect a remunerative sale of their wares on account of their poverty, but the very quality of other goods suffers on account of their miserable financial condition. Advances of money, tools or machinery might be made both by the Government as well as by private individuals to deserving and selected artisans. But self-help, even in the sphere of industry, is the best help. Consequently it is co-operation alone based on mutual aid that can tackle the problem very effectively.

(b) Co-operative purchase of raw-materials and sale of finished goods.

At present the artisans purchase raw-materials singly at retail prices. Expenses of transport are also charged heavily when purchases are small and the distance to be carried is great. But if they unite together in their purchases the advantages are obvious. Supplies can be bought at wholesale prices; freight will be charged less proportionately, and the supply will be of good quality. The co-operative society will not only bring raw-materials cheaper, it will also teach them to use the stuff more economically. Thus Professor Gide writes. "Co-operative association under the different forms of productive association for the purchase of raw-materials, or for the sale of finished goods, or Societies for mutual aid, aided by mechanical inventions that of substituting electrical power for steam and enabling us to transport motive power from the place of its

generation to the place of its application, will permit new forms of industrial enterprise capable of resisting successfully the encroachments of large-scale industry."

Co-operative Societies may also undertake the sale of finished goods at a more remunerative price. Whether the associated sale-societies should accept the products brought to them on their own account or whether they should merely exhibit them is difficult to decide. Products whose value is a question of changing tastes of the consumers should not be purchased by the Society.

III. Conclusion.

India is in the throes of a great industrial revolution. The Indian Industrial organisation will be affected profoundly by its coming into contact with western nations. But its evolution will on the whole be circumscribed by the peculiar geographical and historical environment of our land. The Western nations after a period of unparalleled success in the investiga-

tion of the concrete world, the conquest of nature and adaptation of mechanical contrivances to the material ends of life are approaching in every department a critical period. The far-reaching developments of commercialism are undermining the stability of industry. One-tenth of the British population dies in the gaol, the work-house and the lunatic asylum. Science has corrupted art, and the aims of both are confused. The problem of the equitable distribution of wealth is subordinated to that of its production. But India is busy with providing each family with at least the minimum necessities of life. This is the object which her Socio-economic institutions like the Joint-family system and caste, her system of land-tenure and law of inheritance, her social and ethical ideals, aim to achieve.

The Western economic organisation is essentially faulty, and there is a persistent cry for reform and even for its destruction. Will not India avoid the dangers of excessive concentration of production and profit by the bitter experience of the West?

POVERTY AND WASTE IN INDIA.

By RAO BAHADUR SARDAR DR. M. V. KIBE, M.A., LL.D.

The two most outstanding features of the economic life of India are Poverty and Waste. If hidden in cities under a layer of the glamour of luxuries, they are laid bare in rural India. On every side, extreme poverty is accompanied by a ruinous waste. There is waste of life, waste of energy, waste of time, waste of raw materials in every quarter. The poverty of this vast continent is an admitted fact. That it is due, in a large measure, to methods of waste, ingrained in the life of the people, is perceived by a few only.

While the inhabitants of countries not so favoured by nature as a large part of India undoubtedly is, are assiduously engaged in husbanding and utilising their resources, the

natives of this vast continent vie with one another in showing an utter disregard of them.

What a waste of life takes place in India? While in ancient times in India, the maximum period of the human life was fixed at 120 years, and the average expectation of life was not below a hundred, in some other countries the maximum did not extend beyond three score and ten years. But now the tables have been completely turned. The Indian expectation of the duration of life at birth is 22.59 for males and 23.31 for females, as compared with the expectation of life in England, which is 46.4 and 50.02 years respectively. Worse is the case in cities. In some of them at least it falls as low as 16 years. Indeed, it is feared that

the duration of the life of Indians is becoming progressively shorter.

It is shocking to think of the awful significance of this fact. Of what use are the increasing material comforts or rich mental endowments to a nation of so short-lived human beings as the figures quoted in the preceding paragraph portend. A prodigy like the Madras mathematician, Ramanujan, may be an ornament to the country, but how heart-rending is the tragedy of his short-lived life. Had not Edison lived to a ripe old age, would the fruits of his genius have been so many as are met with? Is not time a great factor in human affairs?

The chief cause of this waste of life in India is the extreme poverty of its inhabitants. Estimates of the annual income per capita vary between Rs. 20 and 42 only. Paltry as this figure is, the rise in the prices of even the necessities of life, makes it appallingly low. It is not difficult to imagine that not an insignificant part of the population must be living on empty stomachs. It is within the writer's own knowledge how indifferent to life people living in parts of India are. Granting that the wages of labour have increased—even though it is doubtful if they have increased in the same proportion as the rise in prices—yet, the earnings of persons having fixed incomes and of the middle classes have been almost stationary. This state of things has darkened the out-look on life to an extent which can be better imagined than described.

Food is the prime necessity of life, but it is most allowed to go to waste. The inefficient methods of agriculture and storing of grains cause meagre production and appalling loss. A statistical comparison with other countries will show how small is the productive capacity of the soil in India. And yet manures are utilised as fuel or allowed to go abroad. Fields are scarcely manured and sources of irrigation are not tapped. The damage done to grain by rats alone is enormous. The grains thus lost annually would feed many a hungry mouth.

The absence of wide-spread scientific training and the extreme poverty of the people prevent them from increasing production by the use of appropriate measures and the erection of rat-proof storehouses for grain. Their absence and the rigidity in the collection of the state revenues compel cultivators and small traders to dispose of their grains to foreign merchants

on disadvantageous terms. The absence of co-operation among themselves and between them and the government of the country compels the cultivators to rely on individual efforts, which result in waste in many directions.

The costly government necessitates a ruinous export and import trade in a starving country. This trade gives an indication of the economic life of a people. In India, the biggest item on the import side is cloth and on the export foodgrains, which in value almost balance each other. While India has the largest acreage under cotton in the world, its imports are topped by cloth and while the normal condition of millions of its inhabitants is starvation, foodgrains head the list of its exports. Is this not sufficient to make men pause and consider?

The minute division of land, under the operation of the laws of the country hinder large scale production for want of concentration of capital and in this country where the joint-stock and limited liability company systems are rare, it tends to arrest progress. The caste system leads to the same result. Its defect is that it gives little scope for acquiring increased skill. The father cannot teach more than he knows and the son learns only from his father. Life becomes monotonous and wedded to a routine.

Poor physique due to starvation easily succumbs to insanitary conditions. Sanitation is not even heard of in rural India and in cities its rules are evaded. Not only epidemics rage with such fury as to stop only when no human beings are left to fall a victim to them. The normal conditions are wretched. But for the sunny climate and the fresh air breezes that prevail throughout the greater part of the year all over India, it would have been as depopulated as Siberia.

Even as it is, as noticed by Mr. Moreland, who, as a revenue settlement officer, had a close acquaintance with the conditions in Northern and Central India, observed "although particular parts of India are overcrowded, India as a whole is not." There are many parts of India where the soil is as fertile as the Gangetic valley but the other conditions being wanting, the population there is scarce.

Bad as is the economic condition of the people, it is made worse by their social customs and habits. Litigation, the customs of early marriages and those of the social habits which prompt improvident expenditure in ceremonial functions, and the maintaining of old institu-

tions, without improvements, both secular and religious, add to the miseries of the people. Rulers of States and religious heads, with rare exceptions, are unmindful of the economic conditions of the country. Under the name of religion a large number of rich and poor beggars is supported. Able-bodied men, endowed by physique and brains, pass away their time in indulgences, or recitation of texts or counting of beads from the morn till the dawn and from the beginning till the end of the year.

Almost one half of the population of India is condemned to be wasted by the subordinate position in life assigned to the womankind. It deprives society of a substantial potential strength. Its full value can only be appreciated by knowing how the women of Western countries are helping their better half in lightening the burdens of society. Her Highness the Maharanee of Baroda has recorded her keen observations of the doings of the so-called weaker sex in Great Britain and in order to emphasise the contrast the conditions found there and those in India has characteristically called it "The Position of Women in India." A mere perusal of the book will open the eyes of its reader and convince him of the waste of energy committed in this country.

The industry pursued by the four-fifths of the population is husbandry, yet, it is conducted in a wasteful manner. Barring a few favoured tracts, cultivated under irrigation, it is a seasonable industry requiring labour for fixed periods and at intervals. The agricultural labour, while not engaged, idles away its time for want of anything to do. As a writer on economics has said, "A people may be dulled because of too little, enervated because of too much, and degraded because of ill-chosen amusement." He who runs may see all these conditions prevailing in the country.

Their existence has led the people to indulge in intoxicating drugs and drinks to a very wide extent. The loss to body and wealth caused thereby is incalculable. Men in the prime of life and of great promise become useless and a danger to society. Addicted to these vices, men degrade themselves to the status of brutes. The tragedy of it is that the evil results of these habits do not stop with themselves. If their children survive their childhood, they remain subject to the tendencies of their parents and to illnesses and also infectious diseases.

Unable to lighten the burden of the surround-

ing depressing conditions, the out-look on life of the people has become morose. Brightness or sprightliness, even among children, is mostly gone and if it shows itself it is not encouraged. Some classes of the people value idleness more than the possibility of saving money or increasing expenditure. If people find that they are making more than a living, they may do less work, in other words, they may decrease their production instead of increasing it. Health is neglected. Natural health-giving resorts or springs are taken no advantage of. Life is not made brighter by travel, although crowds resort to holy places giving rise to epidemics by their insanitary way of living.

The opening up of the country by means of railways financed by companies under foreign management and financed by capital raised outside India, combined with the policy of *laissez faire* have caused the destruction of old handicrafts and narrowed the avenues of profession. The evil has not been counterbalanced by the establishment of a few modern industries. The pressure on land has increased. The things have become worse by the tendency of the Indian parents to look very much to the present position. As observed by Mr. Moreland, "They do not make sufficient allowance for possible changes, and hence we find that the competition for old established professions or occupations is exceedingly keen and the rate of earning is thus lowered; while it is sometimes very hard to find men qualified to work in occupations or professions of more recent establishment."

Owing to lethargic habits, no value is attached to time. It is minded to a certain extent where the railway has reached, but in all walks of life there is frightful waste of time. To a people crowding a few occupations, the saying that 'time is money' has no meaning. People waste their time in performing their daily duties, as well as in idle talk. How to kill time is a problem with them. Emaciated and inefficient labour is employed where labour saving machines will do the same work quicker and at a lesser expense. Even human labour is uncared for. It is not realised that improvement in sanitation is necessary not only because it will keep more men alive, but it will keep many more labourers in good health and fit for work.

This apparent disregard of human life is not due to inhumanity. It is the result of the

general apathy, caused by the depressing economic condition of the country. Capitalists in all countries are selfish and greedy. The author of *Germany of To-day* notes: "The mal-treatment of agricultural labourers, chicanery in connection with the payment of wages in money and kind and particularly monstrous abuses in connection with the electoral laws are still subjects of complaint." Even Mr. Moreland admits. "The economic history of India is not sufficiently known to justify definite general statement that the labourers were slaves and that wages began in this way."

Along with the waste of the individual and communal resources, there is the utter waste of national resources. Bulky raw materials are exported for manufacture in foreign countries. Speaking, a few months ago, before a London audience, Sir Thomas Holland, sometime Member for Commerce & Industry in the Government of India, pointed out that although the two greatest needs of India were cheap power, and sulphuric acid, which was the basis of many chemical industries, the water-power resources were neglected and the raw material from which the acid could be made was exported.

Apologists of the British administration in India, e.g., the late Dewan Bahadur Shrinivas Raghav Aiyangar, in his *Forty years' Progress in the Madras Presidency*, are accustomed to refer to certain signs of material improvements as evidence of the prosperity of the country. As regards this view, Mr. Bannerji, in his *Indian Economics*, rightly observes: "India will not be any the better or happier for getting a large amount of what many people wrongly term refinement." "To judge whether a standard is high or low," he continues, "we have to inquire whether or not it conduces to the welfare, moral or material, of the persons, who have adopted it."

There is concurrent testimony that before the people can take advantage or even think of refinements, the bulk of them is in dire want of primary necessities. To quote only two of the writers, one a student of economics, and the other a well-trained and sun-dried bureaucrat. Mr. Bannerji says, "The present income of the bulk of the people, as is evident, is insufficient for an adequate supply of even the necessities of life. When an increase commences, the first few doses will, therefore, go to make up the

deficiency on the score of primary wants and later doses will be devoted to the satisfaction of the higher needs." Mr. Moreland is more emphatic. He says "The first consideration is that India is a poor country. The people, as a whole, want a large increase in wealth to satisfy their most urgent wants; many of them need nourishing food, better clothes, better houses, better health, better education, to name only a few of those wants."

But relying on the figures of imports, India is said to be the sink of precious metals and therefore wealthy. Apart from the fact that having regard to India's vast population, the amount of the import of precious metals is not so formidable as it looks, the very import is largely due to the low standard of living of the people, who have to export even the prime necessities of life, for want of industries. Moreover, mere accumulation of wealth is not capital. Says Mr. Moreland, "In India, as in other countries, there is a strong inclination on the part of the people to accumulate a stock of wealth, but there is not yet the same inclination as elsewhere to employ the stock of wealth as capital, and a very large proportion of the wealth of the country is not capital."

Governments in India, are, with a few exceptions, unmindful of the social reforms. The very term is applied in a very restricted sense. It comprehends only reforms pertaining to society. Few measures for the welfare of the people are undertaken. Measures like the opening up of the country by means of roads, railways, telegraphs or posts, have been introduced for the convenience of the government and on commercial lines. Those like housing reforms, land improvements, old age pensions, sanitation, stopping of beggary and provision of work-houses are never dreamt of.

Wedded to the fetish of efficiency and the maintenance of the British supremacy by force, the paramount government in India is not able to spend anything adequately on the welfare of the people. In the Indian States even mass education and medical relief are ornamental things. Both the Indian government and the Indian States, with a few exceptions, are inured to the idea of exploiting the vices of the people; the revenues from the monopoly in intoxicating drinks is next only to those derived from the land tax.

The state of Baroda alone has shown some consciousness of its duty to its subjects. Rail-

ways have been carried to all parts of the State, sea-ports are being developed, raw-materials and minerals are being worked by indigenous agency, masses are being trained by free and compulsory primary education and the establishment of libraries in their midst, attention is paid to village sanitation, model villages have sprung up, various social abuses are being done away with by legislation and by the action of the people, money has been diverted to actively useful subjects from effete institutions, and above all Panchayats are becoming a potent factor in the State. Mysore, under Sir M. Vishveswarayya bade fair to approach or even out-distance Baroda, but unlike the rule of His Highness Maharaja Sayagirao Gaekwad, which has now happily lasted over a generation, Sir M. Vishveswar's activities were cut short when they were in full-swing.

In order that both poverty and waste may be prevented, both the Government and the people must co-operate and combine. The first consideration is now to obtain more means to spend either by increasing production or by stopping unnecessary expenditure. The second is to utilise the resources thus increased towards the amelioration of the condition of the people.

The paramount government should rid itself of its commercial tendencies inherited from the East India Company. This can only be accomplished when India is given fiscal autonomy, and the voice of the people is made effective in its administration. As it is, India's finances are solely in the hands of the mouth-piece of the British Parliament. The autocrat of the India office wasted 35 crores of India's money, in the mad pursuit of the stabilisation of the exchange, before people realised what was happening. He burdens India's revenues by borrowing in England. The investment of India's reserves in English securities has caused serious losses to us.

Next to the reform in its government, India wants two things. Firstly, it should realise that any system of production that will increase wealth is desirable and secondly means should be devised to secure the employment as capital of such wealth as is now lying idle.

By far and away the largest industry of India is agriculture. The success achieved by Rai Sir Gangaram Bahadur of the Punjab, demonstrates how the profits from it can be multiplied. What is required is study and application. The steps taken by the govern-

ment in this country are both inadequate and incommensurate with the magnitude of the task.

The next problem is that of agricultural labour. It affects the largest unit of the people, yet, it has received the scantiest attention. In some places labourers starve for want of work and in others work suffers owing to an insufficiency of labourers. To remedy this state of things, a practical economist suggests, "Though particular parts of India are overcrowded, India, as a whole, is not. Therefore, the problems before the Indian statesmen to-day refer not to limiting the numbers of people, but to facilitating their more even distribution over the country and to increasing the production of wealth, partly by the improvement of agriculture and partly by the development of those industries, for which the country affords a wide scope and which would give employment and subsistence to what now seems its surplus population."

Another high authority, of pre-commission days, Sir H. S. Cunningham has stated as his considered opinion, "The direct, deliberate and systematic promotion of industrial enterprise is not a less important duty and its recognition by the state, would, I believe, be the most important administrative reform of which the Indian system is capable."

That the pursuit of the policy advocated in the preceding two paragraphs cannot fail to raise the condition of the labourers may be seen from the experience of Germany, for example. Mr. Charles Tower, in his "Germany of Today", writes, "But it probably required the industrial development of the (German) Empire with the threatening depopulation of the country and the rush to industrial centres to put an end to the *de facto* serfdom. It was and is the drainage of the labour to towns which produced, or is producing, tolerable conditions of life for the (agricultural) labourers."

Agriculture being a seasonal industry, the labourers in the field, to use the term in its widest sense, have sufficient work in seasons only; the remaining period, it is in idleness, that they pass their time. In countries like Japan, it is utilised for cottage industries, which, thanks to a fine sub-division of labour, flourish, along with and in some cases, inspite of industries conducted by means of machinery. In India owing to a variety of causes, hardly a flourishing cottage industry has been left. All

things considered, the spinning wheel cannot but prove a remedy to many of their ills.

India supports a large number of beggars, mostly under the impulse of religion. Although it may not be, at present, possible to undertake such measures as the stopping of begging, the establishment of work-houses and the giving of old age pensions, in British India, the Indian States can easily set an example in this respect. Freed from the anxiety of defence they can devote their energies to the carrying out of social reforms, in the widest sense of the term. Some of them, at least, may undertake the regulation of economic holdings, which cannot but effect a fundamental and highly favourable condition in the industry of agriculture.

Wide diffusion of scientific knowledge is one of the greatest needs of India. Ground for it will be prepared by the introduction of free and compulsory primary education, with a due provision for the education of adults and men engaged in earning their living. The educational activities of Indian governments do not lead to many avenues; it is confined to narrow channels. Few occupations have thus been left to Indians. What they desire are opportunities and knowledge. For instance, the Indian agriculturist, thanks to the practical training he has received for generations, takes to anything that will really increase his out-put. What he needs to be taught further is to save labour and to utilise his spare time in other productive occupations.

India suffers from want of food as well as money. Measures for removing both these wants should be introduced. Improvement in agriculture and a change in the nature of the foreign trade will remove the want of food. The work of the co-operative societies is a powerful means of meeting the want of money, but their work has to be greatly expanded before it can appreciably affect the existing condition.

Opening up of the country by means of easy means of communication will introduce modern conditions of life in the interior of India. Proper means of communication hitherto have only been provided on Imperial and Commercial considerations. Metalled roads, and especially railways, disregard villages and even towns. Instead of expecting new centres of trade to spring up, people should be left undisturbed in their old centres, as, otherwise, great dislocation with painful result is caused. The con-

nection of villages and towns by means of roads or railways with main lines of communication should be systematically undertaken. In British India, something is done in this direction, although, for want of money, local boards are very much handicapped.

The central authorities must systematically set apart sums for the development of not only urban but rural areas. The Indian States are generally prone to look too much to their capitals. The provision of good drinking water is a prime necessity. Housing and other sanitary reforms should be introduced. Not only the inhabited sites of villages should be improved, but fields attached to them need looking into. The importance of neatness and beautiful surroundings should be impressed on all and measures leading to them should be forcibly introduced.

Although India is a poor country, the Indian Secretary of State is one of the biggest individual bankers. All his investments are made outside the country, although the crying need of India is capital. The simple amalgamation of the Presidency Banks, instead of the establishment of a State Bank is to be deplored. Until an effective change is made in the foreign trade of India, the India Banks and merchants will continue to be living only on brokerage and speculation. There are a few joint stock concerns to work agricultural land but these should be multiplied, preferably, on co-operative basis. Joint stock concerns to work waste lands on the latest scientific methods should be started. Productive and distributive co-operation will greatly raise the prosperity of the country.

Much can be done by the people themselves to ameliorate their hard lot. The two biggest items in the import and export trade of the country are cloth and yarn and food-grains have to be exported as cloth is wanted. Cotton is exported; for it cannot be turned into yarn in the country. The spinning and weaving of cotton as a subsidiary occupation by at least the 80 per cent. of the population, in which case, be included women and children, will not fail to greatly diminish the drain indicated by the above-quoted figures of the foreign trade of the country.

The people should be on their guard against one of the greatest dangers caused by increased facilities of communication. It is the bringing of cheap articles of foreign manufacture and things of luxury to their very doors. In an

industrially back-ward country, placed in such circumstances, plain living must be practised by the people, from the leaders downwards. Swadeshism must be strictly adhered to. Although the idea of a self-contained village is incompatible with the opening up of the country, yet, advantage should be fully taken of materials available for use and for the propagation of handicrafts.

Poverty has spread despondency in the country. It has brought in lethargy. The spread of the cult of beauty will alone raise the the country from this slough of despond. Appreciation of beauty is not dependent on its costly trappings. Beauty is free from such trammels. It goes hand in hand with simplicity. Indian religions inculcate its tenets, but they have become lifeless. Nothing is so beautiful as devotion to one's own country.

Nature has beauty writ large on its face. Truth is beautiful. Virtues are so ; vices are ugly. Cleanliness is the supreme beauty.

Volumes have been written according to the experience and thought of authors, showing how to uplift the masses. It may not be within the competence of each and every body to give a practical scope to all these ideas, but it is possible for everybody to give currency to all of them and practise some. India's present problem is to stop waste and reduce poverty. Her Highness the Maharanee Chimna Bai Saheb of Baroda's *The Position of Women in India* and Sir M. Vishveshwarayya's *Reconstructing India* are volumes which may be taken as safe guides by all for this purpose.*

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INDIAN MUSIC.

By MR. M. S. RAMASWAMI AIYAR.

III.*

History of Music.

1. Having studied the origin and function of music, we shall try to find out what part it played in the annals of our country. In other words, let us learn a bit of the History of Indian Music.

2. In Greece, Pythagoras is said to have brought music under arithmetical rule and found that the seven planets were ever related to one another as the seven notes and, as such, produced, in their movements, "the Music of the Spheres" which, in India, the Siva Dance or rather the mystic dance of Nataraja was perhaps intended to symbolise. One thing is certain that, in both Greece and India, music has come down from the beginning of the world and is deemed to be as eternal as God. Indeed, in India, music is ever associated with Saraswathi.

3. Thumburu and Narada have been handed down from time immemorial as two of the foremost of the earliest musicians that India ever produced. But what was the nature of the theory and practice of music during their times? How were their *vinas* fretted and tuned? Was their music based on a perfect or an imperfect scale? Which of the three *gramas* did they make use of? These questions remain yet unanswered.

4. The first public use of music by every nation has been in religious rites and ceremonies. The ancient Egyptians celebrated their festivals with hymns. The classic Greeks used music in rhapsodising the *Iliad*. The Chinese, the Tartars, and even the Negroes solemnised their worship with songs and dances. The reason is obvious. By music alone such rites and such worship could be amplified and prolonged ; and by music alone, the same state of feeling could be raised and sustained in a great crowd of people. Even in Italy, music—when it revived in 330 A. D.—was used in connection

*Parts I & II appeared in April and July, 1923.

with the Church. The Aryans of India did not form an exception to the rule but chanted Vedas—Rig, Yajur and Sâma—on all occasions of festivals. Sâma, however was the really musical portion of the Vedas and was indeed a mere melody for which words were found in the Rig or Yajur.

5. The history proper of Indian music may be said to begin with Sâmagânam, § the pre-Sâma period being mythical and legendary. The Sâmagânam was mainly vocal; and Instrumentalists were then fewer than vocalists, for the simple reason that time and patience were required more for the former than for the latter and that man would in the first place prefer to use the best possible instrument in the world, *viz.*, his own Larynx. The Sâman Scale* also points to the same conclusion. Further, the resonant vowels and the metrical nature of the Sanskrit Language jointly contributed to the development of vocal rather than instrumental music, in as much as they presented the least possible obstacles to good vocalisation. Indeed from the point of language and climate, Indian music is destined to be metrical rather than rhythmical, vocal rather than instrumental, melodic rather than harmonic, and individual rather than concerted.

6. Originally, Indian music was confined to six and only six Ragas, *viz.*, Srirag, Vasantha, Bhairav, Panchama, Megha and Natanarayana, corresponding respectively to the six seasons of the year, *viz.*, Sisira (February and March), Vasantha (April and May), Grishma (June and July), Sharad (August and September), Varsha (October and November), and Hemantha (December and January). The first five Ragas are supposed to have emanated out of the five faces of Shankara, *viz.*, Sadyojatha, Vamadeva, Aghora, Thathpurusha and Isana; and the last Raga out of Parvathi. Thus, our ancients were carefully trained to sing those six Ragas, or songs therein, in such a manner as would compel the minds of the singers as well as hearers to associate them with the natural phenomena pertaining to the various seasons. For instance, *Srirag* would revive hilarity on the appearance of blossoms; *Vasantha* would cause vernal delight in the months of Chaithra and Vaishaka;

Bhairav would cause langour during the dry heats of Grishma; *Panchama* would recall the autumnal merriment at the close of the harvest; *Megha* would bring in the needed refreshment during the first rains; and *Natanarayana* would suggest the separation and melancholy during cold months. The apportioning of the ragas to the seasons was not without a reason. "The velocity or slowness of sounds," observed Sir W. Jones, "must depend, in a certain ratio, upon the rarification and condensation of the air, so that their motion must be quicker in summer than in spring or autumn and much quicker than in winter. Hence the primary Ragas of the Hindus were arranged according to the number of Indian seasons." This restriction of music was not peculiar to India. "The Egyptians," observed Plato, "were restricted by their laws to certain fixed melodies which they were not permitted to alter. The Egyptian legislators laid it down as a principle that young men in cities should be accustomed to beautiful figures and beautiful melodies and that they should be exhibited in temples as an institution. The painters and other artificers were forbidden by law from introducing any new or foreign beauty or melody into the country." Plato considered these restrictions as proper and necessary to prevent the introduction of sensual licentiousness and effminacy in music. Such a restriction existed even in Italy. St. Ambrose (374—397) decreed that all songs should be composed only in the four authentic modes chalked out by him, *viz.*, Dorian (Karaharapriya); Phrygian (Hanumathodi); Lydian (Mechakalyani) and Mixolydian (Harikamboji). Pope Gregory the Great (590—604) added four more modes, *viz.* Ionian (Sankarabharanam); Aeolian (Nata-bhairavi); Hypo-Phrygian (?); and Hypo-Mixo-Lydian (?) and called them, for distinction, Plagal Modes. All these eight modes went by one name—"the Gregorian Modes." The whole music of western Christendom was restricted to these Gregorian modes and exercised a wholesome influence, especially during the time of Charlemagne. Thus we see that, in primitive times, music was under a wholesome restriction which served to keep its running water crystal and pure.

7. It was however when the Raginis and Puthras were introduced that foreign elements mixed themselves, for the first time, with the original system; and the strict discipline of

‡ सामवेदादि दं गौतं संजग्राह्यपितामहः

—Sangitharatnakara.

*We will deal with it in our next article on 'Physics of Music'.

Indian music became not a little relaxed, just as the Italian music became diluted immediately after the introduction of Madrigals into it. Thenceforward the Indian music carried with it a fatal tendency which for a time threatened to vitiate or destroy the whole system, *viz.*, the tendency of developing the secular, as opposed to the religious or spiritual, phase of music and of thus leading men and women astray to the baser side of human nature. The great Manu himself became afraid of it and wrote: "A student of Vedas must avoid ointments, collyrium, lust, anger, greed, dancing and music"! Music was finally strangled, though not to death, by Buddhism and Jainism. The former looked askance at it, while the latter gave it a positive set-back. The reason is that both Buddhism and Jainism developed an extremely perverted view on the philosophy of desire. One of their chief tenets, it is well-known, was the extinction of desire. They worked up this tenet a little too much and argued in a vicious circle thus: "the rose is good but the thorn is bad; since they persist in growing together, both of them must be, alike, destroyed." The idea of plucking the rose and chucking the thorn was not within their purview. Hence, together with the thorn of its baser side, the very rose of music was attempted to be destroyed. Thank God that the Guardians of Humanity deported Buddhism to East Asia and interned Jainism, in Mount Abu. With the disappearance of these two enemies of music, sangitham began to flourish again in India. To save it from slipping again into the hands of the dregs of society, high-minded sages like Bharatha took it up, enhanced its dignity and gave it a more and more scientific aspect.

8. Bharatha's *Natyashasthram* (6th century A. D.) was the first available work in India which purported to deal with music as such. The two Indian Epics, *Rikprathisakya*, *Jataka*, *Paripadal*, and *Silappadikham*, take you to a labyrinth of phraseologies but give you no better information than what the Vedas have already given. Nor are they musical treatises pure and simple, but books dealing with various and sundry subjects with here and there a peep into music. But Bharatha's *Natyashasthram* was a right royal treatise on music. And, as said above, it was the first musical work available to us. But, in conformity with the principle enunciated in my second article, it attached

more importance to rhythm* than to tune and devoted only three, out of twenty-seven, chapters to music proper. It recognised the existence of seven notes and the four kinds thereof according to the number of sruthis between them and made mention of Gramas, Moorchanas, and Jathis, which we shall study later on. But it was significantly silent on those aspects which had, prior to its time, degraded music, *viz.*, the Raginis and Puthras.

9. Between Bharatha's time and the commencement of the Muhammadan period, there was a big gap, unfilled by any works on music. Yet, as Captain Day wrote, "the most flourishing age of Indian music was during the period of native princes a little before the Muhammadan conquest". Evidently the Captain refers to the superior mental and religious activities that made themselves felt throughout the Gupta period. "The intelligent patronage", observed V. A. Smith, "of a series of able and wealthy (Gupta) kings, for more than a century, had much to do with the prosperity of the arts and sciences." Lectures on Bhakthi interspersed with music—the nucleus of modern Harikathas—were delivered in all temples; and the Sanskrit dramas written by even kings, like Sri Harsha, served to give music an operative turn. Indeed the temples and the theatres became great schools of music during the Gupta period which enhanced the value of Bhakthi lectures on the one hand and furnished, on the other, a keen interest to the otherwise dry stage-representations. The predominance of such lectures and stagings threw the *Science* of music into the background and allowed only its practical side to grow. This accounts for the dearth of any scientific treatise on music during the period under reference.

10. Even Jayadeva's *Gitagovindam* (12th century A. D.), composed shortly before the Muslim conquest of Bengal, contributed nothing to the science of music but was only a lyrical composition to celebrate the triumph of love between Radha and Krishna. It is true that Jayadeva assigned a definite raga and a definite thala to each of his twenty four songs or prabhandas. His ragas were: Malava, Gurjari,

*That in, and prior to, the 6th Century, people were attracted more by rhythm than by tune is illustrated in Kalidasa's *Malavikagnimitra*, wherein Ganadasa and Haradatta were represented only as Dance-Masters and more prominence was given to *Natyasasthra* than to anything else.

Vasanthā, Ramakari, Malavagowda, Karnata, Desakya, Desivaradi, Gowdakari, Bhairavi, and Vibhasa ; and his thalas were : Yathi, Roopaka, Eka, Nissara and Ashta. Can any one of the modern singers, either, in North or South India, sing at least one of the twenty four prabhandas in the raga and thala assigned by Jayadeva? There was neither the notation to record the songs nor any scientific treatment in his book whereby to teach or suggest the methods of singing them. "When I," wrote Sir W. Jones, "read the songs of Jayadeva who has prefixed to each of them names of modes in which it was anciently sung, I had hopes* of procuring the original music. But the Pundits of the South referred me to those of the West and the Brahmins of the West would have sent me to those of the North. While they, I mean those of Nepal and Kashmir, declared that they had no ancient music but imagined that the notes of *Gītagevindam* must exist, if anywhere, in one of the Southern provinces where the poet was born." Is this not really queer, especially when we know as a historical fact that Jayadeva was born and flourished in Bengal near Dr. Tagore's Shantiniketan and had nothing to do whatsoever with South India?

11. We now come to the Muhammadan period. "The conquest of Hindustan by the Muhammadan Princes," wrote Captain Williards in his *Treatise on the Music of Hindustan*, "forms a most important epoch in the history of its music. From this time we may date the decline of all arts and sciences purely Hindu, for the (early) Muhammadans were no great patrons of learning ; and the more bigoted of them were not only great iconoclasts but discouragers of learning to the country." Fortunately South India was, even in the 13th

*Such 'hopes' are entertained even to-day by persons, who, unwilling to take the necessary pains of learning songs at the feet of a Guru, try their best to learn them by the names of raga and thala given over each of them and, as a result, fail. The fact is that the raga and the thala of a song only indicate the broad principles wherein it has to be sung. The information "A lives in Madura" cannot enable you to know in what street, house or part thereof he lives. "Madura" gives you the general direction; but you'll have to make personal inquiries in the town before you can get at A. Similarly "Raga" gives you the general direction; but you will have to take special pains to learn the particular way of singing the song. So with thala. Has not Thiagaraja composed a lot of songs in the same raga—Thod? How will the uniform heading "Thodi" enable you to understand the different songs composed in it, unless you take special pains to learn them?

century, free from any Muhammadan attack ; and Alauddin had not yet crossed the Narbada. Hence arose in Devagiri or Dowlatabad a great musician and author, Sharangadev by name, who wrote a detailed treatise on the science and theory of Indian music, entitled *Sangitharatnakara*. This work inspired awe and reverence from the time of its birth right up to the present day, in the minds of one and all of the musical scholars. Almost all the later writers on music expressed their allegiance to it. The Northerners owned his authority with pride and pleasure ; while the Southerners talked of him as one of their own writers. As a matter of fact, Sharangadev was a Southerner, though of a Northern descent. His grandfather, Bhaskara, originally belonged to Kashmir ; quitted its picturesque valley about 1190 A. D. as about that time the fanatic Afghans were striking terror in North West India, travelled down southward and settled himself at Dowlatabad. His father Sodala entered into the service of the Yadava Prince of Dowlatabad. He himself graced the Court as Poet-Laureate and basked in the sunshine of King Sinhala (1210—1247) at whose instance he wrote the immortal *Sangitharatnakara*.

12. It is said that this work is a *Demarcation* line between the Hindu and Muhammadan periods and is the last of the Hindu works on music, uncontaminated by Muhammadan influence. It consists of seven chapters, viz., Swaras, Ragas, Sound and other miscellaneous matters, the Scheme of Desi system, Instruments and dancing. The book is published in the Anandsrama Series, in two volumes of 1000 pages in all. The first chapter on Swaras and Appendix No. 2 wherein the Swaras have been permuted and combined infinitesimally are the only portions of the book useful, if at all, to the modern student ; and the other portions may be relegated to the research inquiry of an ardent antiquarian, even to whom *Sangitharatnakara* must, I fear, be a sealed book, until the works* of the Pre-Sharangadev period, quoted in the body of the book, are brought to light and the missing links are discovered. Sharangadev's view on 'Swaras' will be explained in my next article.

13. Almost immediately after the publica-

*They are of Narada Thumburu, Sadasiva, Bharatha, Kasyapa, Mathanga, Yashtika, Durga, Shakti, Sardorla Kobala, Vishakila, Danthila, Kambala, Vayu, etc.

tion of *Sangitharatnakara*, Alauddin invaded the Deccan in 1294 and Malik Kafar completed his invasion in 1310. Hindu music thereupon became sharply divided into the North Indian or Hindustani System and the South Indian or Karnatic System. The old Hindu music identified itself with the Karnatic system—so much so that Malik Kafar found it advisable to take with him, on his return to Delhi, a large number of South Indian musicians of whom the famous Gopala Nayak of Vijayanagar Court was one. Sultan Alauddin, who had himself a keen ear for music, received Gopala Nayak and others warmly and lost no time in arranging for a combat between Gopala Nayak and his own palace-vidwan Amir Khusru, who, be it noted, was a Persian poet and musician and introduced the *Quarel* mode of singing into North India for the first time. Captain Willard described the combat thus: "When Gopal visited the Court of Delhi, he sang that species of composition called Gita, the beauty of which style, enunciated by the powerful and harmonious voice of so able a performer, could not meet with competition. At this the monarch caused Amir Khusru to remain hid under his throne, whence he could hear the musician unknown to him. The latter endeavoured to remember the style and, on a subsequent day, sang Onoul and Turana in imitation of it which surprised Gopal and fraudulently deprived him of a portion of his due honour."

14. Lochanakavi's *Ragatharangini* belongs to the 14th century A. D. for the major portion whereof was devoted to a discussion of the songs of Vidyapathi who lived in the 14th century at the Court of Raja Siva Singh of Tirhut in Behar. But the expression भजवन दशमितशके, found in the book, seems to point to Saka 1082 which corresponds with 1162 A. D. Twelfth or fourteenth century—which is the more probable date of *Ragatharangini*? I have already drawn your attention to the fact that Sharangadev's *Sangitharatnakara* of the 13th century was the last work on Hindu Music, uncontaminated by Muhammadan influence and that, immediately after its publication, the Hindu Music became sharply divided into North and South Indian systems. A mere glance at the chapter on 'Swaras' of *Ragatharangini* and the nomenclature given to flat and sharp notes, as Komala and Thivra, will convince any one that Lochanakavi's work belongs to North India and must be deemed to be a North Indian authority.

In other words, the book came into existence long after the division of Hindu Music into North Indian and South Indian systems, that is, in the 14th century. How will you then explain 1162 A. D. away? My esteemed friend, Mr. Bhatkhande of Bombay replies: "There seems to be some discrepancy in the enumeration of the astronomical details" in the book. On the whole, fourteenth century seems to be a safer date for Lochanakavi's *Ragatharangini*. This book purports to be a treatise on Music. But sixty two out of the one hundred pages to which it extends are devoted to the prosody of Vidyapathi's songs which too are quoted at length by way of examples. Two chapters, however, are really interesting and instructive, viz., those on Swaras and Ragas. While Bharatha and Sharangadev waxed eloquent on their twentytwo Sruthis and delighted to elaborate on the method of obtaining ragas from Moorchanas and Jaithis; Lochanakavi reduced the number of notes, for the first time in the history of our music, to the modern twelve and regarded* the *Moorchana—Jathi* Raga-System as obsolete. Lochanakavi's scale may be said to have anticipated the European scale of 12 semitones. His Keynote was again the modern shadja, unlike that of his predecessors who weltered through the confusion of "three keynotes," viz., Sa-Ga-Ma. Finally, the "genus—species" system of expounding ragas, which in the hands of Venkatamakhi, became an 'unalterable' Code, was first placed before the musical world by Lochanakavi. His Parental Modes or *Thatas* were, again, twelve, viz., Rhaaravi, Thodi, Gowri, Karnata, Kedara, Yaman, Sarang, Megha, Danasri, Poorvi, Mukhari, and Dipika. From these he deduced his Tanyaragas. His Suddha or first scale was Sharangadev's Kaphi or Karaharapriya.

15. The next century (15th) marked the rising of Bhakthi Revival under Chaitanya (1485—1533) which gave an impetus to musical activities in Bengal but only on the practical side. In Gwalior, a new school of music—the Dhrupad School†—came into existence, the chief exponent whereof was Raja Mann Singh of Gwalior, at whose instance 'Mankuthoohal' was compiled, from which *Ragadarbana* was taken

*This again points to *Ragatharangini*'s coming after *Sangitharatnakara* and so belonging to the 14th century

†This School encouraged Classical music, as opposed to Tappa or Non-Classical music

and translated into Persian by Fakir Ulla. This 'Ragadarpana' is a very interesting book calculated to throw a flood of light on the music of the early Muhammadan period, for it contains, amidst other things, a record of the proceedings of a great Music Conference, held under orders of Raja Mann. Thakur Nawab Ali Khan of Lucknow, who presided over the first All-India Music conference held at Baroda in 1916, was then in possession of the book; and there was a talk that he was to present it to the Conference. Whoever may be in possession of that book, an English translation thereof is a desideratum now.

16. The Moghul Emperors of the 16th century encouraged music but again on its practical side. Babar is said to have written a treatise on music; but it has not yet seen the light of day. Humayun loved music; divided his people into three classes—literary, military and beautiful; and made arrangements to meet the first division on Thursdays and Saturdays, the second division on Tuesdays and Sundays, the third division on Mondays and Wednesdays, and finally all the divisions on Fridays. Under the category of 'the beautiful' came both women and musicians.

17. In the time of Akbar (1556—1605) music reached its zenith, I mean the Hindustani music. For, the majority of the musicians of even such a tolerant Emperor as Akbar were Muhammadans. Only four or five singers out of thirty six were, according to *Ain-i-Akbari*, Hindus, while all the rest were Muhammadans. Even Tannamisra, a celebrated Hindu musician, had first to alter his name into Tansen, so as to give it a Muslim color, before Akbar could recognise him as a first rate singer, 'like whom there has been no singer for a thousand years.' At times, the Emperor could rise above the circumstances and appreciate music from whatever source it might come. He heard of Mira Bai's sweet music and ran to Chitor to enjoy it. The tale of Haridas Swami of Brindavan is already told. But the outstanding music of Akbar's time was Tansen's. The parampara line of his pupils remains alive even today at Rampur. The South Indians prided themselves for having successfully kept the Northern contamination at arm's length and preserved their ancient tradition intact. But Tansen so manipulated the Northern system on its practical side and made it so agreeable and even enchanting that the Southerners became more and more

attracted to it and encouraged their own professionals to study and imitate it. If today the Hindustani music has, despite its admittedly confused nature, its own charms to allure, it was because Tansen worked at it and introduced into it many a fascinating excellence. Tansen did not, however choose to leave behind any scientific treatise on music, which Pundarika Vittala did.

18. A Southerner Pundarika Vittala was, as he delighted to call himself. Burhan Khan, Ruler of Khandesh, found the music of his time in a chaotic condition and directed Pundarika Vittala who was in his employ, to bring out a scientific treatise on music. '*Sadragachandroda*' was the result. It is a work of the 16th century. Soon, in 1599, Khandesh fell into Akbar's hands; and Burhan Khan's courtiers had, as usual, to follow Akbar to his court at Delhi. Pundarika soon found himself Akbar's musician in which capacity he wrote his other three works, *viz.*, *Ragamala*, *Ragamanjari* and *Narthanirnaya*. Pundarika's works, like Lochanakavi's are authorities for North Indian music. Pundarika's *Raga-Lakshanas* are most beautifully worded and have been based on the principle—

लक्ष्यप्रधानं खलु शास्त्रम् ।

His keynote was again, like Lochanakavi's, Shadja. But he differed from the author of *Ragatharangini* in the matter of using fourteen, instead of twelve, notes. He perhaps anticipated Vyankatamakhi in this matter as well as in making *Mukhari*, the modern *Kanakangi* of South Indian music, his first scale. He revived the old Raga—Ragini method of classifying ragas, though on a more reasonable basis. His *Vinaprakaranam* shows that he tuned the wires of his Vina to "Sa-Pa-Sa-Ma" and put only twelve frets on the keyboard thereof—a practice continued even today throughout the whole country.

19. A contemporary of Pundarika Vittala arose in South India, *viz.*, Rama Amathya son of Todar Mall Timma Amathya of Sriranga. This Rama Amathya wrote *Swaramelakalanidhi*, which may be regarded as the first authoritative treatise on South Indian Music. While *Natyashatsram* and *Sangitharatnakara* were written for the whole country of India, *Ragatharangini*, *Ragadarpanam* and *Sadraga-*

chandrodhayam were written expressly for North Indian Music; and *Svaramelakalanidhi* was produced expressly for South Indian Music. Rama Amathya's work therefore contains the Raga system of the Karnatic type. It needs hardly be said hereafter that all the ragas were based upon and worked out from, the common tonic Sa; for the reason that the confusion of the keynote ended with Sharangadev and the modern Shadja-keynote right royally began with Lochanakavi, and continued unto this day. The date of *Svaramelakalanidhi* is 1549.

20. In the reign of Jahangir (1605—1627), many of Akbar's musicians had gone away; and the few that remained, viz., Chatarkhan, Parwizdad, Hamzan, Makhu, etc., got the music out of its scientific track and contributed to the chaos of North Indian music which Mr. Bhatkhande so much deplures. Two works, however, on the science of music appeared in this reign, viz., Somanath's *Ragavibhoda* (1610) and Damodhar's *Sangithadarpana* (1625). The former was a South Indian work, while the latter was a North Indian one. Somanath was a Telugu Brahmin of Andhradesa and a Sanskrit scholar and musician. His book bristles with masterly Aryavritas, discusses the theory of Sound and proceeds to speak about Vina and its use. The "genus-species" system of expounding Ragas, which was touched by Lochanakavi and was later on codified by Vyankatamakhi, finds a place in *Ragavibhoda*, wherein mention is also made of the "Sruthis". Somanath seems to have come under the influence of the North Indian music, as evidenced by his use of swara names, thivra, thivrathara, thivrathama and by his term *Thata* for *Mela*. He bungled in the matter of placing his 12 frets on the Vina and perplexed Ahobala, when the latter attempted to reconcile the North Indian terminology with the South Indian one.

21. As for *Sangithadarpana*, it forms a congeries of good many unconnected things. The *Swaradhyaya* of Sharangadev has been hopelessly mixed up with the *ragadhyaya* of some X and no explanation is given in the book for this queer procedure. To-day *Sangithadarpana* has lost all its respect. But in the 17th century it seems to have enjoyed some popularity. Listen to what Sir W. Jones says on the point: "The Pundits of Bengal unanimously prefer the Damodhara to any of the popular sangithas; but I have not been able to procure a good copy of it and am perfectly satis-

fied with "the Narayan," which I received from Benares and in which the Damodhar is frequently quoted." Mirzha Khan professes to have extracted his elaborate chapter on music mainly, if not solely, from *Sangithadarpana* which was translated even into Persian. How is it that a work, so popular in the 17th century, has been consigned to the waste-paper basket in the present century? Mr. Fox Strangways replies: "Music, like a river, cannot stand still. Its whole essence consists in finding short cuts to old routes. Life is too short to spend wholly in living in the past."

22. Shah Jahan (1627—1658), the builder of the beautiful Taj Mahal, was himself a beautiful singer and patronised music to a degree. We have a fair idea of what that 'degree' was, from the fact that he caused both his principal musicians Jaggannath and Dirang Khan to be weighed in silver and gave each Rs. 4,500. His third musician was Lal Khan, a son-in-law of Tansen's son.

23. Aurangzeb (1658—1707) happened to have no ear for music at all: and Shakespear's immortal lines, beginning with 'the man that has no music in himself, etc.,' apply to Aurangzeb most literally. He understood music to be a curious amusement invented by one set of idlers to while away the time of another set of idlers. Lane-Poole wrote: "Aurangzeb did his best to suppress music and dancing in accordance with the example of the Muhammadan Prophet who was born without an ear for music and hastily ascribed the invention of harmony to the Devil. The musicians of India were certainly noted for a manner of life which ill accorded with Aurangzeb's strict ideas and their concerts were not celebrated for sobriety. The Emperor determined to destroy them and a severe Edict was issued. Raids of the police dissipated their harmonious meetings and their instruments were burnt. One Friday, as Aurangzeb was going to the mosque, he saw an immense crowd of singers following a bier and rending the air with their cries and lamentations. They seemed to be burying some great prince. The Emperor went to inquire into the cause of the demonstration and was told it was the funeral of music slain by his order and wept by her children. Aurangzeb said: 'I approve of their piety: but let the slain music be buried deep and never be heard again'". It is suggested that the Emperor's anger was directed not so much against music itself as against the

erratic ways of living of the musicians and that those who reformed themselves were honored with pensions. But the outstanding fact that he had no ear for music, coupled with his queer notion of men's ways of living, and that his Edict positively discouraged music, whether he intended it or not—cannot be effaced from the pages of history.

24. As I have said at the very outset, the Goddess of Music fled away from Aurangzeb and took shelter in the palace of many a prince in India. It is a curious coincidence that in the very reign of a powerful discourager of music, two celebrated authors rose into prominence and wrought a permanent change in the musical system—one, of North India and the other, of South India. Ahobala, in the North, brought out his *Sangitha Parijatha* in 1659; and Venkatamakhi, in the South, brought out his *Chathurdandiprakasika* in 1660. Both the works are to be regarded as two great landmarks in the history of Indian music and form authoritative text-books of North and South Indian systems of music respectively. Ahobala's suddha scale was Kaphi, or Karaharapriya; while Venkatamakhi's suddha scale was Kana-kangi. Ahobala was the first to describe the 12 notes he used in terms of the length of the speaking wire of the Vina; while Vyankatamakhi was the first to codify the 14 notes (really 12 notes) that he took, into 72 melakarthis. While, again *Chathurdandiprakasika* retains its authority in South India unabated even to-day; *Sangithaparijatha* has, of late, been brought down, from its high pedestal, into rivalry with Bhavabatta's *Anupasangitharatnakara*, Muhammad Rezza's *Nagmut-e-Asaphi* and, quite recently, Bhatkhande's *Lakshya Sangitham*.

25. During the time of the ten successors of Aurangzeb who ruled at Delhi from 1707 to 1857, music did continue to be cultivated but not with the vigour it had attained in the preceding reigns. Captain Willard gives us an idea about the musicians of the closing days of the Muhammadan period as follows; "Sadharang, Udharang, Noorkhan, Ladkhan, Pyarkhan, Janee, Gulam Rasool, Shukkur, Mukhun, Tethoo, Methoo, Muhamad Khan, and Shoree (the founder of *Tappa*) stand in high repute. Several *practical* musicians of both sexes are even now to be met with, who—although ignorant of the theory of music, may for extent, sweetness, pliability, and perfect command of

the voice, rival some of the first-rate minstrels of Europe."

26. Bhavabatta, author of *Anupasangitharatnakara*, was one of those court-musicians who, on account of the discouragement of music by Aurangzeb, went away in all directions to seek the patronage of other Rajas. He went to the State of Bikanir and became the State-musician of Raja Anupasimha. He showed considerable knowledge of the Southern system of music, took, like Pundarika Vittala, *Mukhari* as his suddha scale and based all his ragas on 20 *Thatas*, viz., Thodi, Gondi, Varati, Kedara, Suddha Nata, Malavakaisika, Shri, Hamira, Ahiri, Kalayana, Deshakshi, Deshakara, Saranga, Karnata, Kamoda, Hizaja, Nadaramakri, Hindola, Mukhari, and Soma. Before leaving Bhavabatta, mention must be made of a very important point for which he is to be ever remembered. He taught us the method of extracting ragas from *Thatas*—a lesson which Vyankatamakhi gratefully learnt and made use of in connection with his 72 Parental modes. Bhavabatta observed—

रागसु नवधा प्रोक्तः।*

Each raga may, according to this rule, be divided into 9 Raginis, viz., (1) Poorna; (2) Shadava; (3) Oudava; (4) Shadavapoorna; (5) Poornashadava; (6) Oudavapoorna; (7) Poornoudava; (8) Shadava-Oudava and (9) Oudava-Shadava.‡

27. Muhammad Rezza, a nobleman of Patna and author of *Nagmut-e-Asaphi* (which was written at the instance of his patron Nawab of Ayodhya) is now remembered for having driven out *Kaphi* and introduced, for the first time into North India in 1813, *Bilaval* as the suddha or fundamental scale, which remains as such even to-day. He demolished the Raga System of his day and built his own, to be again demolished by Mr. Bhatkhande of *Lakshya Sangitham* fame.

28. Meanwhile, in Western India, Maharaja Pratap Singh Deva of Jaipur (1779—1804) ordered for a standard work on Hindustani music and named it *Sangitha Sara*, of which the chapters on *Thala*, *Vadya* and *Nrithya* will repay the reader's labour. The suddha scale employed in the book was *Bilaval*.

29. Krishananda Vyasa published his *Sangitha-ragakalpdruma* at Calcutta in 1842, the chief feature of which was the collection of

*Raga is said to be of nine kinds.

‡Cf. the succeeding articles.

all the available masterpieces in it. Vyasa's suddha scale was again *Bilaval*.

30. While thus the mania for book-writing was rampant in North India, the whole of South India was going ahead in the matter of musical composition, Purandra Dass wrote many a beautiful song in Kanarese and established *Mayamalavagowla* as the suddha scale of South India. In Travancore Swathi Thirunal (1829-1847) composed his devotional songs and Govinda Marar, (1798-1843) his erudite Varnas. In Tiravalar, Muthuswami Dikshithar, (1775-1835) improvised his famous Sanskrit Kirthanas; and at Tanjore, the most celebrated Thiagaraja (1759-1847), poured out his fascinating krithis.

31. While, on the firm foundation of *Chathurdandiprakashika*, the superstructure of composition was being built in South India, in North India the very foundations laid by Ahobala, Bhavabatta and Muhammad Rezza began to totter. Mr. V. N. Bhatkhande came to the rescue and relaid the foundation by publishing about 1906 his useful work '*Lakshyasangitham*' wherein he selected only ten Parental Modes from out of the seventy-two melakarta Ragas of Vyankatamakhi, viz., Yaman, Bilaval, Khamaj, Bhairav, Poorvi, Marava, Kaphi, Asaveri, Bhairavi, and Thodi, corresponding respectively to Kalyani, Sankarabharanam, Kedaragowla, Mayamalavagowla, Ramakriya, Gamakakriya, Sriraga, Rithigowla, Thodi, and Panthuvrali of South India. He then classified all the North Indian ragas under one or the other of these ten *Thatas*, the principle of classification being the affinity between the *raga* and the *Thata* to which it was allotted. Having framed the skeleton of a system, he next directed his attention to the differentiations between the various derivative ragas and have recorded them briefly in his book. Besides, general directions have been given in this book as to the development (प्रसार) of the *Ragas* by pointing out the *Graha*,* *Amsa*, *Nyasa*, *Halts* and *Catches*. The book reads like a *sutra* treatise, the object being memorization.

32. While this book was before public notice, the first All India Music Conference† met at Baroda in 1916, mainly at the instance of Mr. Bhatkhande but with the substantial help

of the enlightened Gaekwar. The most significant problem before it was to make Music a subject of universal and compulsory education in North India as well as to revive the interest in its science. The Conference, then met at Benares and Delhi; and the fourth Conference has yet to meet. The following List of Subjects for discussion in one of such Conferences will reveal the nature of the meeting:—

- (1) A scientific division of the Ragas now sung on the basis of genus and species, stating the reasons for such division.
- (2) The System of Notation most suitable to Indian Music and to what extent notation should be employed in the recording of compositions.
- (3) The scale of twelve notes to be adopted as the standard scale for the purpose of instruction.
- (4) A comparative view of the *suddha* and *vikritha* swaras of the ancient Sanskrit writers.
- (5) A solution of the Ragas of Sangitha-ratnakara in the light of Sharangadev's definitions.
- (6) Sharangadev's Theory of Vadi, Samvadi, Anuvadi and Vivadi swaras.
- (7) The function of Moorchanas in ancient music.
- (8) The Gamakas of the ancient writers and their modern equivalents.
- (9) A comparative view of the Thala Systems of the Northern and Southern systems of Music.
- (10) The Ragas and their Rasas.
- (11) The points of similarity and difference between the North and South Indian systems of music.
- (12) The Sruthis of ancient and modern music; and their distribution among the Ragas.
- (13) The present condition of the art of dancing.
- (14) Can Indian music be harmonized in the Western sense of the term?*

*These 14 subjects were prepared by the Indore (abandoned) Conference. To them may be added the following two new subjects prepared by the Calcutta (recently—adjourned) Conference;

(a) Exposition of the *Vaidic* music and its notations as found in the vedic hymns.

(b) Development of Hindu Music in the Courts of the Emperors, Princes and Chiefs of India, with special reference to the careers and appointments of Tansen, Gopal, Haridas and Thiagaraja.

*This and the following expressions will be explained in my next article.

†I attended it as a delegate and addressed the enlightened audience there on 'Some Aspects of South Indian Music'.

These Conferences are sure to create, in the minds of the public, a lively interest for musical literature.

33. Long before the Conferences, however, the Poona Gayana Samaj had been established on the 3rd October, 1874, in face of the pugnacious and maligning attack of the *Times of India*, which characterised Indian Music as 'tom-tom' and therefore invoked the help of the Commissioner of Police to silence it. It started, however, under favourable auspices. The List of its members ranged from Madhava Row Nilakanta Purandar to Narayana Vinayak Neney. Sir James Fergusson's Government of Bombay procured for it the distinguished patronage of the then Prince of Wales as well as of the Duke of Edinburgh. It succeeded in enlisting the sympathy of some respectable European residents of the Camp, especially of Lieutenant-General Lord Mark Kerr, C.B., Commander of the Poona Division. On the 1st January of 1879, a boys' school for imparting regular instruction in music was formed at Poona; and the number of its pupils steadily increased. On the 18th August of 1883, a Branch Association was established at Madras under the auspices of Raja Sir T. Madhava Row, Sir Charles Turner, Justice Muthusami Aiyar, Dewan Bahadur R. Raghunatha Row, General S. Chamier, R.A., Mus. B., and Col. H. McLeod. This Association had the future of securing, as its patrons the Duke of Connaught, Sir Frederick Roberts and the Maharajas of Mysore, Travancore and Vizianagaram. It made fair progress since its establishment and maintained two music-schools for boys. Of all its patrons, a special mention of His Highness the Maharaja of Vizianagaram must be made here. For he was not merely a lover of music but was himself an accomplished musician. No wonder therefore that he was pleased to grant the Association, on the 13th March of 1887, an annuity of Rs. 600, amounting to a capital of Rs. 15,000 in honor of Her Majesty Queen Victoria's Jubilee. The Madras Association was, at the Maharaja's suggestion, called "The Madras Jubilee Gayan Samaj." Musical treatises came to be published under the auspices of the Gayana Samaj of Poona and Madras. Mr. P. A. Gharpure, for instance, published some vernacular treatises of music; Mr. M. Seshagiri Sashtri, M.A., wrote out a "Treatise on Hindu Music" in English; and the Srinagaracharlu Brothers brought out their most popular five books on South Indian

Music, viz. (1) Swaramamjari, (2) Gayakaparijatha, (3) Sangitha Kalanidhi, (4) Gayakalochana, and (5) Gayakasiddhanjana.

34. In Bengal, Raja Surendra Mohan Tagore, who was honored, as a distinguished musician, by European Universities,* resolved to provide for his countrymen the measure of a system and scientific study of the Indian classical art. In 1871, therefore, he founded "the Bengal Music School," out of which the *Bengal Academy of Music* grew about 1881. The Raja subscribed a sum equal to the total of the fees collected from students and the Government grant of Rs. 300 per annum.

35. In 1901, *Gandharva Maha Vidyalaya* (Music-school) was founded at Lahore. To widen the scope of its activities, a branch thereof was opened in Bombay in 1908. But the branch soon outgrew the parent Institution and the seat of activities was thus transferred from Lahore to Bombay. Hired accommodation was found insufficient and the promoters of the Institution managed to have a building of their own, viz., the present *pucca* structure in Sandhurst Road. The Bombay *Gandharva Maha Vidyalaya* has now branches and sub-branches all throughout West India; and its Principal, Pundit Vishnu Digambar, has been trying his best to achieve the objects for which the Institution was started.

36. Whereas *Poona Gayana Samaj* was started expressly for the benefit of "the upper classes" of West India, *Bombay Gandharva Maha Vidyalaya* was started expressly for the benefit of both the upper and lower classes. The latter's avowed object was "to raise the moral tone and create a taste for the divine art and to spread its knowledge among the rich and poor by establishing branches throughout the country and making it available at a small expense and thus reclaim the art from the abyss of vice to which it had unfortunately fallen". The Poona Samaj and its Branch in Madras were both narrow-bottomed and therefore fell; while the Bombay Vidyalaya has been, from its inception, broad-bottomed and is therefore destined to be one of the most powerful forces of West India.

37. To-day, South India cannot boast of any established Institution of Music. Spasmodic societies pretend to do its functions here. The Government of Madras, however, constituted a

*Has the Madras University honored even one musician here? Was not Maha Vythinathier entitled to a University honor? This is, however, by the way.

Music Committee, on the 21st June of 1920, consisting of Messrs. J. A. Yates, W. Dorasamiengar, C. R. Srinivasiengar, M. S. Ramaswamiyer, Mrs. Cousins and Sister R. S. Subbalakshmi and directed the said Committee to draw up a Scheme for the teaching of music in Indian Schools. The Committee met on the 11th September of 1921, one full year after its formation. It proposed to discuss the following, amidst other, points:—

- (1) The establishment at Madras of a *Music Training School*,
- (2) The drawing up of a tentative syllabus to be tested by the said Music Training School,
- (3) The supply of Music-books that have to be brought out by the Government,
- (4) The initial scale for practice, and
- (5) The Notation to be used.

A tug ensued during, and continued even after, the meeting. And I, as a member, had to fight tooth and nail on many questions that arose and especially on the question of Notation.* Finally, the only question on which I agreed with the Committee was "the establishment at Madras of a Music Training School." The Interim Report of the Committee to the Director of Public Instruction, Madras dated 10th November of 1921 was therefore accompanied by the following "Remarks", which may be of some interest to the reader.

38. "Sir, I have the honor to state that I agree with the Committee on the points raised in the *interim* Report, especially, in connection with the proposed Music Training School at Madras, subject to the following remarks. Since the object of the *interim* Report is, as I understand, to give the Government a fair idea of the extent of the financial burden the Government will have to bear in order to run the New Scheme called for, as well as to ascertain whether the Government is willing and prepared to bear the proposed burden, it is requested that the Government be pleased to brush aside the *side-issues* raised in the present Report and confine itself only with the financial aspect of the question, which alone is the underlying object of the *interim* Report. The questions regarding the initial Scale, the necessity of swara-teaching, the kind of Notation to be recognised, the kind of books which the Government should undertake to publish and the kind of the Principal

(European or Indian) that is wanted for the proposed Training School, the extent to which choral-singing may be allowed and the kind of Syllabuses that have to be framed—these questions are all, at this stage, *moot-points*, which the Committee has yet to discuss and decide. I now pass over all of them in silence, though raised in the *interim* Report, since the object of the present Report has really nothing to do with them but points solely to the financial aspect of the proposed Music Training School and since, as has been admitted by the Chairman in para. 15 (3) of the *interim* Report, "all these matters were considered merely in preliminary and much further consideration will be necessary"; and the Members have therefore another opportunity to approach you with a fuller Report."

39. The matter stands here. And the Committee has not, even after two years, heard anything in reply from the Government. For this grim silence, the present 'Retrenchment Scheme' may probably be responsible.

40. I shall deal, later on,* with the importance of an enlightened audience being a condition precedent to an unfailing supply of good musicians as well as of the necessity of opening schools, all over the province, to create such an enlightened audience. But no schools, worth the name, can exist, much less flourish, without Government support. Even the Bombay music school is, for ought I know, on the negative side; and its Principal whips it on, by raising loans. How long! The old theory of *Laissez faire* has been found inapplicable to the Fine Arts by no less a person than Mathew Arnold, whose wailings on the impotent condition of the English Theatres, brought on thereby, are well known. Further, stagnation in Art is the natural outcome of the stagnation in society. Hence the society must first be recalled to feeling and reality before the art could become the ideal life of the people. Indeed social revolution must precede, and react upon, the art revolution. But, again, the social revolution hinges upon the political emancipation of our country; and hence the resuscitation of music very largely depends upon how our Government chooses to turn the viewpoint of the people regarding the fine art. History is replete with examples to show how music flourished under the patronage, and

*Cf. succeeding article on 'Notation'.

*In my succeeding article on 'Psychology of Music'.

languished by the indifference, of sovereigns. Paganini became the most famous Italian violinist, because he enjoyed the patronage of the Grand Duchess of Tuscany. Wagner loomed big in the horizon of German music, because he basked in the sunshine of the King of Bavaria. Sarangadev produced his *Sagitha-ratnakara*, because the King of Dowlatabad required it of him. Pundarika Vittala produced his *Sadvagachandrodaya*, because Bushan khan, Ruler of Khandesh directed him to do so. And Venkatamakhi brought out his *Chathurdandi-prakasika*, with the substantial help of the Raja of Tanjore. I am glad to note that Mr. Pramathanath Banerjea, the author of *Public Administration in Ancient India*, agrees with me and dilates upon the vital point that Politics is the foundation for the superstructure of Human Society and that one cannot successfully develop any kind of human activity without making one's assurance doubly sure of the foundation of Politics, as has been rightly laid down in our own Mahabharata :

सर्वे धर्मा राज धर्म प्रधानाः ।

सज्जे ब्रवी दण्डनीतौ दतायाः ।

सर्वधर्माः प्रचक्ष्ये मु विद्वद्वाः ।

सर्वभोगा राजधर्मेषु हृष्टाः ।

सर्वे दीक्षाराजधर्मेषु चोक्ताः ।

सर्वा विद्या राज धर्मेषु युक्ताः ।

सर्वलोका राजधर्मे प्रविष्टाः ॥

41. Now, we are face to face with the following facts. Music is absolutely indispensable for man, whether alone or in company, here below or there above; Indian Music is now at the freezing point; the musicians are bad; the audience is worse; bettering the musicians presupposes bettering the audience; the latter can be effected only by systematic music-teaching; such music-teaching can be had only in schools, spread all over the country; such schools can be kept successfully only with Government support; but the Government looks at the whole affair with an air of indifference and responds not, even though knocked.

42. From amidst these chilling circumstances, there issues a warm consolation that the Indian Politician is, at last, abroad; and he will, ere long, teach the Government to recognise the hard and, none the less, true fact that Music is, as it deserves to be, a great Government

Problem, having, as it does, a direct bearing to the Criminal Administration of the country and that it is irresistible and must needs be organised.

43. Till then, we shall have to be marking time or paving the way for that happy day. We have, amidst us, plenty of scientific treatises on Indian Music and plenty of practical musicians. Translate the first and you will have transformed the second. Our treatises are now in a practically dead language; and hence they must be translated into some living language or languages. The next step—or it may even be coeval—is to organise Lectures on Indian Music in some of the more important centres of our country; and those Lectures must be such as to give the people in general, and the musicians in particular, an insight into the *Science* or *Theory* of Indian Music and create in them a genuine interest for it, sufficient enough to lure them to the original sources, at least in translations, which, once understood, are sure to drive away the age-long gloom shrouding over our music; illumine its vast fields of culture; and revive, preserve, protect and advance our ancient art.

44. The Secretary of the Indore Music Conference, which however never met, gave me clearly to understand that the so-called All India Music Conference was, in the first instance, interested with the Hindustani System of music. At once a thought struck me whether it would not be desirable to hold a similar Conference in South India, with a view to advance the cause, in the first instance, of the Karnatic System of music. Abraham Pandithar of Tanjore, it must be admitted, led the way; but his seven Conferences were conceived on a narrow scale and intended to further his own fads. Hence it was that I doubly welcomed the birth of *Dakshina Sangitha Conference* at Palghat and agreed, with joy, to preside over its deliberations in May 1923. Will the people of South India come to realise the importance of Conferences like this and tread in the way, chalked out by the citizens of Palghat?

45. Private Schools of Music may, for the time being, be started but must, if at all, be run on a sound financial basis, lest they should be of a mushroom growth. The necessity of such schools will be felt all the more keenly, if we but recall to our mind the merciless way in which those cruel mechanics, called by mistake 'Private Tutors,' grind down poor

innocent children, especially girls, and stuff their brains unmethodically with all sorts of pieces—sensical and non-sensical—and whip them to mix them all together and make an inscrutable compound of jarring qualities, till at last those pupils are driven to contract a positive hatred for music.

46. It is a pity that books on music for instruction to young children are, like Croker's *Johnson*, ill-compiled, ill-arranged, ill-written and ill-printed. But Vidwan K. V. Srinivasa Iyengar must be congratulated on his bold refusal to follow his fraternity; and his latest *Thiagaraja Hridayam* redounds very much to his credit.

47. Having thus far taken you along the general aspect of music, I now propose, in the articles that follow to familiarise you with its technical side. But, before doing so, would it not be well to recapitulate what all we have studied till now?

48. We learnt that, if Sri Krishna pined to see his Gopis; if an antidote for physical pains and mental cares was needed; if a drooping soldier stood in need of an impetus to fight; if the poison-emitting cobra should be compelled to forget its dreadful instinct; if man wanted to escape the degradation into a two-legged lump of flesh but become a worthy citizen of a very superior character; the sovereign remedy for all was, alike, Music. We also learnt that, while Bharatha's *Natyashastram* of the 6th century and Sharangadev's *Sangitharatnakara* of the 13th century—both represented Hindu Music for the whole of India, uncontaminated by Muhammadan influence; Lochanakavi's *Ragatharangini* of the 14th century, Pundarika Vittala's *Sadragachandrodaya* of the 16th century, Damodhara's *Sangithhedarpana* of 1625, Ahobala's *Sangithaparijata* of 1659, Bhavabatta's *Anupasangitaratnakara* of the 17th century, Muhammad Rezza's *Nagmut-e-Asaphi* of 1813, and Bhatkhande's *Lakshyasangitham* of 1906—all these seven works represented North Indian music; and Rama Amathya's *Swaramelakalanidhi* of 1549, Somanath's *Ragavibhoda* of 1610 and Venkatamakhi's *Chaturdandiprakasika* of 1600—these three works represented South

Indian music. We further learnt that the confusion of key-note stopped with *Sangitaratnakara* and the modern 'Sa-grama' commenced right royally with *Ragatharangini* and had been uninterruptedly continued to the present day; that the suddha or Fundamental Scale* of North India had all along been *Kaphi* (the South Indian *Karaharapriya*), till it was replaced, in 1813, by *Bilaval*; while that of South India had been all along *Kanakangi* (the North Indian *Mukhari*) till, about the same time, it was replaced by *Magamalavagoula*; that 'the 12 Notes' had been the uniform basis of Indian Music even from Lochanakavi's time, though Pundarika Vittala and Venkatamakhi appeared to deviate a little from the rule; that the 'genus-species' system of expounding Ragas was, prior to and even during the time of, *Sangitharatnakara*, a matter of extracting Ragas from Moorchanas and Jathis and that way of extraction became obsolete and was supplanted by the modern method, which originated with Lochanakavi and culminated in a codified form during the time of Venkatamakhi; and that, finally, soon after the advent of the Europeans into India, music went down and down till it now reached the freezing point, by the combined action of godless education and grinding poverty which it had been our peculiar misfortune to suffer from, for the past one century and more. I said that the Indian Politician had been abroad and he would surely ward off the two above-mentioned weeds and bring round the Government to recognise the supreme importance of music-teaching and thus effect the needed external reformation. As an artist, I shall confine myself with the internal reformation and provoke my brother-artists to pave the way, in the manner prescribed above, for the millenium, referred to in paras forty-two and forty-three.

(to be continued).

*Pundarika Vittala and Bhavabatta, however, tried to make the North Indian *Mukhari* (the South Indian *Kanakangi*) as the suddha scale of North India. Because the former was a southerner, called upon to reform the North Indian system, and had naturally his mind saturated with the southern system. While the latter, *viz.*, Bhavabatta merely copied Pundarika.

MR. AUGUSTINE BIRRELL AS A CRITIC AND ESSAYIST.*

AN APPRECIATION.

"Criticism", said Dr. Johnson in the *Idler*, "is a study by which men grow important and formidable at a very small expense. The power of invention has been conferred by nature upon few, and the labour of learning those sciences which may by mere labour be obtained, is too great to be willingly endured; but every man can exert such judgment as he has upon the works of others; and he whom nature has made weak, and idleness keeps ignorant, may yet support his vanity by the name of a critic." Since the days of the great Cham of literature, the position of "answerers of books" has greatly improved: they are no longer mere literary hacks; and to their own complete satisfaction at least, they have raised criticism to the level of an art. Of all modern exponents of that art, there is none more entertaining, none more frank, than the genial man of letters who unwittingly strayed into the dim purlieus of politics. As Irish Secretary, Mr. Birrell was very indifferent, but as critic, he fully displays the qualities which one might expect from the son-in-law of Frederick Locker. It has been remarked that after dotage, a man falls into anecdote. Mr. Birrell's Essays are always full of anecdotes which impart a liveliness and charm of their own even to subjects that might otherwise be dry, dull and stockish. Then, too, Mr. Birrell is deeply steeped in all the memorable literature of past generations. One can hardly imagine him, it is true, reading Spenser's *Fairie Queene* or laboriously plodding his way through the dry desert sand of Chaucer, but there are few writers of worth with whose works he is not familiar, no author or politician about whom he has not something worth saying, no priest or prophet whom he neither patronises nor dismisses with a killing epigram. There is only one other writer of our own days who can at all compare with Mr. Birrell in lightness and delicacy of touch; and that is, "Q" who has lost none of his brilliant wit in the professorial and professional atmosphere of Cambridge. Among

older writers, perhaps Mr. Birrell reminds us slightly of Lamb. He is certainly 'downright'; he leaves his readers in no doubt about his preferences or aversions. The saving gift of humour, too, he has in ample measure. His publishers deserve well of us for having given us in three attractive volumes a collection of Essays, volumes which it would have done the heart of penurious Johnson good to possess and read in spite of his "most observant thumb." Churton Collins called a collection of his Essays "Ephemera Critica"; Mr. Birrell's criticisms are by no means ephemeral, as they deal mainly with men and women whose lives and works have through shrill generations continued to attract attention and about whom criticism will always differ.

Almost every man will find in these three volumes some subject to interest him. If Milton is too ancient or learned for him, he will probably turn to the Essays on Disraeli and Gladstone; if his turn is for Satire, he will read with relish the pages dealing with Swift and Pope; or perhaps he will prefer to spend a pleasurable half-hour with Boswell, prince of biographers; among poets he will find sympathetic, but critical accounts of Browning and Tennyson; a rogue's memoirs form the unexpected subject of another delightful essay. The fare is varied, and the dishes rich. What strikes one in these pages is the vastness of Mr. Birrell's information, the wide range of his interests and the skill with which even dry-as-dust topics such as 'copyright in books', 'book-binding', are invested with a charm that is ever fresh.

In his piece on Cowper, Mr. Birrell says: "How interesting to be able to tell the age of one distinguished poet from his way of writing of another! Readers, a century hence, will have no difficulty in assigning Mr. Birrell to the Victorian Era. He has lived right up to the close of the first quarter of the twentieth century, but his outlook is essentially Victorian. In his estimate of Tennyson, for instance, we hear the smug accepts of Victorian self-complacency. "How enormous, how incalculable is the debt of gratitude we owe to Tennyson!

*The Collected Essays and Addresses of the Rt. Hon. Augustine Birrell, 1880-1920. Three Volumes, J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., London, 1922. 31s. 6d.

What a barrier he built with his own hands against the incursions of vulgarity—of low and depraved tastes in life and art! What a lesson to poets! What a school for humanity! His poems are everywhere, in every kind of edition. Wherever the English language, which he did so much to keep pure and undefiled, has travelled, Tennyson has followed in its wake—giving pleasure, exalting courage, purifying taste.” This enthusiasm was possible only for a younger contemporary of Tennyson’s, one who lived while the charm of the poet was yet fresh. But to say this is not to assert at the same time that Mr. Birrell is in all respects a faithful mirror of the spirit of the age; far from it, there are evidences, many and varied, of considerable independence informing and expressing opinions, of much freshness of treatment, of great fertility of imagination and of one who has read incessantly and has to his learning brought a mind ripened and matured by much experience of the practical affairs of life. In fact, we fancy if Mr. Birrell were allowed a choice of the century in which he would prefer to live, his decision would almost certainly be in favour of the eighteenth century—a century which flattered itself by calling itself the Age of Reason, a century about which people usually fall into rhapsodical accounts, but yet one which in politics, produced such giants as Walpole, Chatham, Pitt, Fox and Burke, in literature Pope, Johnson, Goldsmith, Sherridan, Gibbon, in art Reynolds (in himself a host), in philosophy Hume and Bentham, and the rest. In the first volume of these *Essays*, we find a piece on Burke, no less than four on Johnson, another on Gibbon, a fourth on Thomas Paine, and others on Swift, Chesterfield, Cowper. We have mentioned Dr. Johnson above, and it is we think Dr. Johnson whom Mr. Birrell admires most, no less for his nature as man than for his merits as a stylist. He likes Johnson’s straightforwardness. He says, for instance, “It is a good thing to be positive. To be positive in your opinions and selfish in your habits is the best recipe, if not for happiness, at all events for that far more attainable commodity, comfort, with which we are acquainted.” He regards Boswell’s book as ‘an arch of triumph’, and altogether has a high opinion both of the author and the subject of the biography. The following will show the extent of his admiration. “Dialectically the great Doctor was a great brute. The fact is he had so ac-

customed himself to wordy warfare, that he lost all sense of moral responsibility, and cared as little for men’s feelings as a Napoleon did for their lives. When the battle was over, the Doctor frequently did what no soldier ever did that I have heard tell of, apologised to his victims and drank wine or lemonade with them”. Or again, “it would be easy to select from Johnson’s writings numerous passages written in that essentially vicious style to which the name Johnsonese has been cruelly given; but the searcher could not fail to find numerous passages guiltless of this charge. The characteristics of Johnson’s prose style are colossal good sense, though with a strong sceptical bias, good humour, vigorous language, and movements from point to point, which can only be compared to the measured tread of a well-drilled company of soldiers.”

The saving grace of humour is an attractive feature of Mr. Birrell’s own style. Ever and anon we hit upon passages in which caustic sentences abound; his wit is always good-natured, and there is little spleen in it. Here is a passage from his *Essay on Johnson* :

“Phrases are convenient things to band about, and it is as little the custom to inquire into their truth as it is to read the letter-press on banknotes. We are content to count banknotes and to repeat phrases. One of these phrases is that whilst everybody reads Boswell, nobody reads Johnson. The facts are otherwise. Everybody does not read Boswell, and a great many people do read Johnson. If it be asked, what do the general public know of Johnson’s nine volumes octavo? I reply, Beshrew the general public! What in the name of the Bodleian has the general public got to do with literature? The general public subscribes to Mudie, and has its intellectual, like its lacteal sustenance, sent round to it in carts. It is not a question of the general public, but of the lover of letters. Do Mr. Browning, Mr. Arnold, Mr. Lowell, Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. Stephen, Mr. Morley, know their Johnson”? Or again, let us take the following, full of a wisdom born of long experience :

“As for room, a bicycle takes more room than 1,000 books; and as for dust, it is a delusion. You should never dust books. There let it lie until the rare hour arrives when you want to read a particular volume, then warily approach it with a milk-white napkin, take it down from its shelf, and, withdrawing to some back

apartment, proceed to cleanse the tome. Dr. Johnson adopted other methods. Every now and again he drew on huge gloves, such as those once worn by hedgers and ditchers, and then, cultching his folios and octavos, he banged and buffeted them together until he was enveloped in a cloud of dust. This violent exercise over, the good Doctor restored the volumes, all battered and bruised, to their places, where, of course, the dust resettled itself as speedily as possible". Or again, "One grows sick of the expressions, "poor Charles Lamb", "gentle Charles Lamb", as if he were one of those grown-up children of the Leigh Hunt type, who are perpetually begging and borrowing through the round of every man's acquaintance. Charles Lamb earned his own living, paid his own way, was the helper, not the helped; a man who was beholden to no one, who always came with gifts in his hand, a shrewd man capable of advice, strong in counsel. Poor Lamb indeed! Poor Coleridge, robbed of his will; poor Wordsworth, devoured by his own *ego*; poor Southey, writing his tomes and deeming himself a classic; poor Carlyle, with his nine volumes of memories,—call these men poor if you feel it decent to do so, but not Lamb, who was rich in all that makes life valuable or memory sweet. But he used to get drunk. This explains all. Be untruthful, unfaithful, unkind; darken the lives of all who have to live under your shadow, rob youth of joy, take peace from age, live unsought for, die unmourned,—and remaining sober you will escape the curse of men's pity, and be spoken of as a worthy person. But if ever, amidst what Burns called "social noise", you so far forget yourself as to get drunk, think not to plead a spotless life spent with those for whom you have laboured and saved; talk not of the love of friends or of help given to the needy; least of all make reference to a noble self-sacrifice passing the love of women, for all will avail you nothing. You get drunk,—and the heartless and the selfish and the lewd crave the privilege of pitying you and receiving your name with an odious smile. It is really too bad." Or, yet once more: "Unless an English author has had his portrait painted by Reynolds or his life written by Boswell, he has small chance of being remembered save by his books.

They are, indeed, his only chance. I do not say it is a good chance. I have fallen asleep over too many books to say that. What I do say is, it is his only chance." And here are words, comforting to the heart of many "a clerk of Oxenford" who can only read with unsatisfiable eagerness of several items in book catalogues: "When the love of money comes in at the window the love of books runs out at the door. There has been of late years a good deal of sham book-collecting. The morals of the Stock Exchange have corrupted even the library.....Whether it is ever wise to buy a book, as Aulus Gellius used to do, simply because it is cheap, and regardless of its condition, is a debatable point, but to buy one dear at the mere bidding of a bookseller is to debase yourself."

A truce to quotations, as Mr. Birrell himself would say. The above samples should be sufficient to tempt readers to turn with avidity and eager anticipation to the complete works. We have suggested above that Birrell possesses the eighteenth century temperament. For him Reason is the guiding lamp, and in the concluding words of the third volume, he says:

"The world is full of doleful creatures, who move about demanding our sympathy. I have nothing to offer them but doses of logic, and stern commands to move on or fall back. Catholics in distress about Infallibility; Protestants devoting themselves to the dismal task of paring down the dimensions of this miracle, and reducing the credibility of that one—as if any appreciable relief from the burden of faith could be so obtained; sentimental sceptics, who, after labouring to demolish what they call the chimera of superstition, fall to weeping as they remember they have now no lies to teach their children; democrats who are frightened at the rough voice of the people, and aristocrats flirting with democracy. Logic, if it cannot cure, might at least silence these gentry".

And yet it is not the whole truth; Birrell does prescribe a heavy dose of logic, but his specific contains much else besides, strong common sense, keen humour, satire, sympathy, taste.

THE FABLES OF BABRIAS.

Invenies primis ab sensibus esse creatum
 Notitiam veri, neque sensus posse refelli.
 Quid maiore fide porro, quam sensus, haberi Debet?
 Lucr. L. IV. 480—484.

PREFATORY NOTE.

Sometime ago, on a cool morning, I went for a long ride on the road that leads out on the southern side of the town of R * * * * About the fifth mile there is a small village by the side of the road, and I saw a lot of people there, standing and looking on at a well that was being dug, and where some blasting also was going on. There would be a loud shout of 'Run for your lives!' and the people would all scamper off, helter skelter, to some distance, and halt, and look round, and wait, till you heard a great boom, like a nine-pounder's, and big pieces of granite and clods of earth would be hurled in the air, followed by a long column of smoke, and dust, and the people would come back again, and look at the things that had been belched out. As I had finished the usual distance of my constitutional, I jumped off my bike, placed it against a pipal tree, and strolled down to this well in mere idleness, to pass away an half hour before turning back. While looking on at the sport, and being looked at, in return, by the villagers with that silent, tantalizing, unquestioning, yet sphynx-like, inscrutable air of *laissez faire* which one seldom fails to remark on such occasions, I noticed a flattish, oblong sort of thing lying on the ground. I picked it up, and examined it. It was not coal, nor coke, nor manganese, nor mica, nor asbestos, nor any of the richer, or baser metals of the earth; but it looked like something artificial, which had been buried 'a long age in the deep delvèd earth'. I pulled it about, to get at the inside of it, and found what appeared to be a bundle of palm leaves, or strips, neatly arranged, and bound together—such as, till within living memory, were used by Banias in Southern India for keeping accounts. "Ha!"—I thought to myself—"Here is some of those old palm leaf manuscripts, for which antiquarians

have so long been hunting about, and which, they say, they would rather have than twenty papyri got from the tummies of twenty disembowelled Egyptian mummies"—and I carried it home with me. That same day I took the thing to pieces, and found that it was indeed a collection of strips of palm leaves. I carefully separated them, one by one—for they had become stuck together by the moisture of the earth, and the pressure of ages—and brushed them down; but, to my great disappointment, I could detect nothing on them in the shape of writing, or etching of any kind. So I put them away in a corner, and forgot all about them.

It was some months after this, on a general close holiday, when I had nothing better to do, that I took up these curious slips, and was looking at them, and turning them over and over again, when, happening to hold one of them up directly against the light, to my surprise, I was just able to distinguish a faint tracing of letters, which I at once recognised as the Deva Nagri character. With reinforced energy, and curiosity I continued the cleaning and polishing of the whole collection, till in the end I was rewarded with what turned out to be a genuine ancient manuscript of palm leaves. But how to read this strange cryptogram? And how to make out the meaning of it? This indeed was a task. And though, at first, I felt inclined, like Archimedis to cry out—"Eureka"—I could now only murmur—"hoc opus, hic labor est"—like Virgil.

I showed the manuscript to my Munshi. He looked at it for a long time, and seemed to be able to read it right enough, but not a single syllable could he understand of it. I next showed it to certain learned Pandits, but with no better result. All they could tell me was that it was Sanscrit. Now that is a language, which I swore, when I was young, never to learn, or even to try to learn, for I had heard it said by

those who know, that it is impossible to do either. I was about giving it up as a bad job, and was almost rash enough to entertain for a moment the idea of sending it away—tag, rag, and all—to the Calcutta Museum, when, not long after, by mere accident, I happened to come across a gymnosophist sitting and meditating under a tree on the bank of an old lotus-covered tank, where I often go for a stroll, to look at the beautiful lotus blooms, red, and pink, and white, and violet, waving over the broad green lotus leaves spread on the surface of the water like a carpet, and to watch the Dhimars catching fish in their nets, and wicker work baskets, and skimming over the water in their dongas, which they paddle with their hands, or propel with long bamboos. Leaving all this aside, on that particular morning, I went straight up, and accosted that old philosopher, and soon came to the conclusion that he was a true Rishi of the old type, for he gave me his name, and it was Chakamankabuddibaba. 'Thou art the man', I said to myself, and there and then I grappled with him. I told him of this precious manuscript, and how I came by it, and of the horrid difficulty I had in finding anyone to interpret it. 'Bring it to me here tomorrow', said Chakamankabuddibaba, with that same airy indifference to all sublunary affairs with which Diogenes once told Alexander the Great to get out of the sun. 'Bring it to me, and I will read the Sanscrit text for you, and explain it to you in Hindi, which, perhaps, is the only decent language you seem to know—and you can do the rest.'

Not tippler, with a three days' thirst,
Drinks whisky with his nose immersed
In tumbler, not lean college boarder,
When he has oped the well-filled larder,
And, with a ten sharks' appetite,
Demolishes to left and right,
Not Sancho Panza when he found
His old ass Dapple safe, and sound,
Such joy, and sustenance did suck,
As I did at this piece of luck.

(But before going further it is right that I should at once tell the reader that these lines are not a quotation from any great poet). Accordingly, I went to the tank the next morning, and the next, and the next, for a whole week, and surely, and steadily, though slowly, I got the entire manuscript translated into English. It turned out then that this manuscript was a collection of ancient

fables, as the reader will see for himself in the following pages.

But who was the author of these fables? The manuscript itself threw no light on this question, beyond what might be gathered from a mutilated passage at the fag end of it, in which there appeared the name—Bâbâriâsâ—which nobody who has any idea of how Western names and words are transformed, or rather transmogrified by Eastern usage, almost beyond recognition, would hesitate to identify at once with that of the old Greek fabulist Babrias, whose works, like so many, others, are said to have been lost. That the two names are identical will at once be admitted when a few examples of such transformations are given. Thus Mackenzie in the West is turned into Mukundjee in the East: Fitzgenrald into Fijjilal: Stuart into Ishtur (see Kincaid): Powden into Fallowdan: Alenxander into Sikandar: Campbell into Kam-bal (a blanket); Sarah into Sarroobai: Constantinople into Kastuntunnia: and—*horrible et mirabile dictu*:—R. B. Chapman into Arbichapgaon, the name of a village in the Raipur District, perpetuating the memory of a popular Deputy Commissioner of that name—which if the reader is inclined to doubt I will point it out for him on the majmili map, and also take him there, if he is inclined that way.

Very little is known of Babrias, except that he was a Greek fabulist, and that his works are lost. It would, however, appear that he, like many others of his illustrious countrymen, in the olden days, visited India in his travels, and it is not unlikely that he left here a version of his fables in Sanscrit, that rock-bottom from which so many unexpected and most marvellous things are fished up from time to time, only to show that there is nothing new under the sun—not even the gramophone, and the aeroplane, and the wireless: all are in the Shastras, they say. But the reader may ask how does it come about that two such very modern items as the bicycle, and a ball of Lipton's cheese have found their way into these ancient fables. All I can suggest is that this must be put down either to 'the keen forecast of genius,' or to the fact itself that Babrias was a great fabulist and was only telling stories.

The following then are some of the fables, which, as above related, I got from the bottom of a well, and have translated into English. I may give some more later on.

Now as for what the gentle reader may think

of these fables, I care no more than did Chakamankabuddibaba himself.

B. G. STEINHOFF.

FABLES.

The Reaper and the Banyan Tree.

A Kisan was once reaping a jawari crop. Row after row of the tall jawari plants fell to right and left at the stroke of the sharp scythe, when the reaper's hand was suddenly stayed by the sound of speech issuing from a dark, green, tough plant, which said: "Don't cut me—I am not a jawari plant—I am a young banyan tree." The reaper, surprised at these unexpected words, halted a little, considering, and then went on with his work again, cutting to right and left; and, cutting down also the intrusive sapling, he said: "I make no exceptions. This is a jawari field. If you are a banyan, you have no right to be here"—and so the future magnificent banyan tree of a hundred branches, and a hundred years, lay with the yellow kadbi stocks where it fell.

The used and the unused Match Sticks.

A match-box was lying half open on the edge of a table. Several used up, burnt out, match sticks were lying on the floor. The unused match sticks in the box peeping over the edge, said to the burnt sticks lying on the ground: "You look like us, except at the top. We have fine red faces, and yellow necks. Your faces are dirty, smudged, and black as charcoal. No wonder you are down below, to be trampled on by anybody, and everybody—and it serves you right for imitating us—but you cannot become like us". "No", said the latter, "nor do we want to. We have done our duty without boasting, and are content to lie here now. You boast over a mere accident—but wait a little, and you also will come down here—like us—and the sweeper woman will sweep us all away into the same coddung plastered bamboo basket, and make no difference between you and us." The wrinkled face, furrowed with the lines of thought, and the rough hands of the man who has done his duty, are better than the pomade and the stiff collar of the fop who has not.

The Cat and the Hen with her Chickens.

"Proud old she-devil with her little imps!"—said the hungry, and angry jungly cat, who from the corner of the wall had been for a long time eying a nice plump hen with a batch of little chickens, and wishing hard that she might, in her promenade across the poultry-yard, come round within a convenient distance of his hiding place. The poor hen heard this remark, but, without looking round, went on till she disappeared in the strong wooden fowl box.

The Man and the Sparrow.

A bricklayer was slowly climbing up a ladder placed against the wall. A sparrow, looking at him, said: "You great men are truly wonderful beings. You seem never to be able to go straight to the point—but always in a footling, round about, cumbersome manner. Why this mighty structure with this many rungs? Why not go up to the top of the wall at once?—like this"—and the sparrow flew off, and sat on the top of the wall, and with its pert little eyes watched the man as he came slowly, climbing up, rung by rung, with a great basket of bricks and chunam on his head.

The Devil's reason.

A Snob, dressed up to kill, was promenading the street with another of like quality, when, coming from the opposite direction, he spotted a poor acquaintance of his whom he did not like to recognise in so public a quarter, and thereby jeopardise his dignity. "You see that fellow yonder"—he said—"he is not much to look at—but damned proud I can tell you—damned proud—I can't stick him—I shall give him the go by"—and with an idiotic stare, looking straight, and rigidly ahead, with a stiff neck, as if he had just swallowed a ramrod, he passed by his poor acquaintance on the broad street.

The Black Buck and the Shikari.

A Shikari from behind a low hedge was just on the point of pulling the trigger, when struck with the magnificent appearance of the black buck there, only twenty paces in front of him, he said—"No—I can't shoot so fine an animal. But stand there for a minute. I am a bit of an artist, and I would like to make a copy direct from nature." The black buck threw his head

back, gave a great bound in the air, and was away in the twinkling of an eye, but not before he said—"Now, my good fellow, that won't wash. Don't I see you every day driving those innocent sheep, and goats, my poor cousins, to the slaughter house, to have their throats cut for your breakfast—No—I can't believe the likes of you"—and away he went.

The Cat and the Rats.

A cat had the full run of a large godown, where grain, and things were stored, and where a great many rats used to roam about, picking up a grain here, an apricot there, and so on. But unlike his brethren, this cat had something inside of him, very like a conscience, which now and then, gave him a nasty twinge at the tip of his tail. He did not much like to catch the poor little rats, crunch their lives out of them, and gobble them up, all at once. So—and it was a fine pastime also for him—he used to catch one, now and then, play with it for a little while, bite off its tail or a leg, and let it go. In a short time it came about that there was in that godown not a single rat left with four legs, or a tail. What did the cat do then? The cat then called them all together, and lectured them, thus—"Now, my poor creatures—you yourselves can see what a miserable set of beings you all are—a burden to yourselves, and also to others. I can make nothing of you. you are fit for nothing. The best, and in fact the only thing I can do in such a case, is to eat you all up, one by one"—and indeed that old cat kept his word.

The donkey and the fox. (A side-light on Bolshevism.)

An old Kumhar's donkey who had been working all day long, carrying about great pannier loads of tiles and bricks, was let loose in the evening to pick up a stray meal by nibbling the scanty grass by the riverside, or the bits of dry kadbi stocks lying here and there. While he was engaged in this precarious hunt after a stomachful, a fox, who had just robbed and eaten up one of the Kumhar's plumpest chickens, and was now scampering back to the jungle, met him on the way, and, with a pitying look, spoke to him in this wise: "Old Twisted-tail, what are you rummaging about here for? A scurvy meal of insipid sparrow grass, and odds and ends of dry kadbi

stocks—etc.? You need some lining to those ribs of yours. I can count them. But you can't count mine. The whole world is mine; and I never want for a good tuck in. But you—what do you work for? For your own guts—or your master's? Little enough, I guess, finds its way into that old carcase of yours. As for that Kumhar fellow, your master, and his wife and little brats, they are all well fed, and round as balls of butter. That is why I have just relieved them of one of their chickens—all got by your labour—mind you—they won't miss it. Now, my word to you is—if you are not the ass that you are—Strike! my good fellow—Strike! That will bring these men to their senses—and a full, square meal of gram, and lucerne grass, and pithy kadbi into your stomach, which, I now see, is as empty as a drum. My dear fellow, use that headpiece of yours—'t is as good as any—Think—what are you working for—and for whom?—I ask. Think, I say—and—Strike"! The old Kumhar's donkey, thus disturbed in his peaceful meditations, looked at the fox in the same way as a Chattisgarhi Chamar would do, when he is treated to the Seventh Symphony of Beethoven, or the transcendental metaphysics of Immanuel Kant, and said: "But I don't eat chickens—and you don't eat grass"—and, flinging both his hind legs in the air, he sent that fox kicking into the middle of the dry riverbed—and continued his meal, and his meditations, from where he had left off.

The Spider and the Fly.

A young fly had been buzzing about the tea table, to the great annoyance of the work-wearied gentleman, who had peacefully settled himself down for tiffin. Now he would buzz round and round his head, sometimes sitting on his ear, and making a foolish attempt to get into his ear hole, sometimes perching on the jam-smeared teaspoon and coming back again, and again, as often as he was driven away—now he would most vexingly alight on the tip of his nose and fly away again with such damnable dexterity, that the good gentleman never succeeded in catching him, but only in rapping his own nose more vigorously than was good for him. At last he settled on the edge of the jam pot, made a good meal of it, and, after pruning his wings very gingerly, as much as to say—"I have not done badly to-day—I will come again tomorrow"—he flew away to a corner of the room—and

alas! right into the web of a large spider, who had long been waiting there for him. "Ha!" said the spider—"I have you now"—and was about to make short work of him. But the fly pleaded for his life so pitifully, that he almost succeeded in making out a 'special case,' and, most wonderful to relate, the spider actually began to have some doubts on the subject—a circumstance most unusual with him. But on more mature reflection, which was greatly accelerated by a seven days' appetite—for not so much as even a mosquito had he had during that period—the spider said—"My plump little Buzzer, I admit that all that you say is true, and that I ought to let you off. Also, you have my full sympathy, but I cannot neglect this plain fact, *viz.*: In the history of the world it has never yet been known that a spider has ever let a fly go, when he had once got him in his trap. Do you think we spin these fine hexagonal webs for nothing? No—history, and the whole economy of the universe are hanging in the balance—which way I decide: the one will be sullied for ever, and the other will quite go to the dogs, if I let you off. I just can't." However, poor fly again pleaded with redoubled energy—using all those arts which rhetoricians and logicians call by hard names, and phrases like *argumentum ad hominem*—and at last the spider agreed to refer the matter to the man at the tea table, who, luckily for them, happened to be a very great naturalist. The question was put to him: Has a spider ever been known to let a fly off when once fairly and squarely caught in his net? The man pulled down great volumes one by one from the shelves, and, after turning over the pages for a long time, he gave his answer—No. "There you are. I knew it all along. I cannot spoil such a record"—said the spider, as he pounced upon the fly, and there and then made an end of him—and so kept that record clean.

The two Lotus Leaves.

Two lotus leaves lay floating on the surface of a pool, and a bright lotus flower was waving over them in the resplendent beauty of its full bloom. One of the lotus leaves lay level with the surface, and on it there were many little drops of water, that glided over it like quicksilver, or rested motionless on its bosom like glittering gems. The other lotus leaf, because it lay not quite level with the surface, was now and then lifted, and shaken by the gentle

breeze, so that no drop of water could remain on it. The first leaf said to the second leaf—"See how beautiful I am, bedecked with gems that reflect all the colors of the rainbow, so that people stand on the bank of the pool only to look at me, and admire me. But no one will waste even a passing glance on you." The second leaf replied—"Don't brag too much. Those things that you call gems, are only drops of water and the sun can dry them up; and the wind can blow them away." But the next day the lotus leaf, that gloried so much in its beauty, was covered all over with sickly yellow spots, and holes—for the hot sun had burned into it through every drop of water, like a lens or a burning glass—and the beautiful scarlet lotus flower still waved over both the lotus leaves in the pool.

Speculative Maggots.

There were a lot of maggots in a mouldy old ball of cheese, and they began to talk and speculate on a lot of things which did not concern them one bit. One asked: "Who do you think made this big round ball?" Another said: "Why—we ourselves, you miserable idiot—to ask such a question proves you to be one. But who told you the ball is round?" One said: "I know who made it. It is good old Lipton. See there is his name on it." Another said: "It cannot be. That is only a name. A name cannot make a ball of cheese like this." One said: "Wait—it may be true—but where did Lipton get the stuff from?" One said: "I don't know—nor do I care to—it must have been there always—otherwise it wouldn't be there—that is all." One said frankly: "I know nothing about it—and none of us will ever know anything about it—so let us not distress ourselves to no purpose—but only eat and live." Then the man at the breakfast table, who was quietly listening to all this confabulation said: "I'll tell you where it came from. It came from the cow. And I'll also tell you where it will go to—Here"—and he put a big junk of the rotten cheese into his mouth, and thus put an end at once to the contending parties, and their vain speculations.

The Two Bees.

An old bee, and a young bee were flying about from flower to flower, in a big garden, sipping nectar, and gathering honey. When the sun began to go down the old bee said:

"Come. It is time to go home now." But the young bee said: "Wait a bit. There is one flower more I would like to visit: that bright red one there, which I have been looking for all the day, and have only just now found. It is full of nectar. I know it, for I went to it only yesterday." The old bee said: "Let that flower alone. That is a tulip, and shuts up at sunset." "Get away you, and go home"—said the young bee—"I have visited it—and hundreds like it—before—and I know better." So he would not listen, but went, and entered into that bright and beautiful looking flower, and remained there a long time, gathering the pollen, and draining the nectar, as deep down as he could go. The the young bee turned round to fly away, but alas! the flower had closed behind him, and that bee never came out again.

The Bicycle Wheels.

A cyclist was scorching along on a hot dusty road. The front wheel, looking round with disdain on the back wheel, said: "Spin away you old fool—but you cannot overtake me." The back wheel said: "I don't want to—but it is I who make you run before me like a cur. You only move because I push you, and make you go." The Crank, hearing this said: "Fools both of you—without me neither of the pair of you would budge an inch. It is I who make both of you spin round and round." Here the patient, long-suffering, down-trodden macadamised old road got his back up, and said:

"You all talk about things you know nothing about. The front wheel is altogether wrong. The back wheel also is wrong. The Crank—though he is nearest the truth—is also wrong. It is I who make the whole lot of you go; for without me you would, if at all, be only spinning round and round in the same place, like a weathercock." The cyclist now put in: "Very good all of you—but you have forgotten the most important point—and that is myself. without me, and these two legs of mine, how do you think that crank would turn round. I'm the man who does that." But unluckily for the cyclist, he had just at that very moment taken out from his pocket a fat sandwich and was munching it to get up steam, for he had a long way yet to go. The sandwich said: "Without me—what you call food—your stomach could be as empty as a drum, your veins bloodless, and your bones marrowless, and those two legs of yours would no more be able to move than that lump of cowdung lying on the side of the road. It is I who make you all go." It was a hot day, and the sun was shining very brightly, and the sun said: "There is some sense in what that sandwich says. As for the rest of you—you are all a pack of fools—for it is I who made that sandwich, and all flesh is grass, and without me there would not be a single blade of grass on the whole earth, and every stomach would be empty. So, hold your tongues, all of you. It is I who make you all go"—and so they went.

BRAHMANISM AND BUDDHISM.*

By PROF. A. A. MACDONELL, M.A., Ph.D., LL.D.

IV.

The establishment of the elaborate system of caste which characterises Indian civilization from this time onwards, has had a narrowing influence on the social virtues, and has arrested their

development. For instead of unifying the population it tended to split it up into innumerable groups divided by insurmountable barriers which forbade intermarriage and eating together, thus limiting the application of other-regarding morality. They further fostered arrogance in the higher castes, especially the Brahmins who constantly endeavoured to enforce their claims

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to spiritual and social superiority. On the other hand, it tended to the degradation of the lower castes, whose contact or even mere shadow might cause impurity.

An injurious effect of the caste system was, moreover, the custom of child-marriage resulting from the prohibition of marrying outside the caste and the consequent difficulty of obtaining suitable husbands. A further disadvantageous effect was that, in such early marriages, the young people had no say in the matter, and that the frequent premature consummation of marriage tended to the production of immature children and the consequent deterioration of physique in the population.

Speaking generally the moral code and the notions as to right and wrong prevailing during this period in India did not differ essentially from those current among other nations of antiquity. Distinctive features were the peculiar sanctity attributed to Brahmins as well as all their belongings, and to the cow, the sacred animal of the Hindus. The veneration of the cow can, however, be traced back to the Indo-Iranian period: for as I have already pointed out, this was also a feature, though in a less developed form, of the Zoroastrian religion.

By the performance of a penance every sin could be atoned for, and these penances were an important source of profit for the Brahmins, much in the same way as dispensations were to the Roman Catholic Church during the Middle ages in Europe. This system of atonement goes back to a Indo-Iranian period, for the penances prescribed in the Vendidad of the Avesta are closely analogous to the penances (*prayaschittam*) of the Sanskrit law-books. Thus one who has committed the moral sin of drinking intoxicating liquor is required to drink the same liquor when boiling hot. For certain forms of stealing, the lunar penance (*candrayana*), a severe form of fasting, is prescribed. Swallowing the five products of the cow (*panca-gavyam*) is part of the penance for various offences; it has, I am told, been reduced to a very minute quantity for the heinous offence of crossing the sea. The *Visnu-sutra* states that scratching the back of a cow destroys all guilt. Religious gifts to Brahmins are greatly recommended as penances. Several instances are recorded in Indian history of rich men giving their own weight in gold or silver to Brahmins, a practice called *tula-purusa*, 'a man's weight.'

Though each class had its special duties

assigned to it, there were also general obligations common to all cases, some self-regarding, others social; of the former kind were self-restraint, purity, contentment, veracity, liberality, sympathy, straightforwardness, obedience towards elders, regard for animal life. The doctrine of *ahimsa* was, however, not so much insisted on in the Brahmanic as in the Buddhist and Jaina creeds: for a sacrifice, cattle may be slain, and the meat of such cattle may be eaten although the doctrine of *karma* and of the soul's passage through all kinds of animal bodies, according to its deeds in a former life is fully recognised in the code of Manu.

Asceticism, combined with religious meditation, occupies an important position in Hinduism. The fourth stage (*asrama*) in the life of the Brahmin is that of the religious mendicant (*yati*), which is preceded by that of the forest hermit (*vanaprastha*). These are laid down as regular orders into which the Brahmin should successively enter.

The *Mahabharata*, like the legal codes, forms a vast treasure of Hindu ethics. It represents perhaps more truly the actual standard of morality prevailing at the period, than do the law-books, the standard of which tends to be ideal and artificial, and which, being written by Brahmins for Brahmins, are apt to exaggerate their caste pretensions. The epic, in a general way, describes the path of religious duty as eightfold (which it is also said to be in Buddhism), but here this path is stated to consist in sacrifice, penance, study, self-control, absence of greed, liberality, mercy and truthfulness. It is the epics that furnish pictures what the domestic and social life of the times must have been. In these, wives appear as loyal and devoted to their husbands, as Damayanti and Savitri, while husbands are affectionately disposed towards their wives. Parents are fondly attached to their children and are ready to sacrifice themselves for their welfare. Children are dutiful to their parents and submissive to their superiors. Love and harmony prevail throughout the family circle.

Though, as I have already remarked, morality does not come within the range of the six orthodox systems of Hindu philosophy as it does within those of the canonical book of the unorthodox system of Buddhism a moralising tone pervades the whole range of Sanskrit literature. It is particularly strong in the collections of fables, like the *Panchtantra* and the *Hitopadesa*,

which are to a large extent treatises on morality (*niti*) inculcated through instructive speeches put into the mouths of tigers, jackals, cats, parrots, monkeys, and other animals. It also pervades Sanskrit lyrics and dramas. It is not too much to say that in no literature is the moralising note so prominent. It is perhaps just owing to the universality of this mode of expression that there are so few works in Sanskrit dealing with morality exclusively.

The keynote of all this poetry is the doctrine of the vanity of human life, which developing before the rise of Buddhism has dominated Indian thought ever since. The only true happiness is here represented as to be found in the abandonment of desire and retirement from the world. The poet turns from the beauties of nature with sadness to seek mental calm and lasting happiness in the solitude of the forest. The necessity of pursuing virtue is another practical lesson they draw from it. Gentleness and forbearance towards good and bad is recommended after the examples of the moon who does not withdraw her light even from the hut of the outcast. This spirit of universal tolerance and love of mankind appears when we read that 'even a Sudra deserves respect who knows and does his duty well,' or that noble-minded men regard the whole world as their kin. The conception of fate is naturally often touched upon in this poetry. We often read from the operation of destiny, but that this should not paralyse human effort. For, it is pointed out, since fate is nothing else than the result of action done in a former birth, every man can by right conduct shape his future fate, just as a potter can mould a lump of clay into whatever form he likes.

When we come down to later times, we find a general tendency on the part of religious founders, such as Bassava, the founder of the Lingayats, in the 12th century, Kabir, the founder of the Kabirpanthis, in the 15th of Nanak and of Chaitanya in the 16th, to proclaim the social equality of all those who entered their order, so as to relax the bonds of caste. In practice, however, it turned out that this leveling down of caste distinctions met with only partial and temporary success.

As regards the present day, we find in the Census reports of 1901 some interesting attempts to establish the actual standard of morality in India. The conclusions arrived at are these. The ordinary Hindu knows it is wrong to

commit murder, adultery, theft, and perjury, or to be covetous. He honours his parents, and in the case of his father at any rate, to a degree exceeding the customs of nearly all other nations, which have no ceremony resembling that of the *Sraddh*, or funeral offering, except the Chinese. The influence of caste here is of the utmost importance; the principle sanction attaching to a breach of morality seems to be the fear of caste penalties rather than the fear of divine punishment. An extreme example of the effect of caste principles may be seen in some of the lowest castes where adultery is only condemned when committed with a person of different caste. In the case of perjury, the offence may be committed, without public disapproval, on behalf of a caste-fellow, or even an inhabitant of the same village. The doctrine of *Karma* is stated to be one of the firmest beliefs of all classes of Hindus, and the fear that a man shall reap as he has sown, is an appreciable element in the average morality. A man and his wife bathe in the Ganges with their clothes tied together, to ensure their being married to one another in a future existence. As for heaven and hell, they are not regarded it is stated, as merely transitory stages of existence in the cycle of transmigration (*samsara*), but the soul when sufficiently purified goes to dwell in heaven for ever. There is no idea of absorption in the supreme soul whose place is far above.

The belief in metempsychosis, it appears, does not prevail all over India. Thus in the words of the Central Provinces Report, the ordinary Hindu peasant has practically no belief in the transmigration of the soul, but has a vague idea that there is a future life, in which those who are good in this world will be happy in heaven (*sarg*, skt. *svarga*), whilst those who are bad will be wretched in hell (*narak*). The general effect, however, of these two different beliefs on the state of morality remains the same idea of retribution in a future state being common to both of them. The influence of Christian morality on the religious life of India began to manifest itself, during the 19th century, in the teaching and practical working of the various theistical bodies called *samaj*: the Arya and the Brahmo Samaj. Thus the Arya Samaj insists on the education of both sexes, the percentage of literacy being consequently high in this community as compared with the rest of the population. One of its aims, too, is to do good

to the world by improving the physical, intellectual, spiritual, moral, and social condition of mankind.

It is in the teaching of these communities that we can see the advance of morality so as to include in its widest circle, the good of humanity as a whole. It has, otherwise, been still less possible for orthodox Hinduism than for nearly all other early religions, with its caste barriers, to overstep the frontiers of national morality. It is true that advanced individual thinkers occasionally expressed cosmopolitan ideas but it is doubtful whether owing to their extremely limited geographical and ethnological knowledge, even the most enlightened Hindus except in quite recent times, really extended such sentiments to peoples beyond the frontiers of *Bharatavarsa*, the Sanskrit name for India.

V.

Buddhism is essentially an Indian religion, being an offshoot of Brahmanism and deriving many details from that system; it has nevertheless become a fundamentally different religion. Founded by Buddha in north-eastern India towards the end of the 6th century, B. C., it disappeared, like Christianity from its native country many centuries ago but became one of the three great world-religions profoundly influencing the civilisation of Farther East. Christianity has influenced that of the West. In India itself, Buddhism deeply affected the spiritual life of the country for over a thousand years. All the canonical texts, both Pali and Sanskrit, were produced in India; the Buddhism of the many countries to which this religion has spread could not be understood without a knowledge of its earliest or Indian phase; and without the evidence of Buddhist architecture and sculpture in India the history of Indian art would be impossible.

The original and essential doctrine of Buddhism is that all earthly existence is suffering, the only means of release from it being renunciation and eternal death. Brahmanism being its basis, the essential features of Buddhism cannot be fully understood without a definite statement, which of the religious ideas of the antecedent religion it rejected, and which of them it retained. On the one hand, Buddha repudiated the authority of the Vedas and the Vedic sacrificial system; he condemned self-mortification; he denied the knowledge both

of a world-soul and of the individual-soul; he discarded the distinctions of caste within the monastic order, though not as a general classification of society; and he was entirely averse to speculation on metaphysical problems, to which the adherents of Brahminism were so prone. On the other hand, Buddha retained the belief in transmigration (*samsara*) and retribution (*karma*) practically unchanged; he also adhered to the doctrine that the great goal of endeavour is release from transmigration to be attained by means of renunciation. Even the fundamental doctrine of Buddhism on its philosophical side, that all earthly existence is suffering, is only a development of the view of life already apparent in the Upanishads. The Sankhya philosophy, which is the most pessimistic of all the Brahmanic systems, may have in its earliest form contributed to the foundations of the philosophical side of Buddhism. It is really only on what may be called its religious side that Buddhism is original. Primitive Buddhism was a religion of humanity, a system of practical morality, keynote of which is universal charity: kindness to all beings, animals as well as men. It is here that the originality of Buddha's teaching is chiefly to be found; for the sphere of ethics had been neglected by Brahman thought, which was mainly directed to ritual and theosophical speculation. To this aspect of Buddhism is to be traced the profound influence which it has exercised as a world religion.

In contrast with Brahmin morality, which consists in conformity to an impersonal law and tradition, that of Buddhism is bound up with the personality of its founder. This is a necessary consequence as the starting-point of the religion. Buddha is revered not only as the founder of the religion, but also as the revealer of final truths and the guide of all beings to the same attainment as his own. He is the Saviour, the ferryman who conducts men to the farther shore of perfection, which may be reached by all who follow his instructions in accordance with truth. His position in Buddhism is similar to that of Christ in Christianity, as is already indicated by the very names of these two religions as called after their founders. He is the exemplar whom all must follow who desire to obtain salvation. His person is the pivot on which all Buddhist thought turns, the ideal at which every believer should aim. In him personal perfection is united with universal

truths. Thus he is represented in the *Itivuttaka* (12) as saying of himself 'one who sees me sees the truth'. He is the light of the world (or the eye, *loka-chakkhu*), but everyone should discover the same light in himself (*atta-dipa*), the Master being the revealer of the light, and not an intruder from the outside. One takes refuge in the Buddha in order to take refuge in himself (*atta sarana*), as the master has done. The whole of the doctrines of early Buddhism are set forth in the fundamental four noble truths. The first three represent the philosophical, the fourth the religious aspect of the system. These four truths are the following: First, all that exists is subject to suffering. This at once shows the thoroughly pessimistic character of the Buddhistic outlook. The Buddhist scriptures constantly dwell on the transitoriness and worthlessness of all things, and no other religion is so penetrated by the belief in the utter vanity and misery of existence.

The second truth is: the origin of suffering is human passions. Suffering is described as resulting from thirst (*trisna*, Pali *tanha*) or the desire of life, which until it is destroyed, leads to continued transmigration and the return of suffering. 'Thirst' by the formula of causation is traced backward through a chain of several causes to *avidya*, ignorance, that is, lack of knowledge of the doctrine of Buddha. From ignorance are derived the latent impressions (*samskaras*) of former acts constituting predispositions that lead to further acts. Buddha taught that man, by an act of his own free will, influences these predispositions and determines his own fate. From the *Samskaras* is produced consciousness (*vijnana*), the thinking part of the individual, regarded as a non-corporeal element that does not perish with the body, but remains with the *Samskaras* after death, and with them forms the germ of a new existence. From consciousness are evolved name-and-form (*nama-rupa*) equivalent to the 'individual'. From these again arise the six organs, i.e., the five senses and *manas*, i.e., the individual now assumes a practical form. From the organs are produced 'contact,' thence 'perception,' which is the immediate source of 'thirst.' From 'thirst' arises 'attachment' to 'worldly objects,' this leads to continued becoming (*bhava*), an infinite series of new existences. These, finally, are the cause of birth, old age, and death, pain, suffering, sorrow, and despair.

Here, next to the doctrine of causation, must

be mentioned that of the five "skandhas," or elements of existence, of which every thinking being is composed—body, sensation, perception, emotion, judgment. A being thus composed was regarded as not in a permanent condition but always in a state of becoming, personality being only a sum of perpetually successive movements. Similarly, what was called soul was regarded by Buddha only as an aggregate of changing individual elements, not as eternal and unchangeable, different and separable from the body.

The third noble truth is: the cessation of passions releases from suffering. With Buddha's view of the soul is closely connected that of "Nirvana", which means 'extinction' like that of a lamp. This is of two kinds, representing two stages of release. The first which is a necessary antecedent of the second, is the extinction of desire (*trisna*) resulting in 'blissful calm' during the remainder of life (corresponding to the "Jivan-mukti," 'deliverance while alive', of the Brahmins). The enlightenment now attained causes the cessation of ignorance and consequently of re-birth, but the results of deeds done before enlightenment have to be suffered while the released man is still alive. The second stage is not reached till decease, after which there is no awakening, transmigration is at an end, birth and death are overcome without a remainder. This is "Parinirvana" or 'complete extinction', often inaccurately spoken of simply as "Nirvana."

It is sometimes thought that Buddha avoided a clear definition of complete "Nirvana", because he often puts aside the question of what the exact condition after death is when release has been obtained. But he appears to have done this because he considered the question immaterial, the main object of his doctrine being deliverance from suffering. He left no doubt about the goal to which his teaching led: the cessation of all the *Samskaras*, annihilation of all the *Skandhas*, eternal death. The glowing colours, however, in which the bliss enjoyed in the first or living state of release is described, led to the transformation of complete *Nirvana* into a positive paradise in Sanskrit Buddhism.

These first three noble truths are concerned with the philosophical side of Buddha's teaching, and were meant for the learned only. It was the fourth truth, which embraces practical morality and was meant for the people, that

made Buddhism the religion it became. This fourth truth is as follows:—

The path that leads to the cessation of suffering is the eightfold path. This truth represents the sum total of Buddhist morality, which is coloured by the goal to which it leads. The eightfold path comprises: right belief, right resolve, right word, right deed, right life, right endeavour, right thought, right meditation.

It should here be remembered, that, in the Buddhist view, practical morality should be accompanied by theoretical knowledge, and that the combined moral and intellectual perfection of a personality is the highest aim of Buddhist ethics. Mere knowledge, or a solitary immersion in mystic contemplation without practical actions, is not perfection, while on the other hand morality without insight into the depth of truth is baseless: in other words morality unsupported by reason has no solid foundation (that is, the customary morality of the ignorant).

Many of you will probably remember in this connection the Sanskrit aphorism: 'knowledge without action is a mere burden, like a necklace on an ugly woman.'

(i) The first stage on the eightfold path is *true belief*. It is, of course, indispensable to all who enter on the path of salvation, but especially for the monk who has renounced the world. As the cardinal maxim of Buddhist morality is, to abandon the false and base conduct of common men, and to adopt the methods of Buddha, in whose person is to be found the guide to the ultimate, the important role which faith fills in Buddhist morality is obvious. It is indeed one of the cardinal virtues of Buddhism, just as it is in Christianity.

The next five stages comprise the five commandments prescribed for laymen and practically all including man's duty to neighbour. The cardinal virtue dominating them all is charity (in St. Paul's sense of 'human kindness,' *maitri* in Sanskrit, *metta* in Pali); which Buddha declared to be of far greater value than all other means of acquiring religious merit, and the practice of which is constantly emphasised in the Buddhist scriptures. One of the precepts inculcated in connection with *metta*, or human kindness, is to requite evil with good. The history of Buddhism shows that such precepts were actually practised. **This precept resulting** from charity is also preached by Christ. In the

Chinese system of morality Confucius would not go as far as this: he asserted that evil should be requited with justice, not with good. That the standard of the moral law in Buddhism is very high is evident from the five commandments.

(ii) 1. The first of these five commandments is "Thou shalt not kill." The meaning conveyed by the prohibition is that one should refrain, not only from taking life directly or indirectly, but from doing harm to creatures both strong and weak. With the desire to avoid crushing insects and the shoots of plants was connected the practice of remaining in the monasteries during the rains. For similar reasons the Buddhists abominated the animal sacrifices of the Brahmins, as well as hunting and war. A practical result of this appears in one of the edicts of Asoka, which forbids the killing and sacrificing of animals. The extension of kindness to include animals was undoubtedly influenced by the doctrine of transmigration. Its far-reaching application of the principle made Buddhism the most tolerant of religions, for it has never extended itself by the sword or by force. But this very toleration was disastrous to it, especially when it came into contact with Islam. This commandment is only a wide extension of the principle of *ahimsa* which is also recognised in Hinduism. 'Thou shalt not kill' is also one of the ten Jewish commandments: but its scope there does not extend beyond the human race.

(iii) 2. "Thou shalt not steal" is the second commandment. It means that one should refrain not only from taking what is not given, but from causing or approving of such action. On its positive side, it implies liberality. This commandment is also identical with one of the Old Testament commandments.

(iv) 3. The third commandment is "Thou shalt not be unchaste". It has a twofold application: with regard to laymen it prohibits adultery, but with regard to the monastic order it further enjoins celibacy. It is identical with the Hebrew commandment "Thou shalt not commit adultery," except that the latter does not imply celibacy, as in the Buddhist order.

(v) 4. The fourth commandment is: "Thou shalt not lie." The full meaning of this is, that falsehood of every kind, including calumny, misrepresentation, and false witness, is prohibited. It implies on the positive side that one should say only what is good of one's

neighbour, not only what is conducive to harmony. It is partially identical with, though wider in its scope than, one of the ten Hebrew commandments: "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour".

(vi) 5 The last of the five commandments is: "Thou shalt not drink intoxicating liquors." This also implies that one should not cause others to drink or approve of their doing so, because it leads to folly and ends in madness.

There is no corresponding prohibition among the commandments of the Hebrew Scriptures. It is a pity that this should be so, for as these commandments have been incorporated in Christian morality, the virtue of temperance would doubtless otherwise not be in such a backward state in the northern and western countries of Europe. The United States of America, apparently dissatisfied with the slow progress of temperance, have recently prohibited the sale of intoxicating liquors by law, but seemingly without very conspicuous success. Alcoholic drinks have now assumed a generally medicinal character, and can easily be bought in chemists' shops, though not at bars. It is not quite clear how this law came to be passed: perhaps because every voter thought that it would be better for the country if his neighbour were forced to be sober, though not himself a believer in total abstinence, voting somewhat in the spirit of the Roman who said: I recognise the better course and approve of it, but I follow the worse.'

These five commandments are to be observed by the monk as well as by the layman; but there are five additional ones that are specially applicable to the former. These enjoin that he should (6) not eat at unlawful times, (7) not engage in dancing, singing, music, or plays; (8) not use garlands, perfumes and ornaments; (9) not sleep in a high or broad bed; (10) not accept gifts or silver or gold.

(vii) The seventh stage of the eightfold path is right thought: This could only be represented by hymns of Buddha and the church. There was no god to whom prayer could be addressed, and Buddha was only a human being who, after he had entered *Parinirvana*, no longer existed. Thus the early phase of Buddhism was unknown. Confessional formulas also find a place in the stage of right thought. The work called *Patimokha* (Sanskrit, *Pratimokhna*) was a formulary of confession constituting one of the oldest parts of the Pali canon. It is a list of sins enjoined by Buddha to be recited twice a month

on the days of full and new moon in an assembly of at least four monks. At the end of each section the reciter inquired whether any of those present had transgressed any of the articles that it contained. These two confessional days are called *upavasatha* (Pali *upavasatha*), a term originally meaning 'fast-day', inherited from Brahmanism. The eighth day after new and the eighth day after full moon were also *upavasatha* days, though not for confession. These four days together constituted weekly recurring festivals of the nature of Sabbaths.

(viii) The eighth stage was right contemplation. Four stages are distinguished in this and can only be practised by monks. As aids to mental concentration exercises in expiration and inspiration were much indulged in. Thus, though Buddha rejected all self mortification, he was not unsympathetic towards some of the practices of Yoga.

VI.

Throughout the system of Buddhist morality the personality of Buddha is prominent, and associated with it is esteem for individual liberty (as contrasted with rigid obedience to impersonal law), or at least for the spirit of (liberation and) liberalism. Though Buddha gave many precepts both in the theoretical and the practical sphere, they are expected to be followed not in the letter, but in the spirit. This comes out very clearly in Buddha's last sermon when he was about to enter into the Great Decease (*Parinirvana*). In this he urged that his disciples should leave off minor precepts and be themselves their own light. The value of this admonition cannot be over-estimated, when we note how it was handed down even in that school of Buddhist's (*theravadins*) who were strict advocates of precedent. This liberal spirit is closely connected with the esteem shown for the *middle* path which is expressly stated in the very opening of Buddha's first sermon at Benares to be a fundamental principle of Buddhist ethics and remained its guiding spirit throughout the vicissitudes of its history. The middle path is recommended not merely because it lies in the middle between worldly pleasure and ascetic self-tortures, but because therein lies the right way for realising the ideal in accordance with truth. It is this liberal and moderate spirit which distinguishes Buddhism from other ascetic orders, especially from the Jains; and it is owing to this spirit that, while Jainism remained to the last a formal

asceticism, Buddhism was able, in its development, to adapt itself to the needs of various times and peoples. This was the main reason why Buddhism became a great world religion, which neither Hinduism nor Jainism, owing to the rigidity of these systems, could ever have become. You will observe that the following of the middle path, an essential element in Buddhist morality, is practically identical with the doctrine of the mean in Confucianism, as well as with the principle of moderation which is the guiding spirit of Greek morality.

The full realisation of the eightfold path and the attainment of enlightenment (*bodhi*) are necessarily associated with the final eradication of fundamental vice. This condition is expressed in the status of an *arhat* (Pali-*arahat*) or 'saint,' who is free from all sins and desires, and enjoying perfect mental calm, has attained earthly *Nirvana*. Every Buddhist should aim at the attainment of saintship, and the only standard of this attainment is to be found in the personality of Buddha who is one of the *arhats*. In this respect the ideal of Buddhist morality consists in the imitation of Buddha (as is the imitation of Jesus in Christianity): this is the reason why faith in the master is so strongly insisted on for both moral and intellectual perfection. The ideal *arhat* sees in self-culture the first requisite of morality. This was the ideal of a section of conservative Buddhists who adhered rather to the letter than the spirit of the fundamental teaching. Opposed to this stream arose a more broad-minded school, which emphasised the importance of following Buddha's footsteps in spirit. This difference resulted in the division of the Hinayana and the Mahayana. In the former the ideal is the *arhat*, the self-centred saint, to whom self-culture is the first requisite of morality. To the Mahayanist the ideal is the *bodhisattva*, who insists on the necessity of altruistic action and thoughts, even for the sake of self-culture, as in the case of Buddha's former lives; the Bodhisattva is the teacher and benefactor of all beings. The Mahayana works for the sake of others in order to lead them to enlightenment. This system makes it possible for all beings to help each other on the way to salvation. In fact, this view is an altruistic, while the other is an egotistical one. The Mahayana ideal from the moral point of view shows a highly important advance from a self-regarding to an other-regarding outlook. The practical results of this ideal were moment-

ous. It may be said that Buddhist influence in China and Japan turned on this pivot although it was accompanied with abuses as well.

The classification of the virtues as well as the vice, in the Buddhist morality, consists of many enumerations, in which cross-divisions are not infrequent. As it would be both tedious and useless to discuss all these here, I will only mention what seems of importance.

The vices have in the first place to be guarded against and uprooted. The radical vice of human nature consists in egoism, which manifests itself in the three cardinal vices of lust (*kama*), desire (*chanda*) and intention (*adhippaya*). These again manifest themselves in various forms, among which are included the so-called 'fettters' or incentives, one group of which consists of no fewer than one hundred and eight. Compared with the vices enumerated in the New Testament which are thoroughly practical, these Buddhist classifications are more of the nature of psychological analysis of hair-splitting order.

The virtues and virtuous practices are classified in seven groups, in all of which are included faith, contemplation, and wisdom, the three cardinal virtues of Buddhism, as being the essential basis before the other-regarding virtue of love can be applied in practical morality. In all the classifications mental training plays a great part. Buddhism in fact lays more emphasis on the intellectual side than is done in Christianity. In this respect the Buddhist virtues may be compared rather with the Greek and the Confucian virtues; in the latter the cardinal virtues are wisdom, love, and courage.

Faith, however, plays the central part as it does in Christianity.

The virtues which lead to perfection or the other shore (*param*) of Nirvana are called *param-itas*: for the aim of Buddhist morality is to bring men to the attainment of saintship or Buddhahood, the final goal of perfect enlightenment. Strictly, speaking every virtue is a paramita; but in the Pali books the term is applied exclusively to the moral acts of Buddha during his innumerable lives in preparation for his Buddhahood. Ten paramitas are enumerated: they include charity (*dana*), truthfulness (*sacca*), and love or charity in St. Paul's sense (*metta*). With these may be compared the ten dharmas in Manu requisite for attaining the highest resort (*paramam gatim*). The param-itas play a great part in the ethical system of

the Mahayana, which bring them within the scope of all Buddhists, who must strive for perfect enlightenment. The *Saddharma-pundarika*, 'the lotus of the true law,' summarises these virtues. In the case of the Bodhisattvas, more consideration is paid to these among their virtues that have regard to others, and the essence of love is more prominent than in the ordinary treatment of the *paramitas*.

VII.

The organisation for the realisation of the virtues and the promotion of morality was established in the Buddhist Order or Sangha, which included monks and laymen. The guidance of morality therein was laid down by Buddha in the rules of obedience (*vinaya*), which included prohibitions and commandments, as well as the necessary measures of discipline for carrying them out. Though the vow of taking refuge (*sarana*) in the three jewels (Buddha, Dharma, Sangha) and the promise to keep the first five commandments in the ceremony of admission, are common to all members of the order, a clear line of demarcation is drawn between the lay and the monastic disciples in regard to the other standards of life. Buddhism thus teaches a twofold standard of morality; one that of monks and nuns which is beyond the world (*lokuttara*), and the other that of the laity, which is worldly. A detailed description of worldly morality is given in the sermon to Singalaka: here the practice of filial piety, harmony between husband and wife, respect towards teachers, etc. are recommended as the deeds that shall bear good fruit in one's being born in heavenly worlds. But to be perfectly moral according to the Buddhist ideal, all the conditions of the Sila or moral code should be fulfilled: for this, the monastic or homeless life is a necessary condition. It is evident that Buddha recommended the life of an ascetic (*samana*) as the fittest for perfect morality, but at the same time did not exclude household life (*sagara*) entirely from salvation. The Buddhist community or Order (*sangha*) is made up of the four classes of members: monks and nuns, laymen and laywomen. These four are always described as making up one body and as equally praiseworthy when they are well disciplined. Moreover, we hear of a Brahmin named Vacchagotta, who praised the laws of Buddha because of their universal application to all his followers without distinction of the condition of

life. Buddha himself is credited with having gone so far as to say that no difference existed between a layman and a monk when they had realised a condition of perfect purity. We find several laymen and laywomen described as having attained saintship (*arhat*) and it is evident that where there are differences of degree in their attainment, this is due to the difference in their state of emancipation from the fetters, and not to their respective conditions of life. Not a few lay disciples (*upasakas*) are said to have cast off the five fetters and to have entered into perfect *parinirvana* equally with many monks (*bhikkhus*). It is evident that many Upasakas were in the way inferior to monks in moral perfection, and that Buddha allowed them the same honour as the monks. We may, in fact, safely conclude that Buddha did not make a fundamental distinction between these two classes of his disciples in regard to the degree of their moral and spiritual perfection. It is at the same time very evident that many could attain the moral ideal of Buddhism with less difficulty by means of the homeless than of the household life, on the same ground as St. Paul recommended celibacy to the followers of Christ. Hence the pre-eminently monastic character of Buddhist morality, and hence the duty of the lay members to show special respect to the monks.

Something similar can be said about the Buddhist view of the relation of the sexes. Generally speaking women are regarded as less capable of perfect morality because of their natural weakness and defects. Hence female ascetics or nuns (*bhikkhunis*) are required to show special respect to the monks. Buddha himself was never tired of describing the defects and vices of women and of warning monks to guard against them. But this must not be ascribed simply to contempt for women, because similar warnings are given to women in regard to the wickedness of men. We know, too, how many excellent women played their part among Buddha's disciples.

With regard to lay life and the female sex it is to be noted that the Mahayana school took a higher view as a consequence of their Bodhisattva ethics. They take the former lives of Sakyamuni (Buddha) as the models of morality, which should at the same time be everyone's preparation for Buddhahood: hence they find the life of nobles or householders in no way incompatible with the practice of the *paramitas*

and the attainment of bodhi (enlightenment). In the Gandhara sculptures we find the Bodhisattva Maitreya (the next Buddha) represented with garlands and other decorations, exactly like the figures of princes to be seen in the Barhut and Sanchi sculptures. Nearly every Mahayana book contains laudations of various Bodhisattvas and lay saints. Thus Vimalakirti, a contemporary of Buddha, at Vaisati, lived the life of a rich man, dressed in fine clothes, driving in a smart carriage and so on, at the same time aiming at the perfect practice of the paramitas in the worldly life: his moral attainments were highly praised by Buddha; he is consequently regarded as a model Upasaka among the Buddhists of the Far East even at the present day. Again Srimla, daughter of King Prasenjit, was deeply versed in Buddhist wisdom and perfect in her moral practice on the path of the Bodhisattvas. The great vows which she took in the presence of Buddha, and the dialogues between her and Buddha show that lay morality when associated with true wisdom, was able to take up the essence of all the rules enjoined upon monks and nuns and to elevate and broaden them to the all-embracing morality of the Mahayana. For the Mahayanist, in short, the moral ideal consists in practising all the precepts of morality, regardless of the circumstances and conditions of life. A Mahayana text entitled Brahmajala enumerates all Buddhist virtues and moral precepts explaining them in higher senses, and according to the spirit of the Mahayana. It has become the standard of Buddhist Viyana in China and Japan, and has exercised great influence upon the morality of both nations.

The authority by which the rules and precepts were carried out was the Sangha, the religious community as an ecclesiastical organisation for the realisation of the ideals aimed at, instituted by Buddha. It is, in fact, the Buddhist Church. Buddha was during his lifetime the sole authority on and leader of morality. After his death a kind of apostolic succession, though not unified as claimed by the Christian Church, was kept up by a series of ordaining teachers (Upadhyaya in Sanskrit), and every Buddhist could trace the lineage of his ordination through the series of teachers up to Buddha. This practice of receiving the precepts from an Upadhyaya was observed both by monks and laymen even in Buddha's time, and parallel with this a kind of diocese was inaugurated

and is continued to the present day. It is called the *Sima* (Skt. *Siman*), or the circle within which the wandering monks and nuns, as well as resident laymen, had to attend regular meetings and ceremonies conducted by the elders during the rainy seasons.

The personality of Buddha gave unity to the Order or Sangha. But he neither designated nor made provision for a successor as visible head of the Church. This necessarily resulted in the formation of many sects, of which two centuries after Buddha's death there were no fewer than eighteen with their own monasteries. There were 'elders' (Sthavira, Piti therā) in the Church, but they were not official, the term being merely an honorary title bestowed on monks who had long been ordained. The organisation in the Buddhist church was thus very loose and was undoubtedly a great cause of weakness throughout its history, and was one of the main causes leading to its ultimate downfall in India. "Even in Buddha's own day his influence could not have extended over the many small and remote communities which were scattered all over India and beyond its confines, owing to the great stress he laid on the propagation of his doctrine by means of missionaries.

Buddha himself is described in enthusiastic terms. It is said that no being, no Brahmin, no god can equal him, and no one can fathom his grandeur. Among his innumerable qualities thirty-two were later singled out as the characteristics of a great man—one of these, the *ushnisa*, a round excrescence on the top of the head is always represented in the images of Buddha. In these there also generally appears between the brows a kind of wart *urna*, (Pali-*unna*) which is described as emitting powerfully illuminating rays of light. Nevertheless Buddha was regarded as a man, perfect indeed, but mortal.

In the early days of Buddhism there was no god to whom they could be offered. But the worship of relics and the adoration of sacred rites soon began to develop. After the cremation of Buddha his relics were divided into eight parts over which the various recipients built stupas. The veneration of relics later became a much developed cult. With the rise of the Mahayana school representations of Buddha and of numerous Bodhisattvas suddenly appear in the Buddhist monasteries in the region of Gandhara in the extreme north-west of India, in the first century of our era. In this corner of India was created the conventional

type of Buddha, which, spreading from here to other parts of India, was finally diffused over the whole of the Buddhist world. This type was probably created by some nameless Greek artist in the first century B. C. It has perhaps been the most enduring as well as the most widely dispersed type that the history of art has ever recorded. This figure furnished melancholy evidence of the most striking feature in the degeneration of Indian Buddhism: Buddha, who denied the existence of the supreme god and rejected the worship of gods altogether, himself came to be treated as supreme god, and the images representing him gave rise to a vast development of idolatry in the later forms of Buddhism.

In conclusion it will I think, be useful to summarise the morality of Buddhism as showing a distinct advance in the direction of the service of man.

The general character was coloured by the goal which Buddha had in view: Nirvana attainable only by the destruction of desire:

hence emphasis was laid on asceticism (excluding self-mortification as contrary to the doctrine of the Middle path).

On the religious side there was an absence of worship (either prayer or sacrifice); the only religious feature being faith in Buddha and incipient veneration of sacred sites and relics. Morality shows an advance from the customary to the conscious type, being regarded as of value only when based on wisdom (*prajna*) and mental training (*samadhi* or *citta*). It also shows an advance in the direction of altruism as based on love for one's fellow man (*maitri*). The advance from an egoistic to an altruistic stage is illustrated by the Hinayana ideal of the *arhat* giving way to the Mahayana ideal of the Bodhisattva.

Lastly Buddhism was the first religion to overstep the boundaries of nationality and extend morality to its widest sphere, mankind, by means of missionaries sent to foreign countries. It was thus characteristically ascetic, moderate, altruistic, cosmopolitan.

BOOKS OF THE QUARTER.

AN INDIAN CONTRIBUTION TO ECONOMIC THEORY: A REVIEW.

Principles of Comparative Economics Vol. I & II. M.A., Ph.D., with a Preface by M. Raphael. Georges Levy, Sénateur Membre de l'Institut de France, &c., (P. S. King & Sons, London, 1922-3) Vol. I pp. 1—296 and Vol. II pp. 1—415.

The first volume of Prof. Mukherji's brilliant contribution to economic theory is divided into two parts: one dealing with the First Principles of Economics, the Foundations of Comparative Economics and the Foundations of Regional Economics. The second part deals with the general considerations of Applied Economics and Relativity in Economic theory with special reference to the concept and the institution of Property. It moreover differen-

tiates the Indian scheme of distribution from the Western and grounds the general theory of Regionalism and the principles of Universal Economics on the basis of a 'Moralised' system of competition. This volume is also furnished with a not too exhaustive list of notes at the end with a valuable index.

The second volume is mainly descriptive and seeks to establish that Regionalism is not only not incompatible with universal economics, but offers the only bedrock upon which a more socialised system of Consumption and Distribution than the present one should rest. Perhaps Regionalism is a misnomer. What is meant is Communalism the soul of the vast Indian social system not yet checked by foreign political experiments and institutions. This Communalism is explained at some length in the second volume. It is not merely an Economic system; otherwise Prof.

Mukherji would never have accepted it ; it is a Socio-Economic System, a scheme of life co-ordinating different values. From this point of view, the chapters on Art and Religion of Communalism are specially interesting. If the strength of Socialism lies in its appeal to humanity we fail to see why Prof. Radhakamal's description of the Indian village community will not satisfy those super-fine critics who are not prepared to accept the inevitable class-consciousness and class-conflict that Socialism counts upon to inaugurate an era of equality and brotherhood. There will be many who will not subscribe to Dr. Mukherji's economic theories as such, but what he is concerned with and what the modern world needs now, is not an abstract, impeccable system of economics *a la Hegel*, but a concrete and matter of fact social basis of life *a la James*. Full-blown systems of philosophy have been exploded by the touch of Life, and yet we demand full-grown Economics ! It is high time that Philosophy should be made a compulsory subject for all students of Economics. Dr. Mukherji's picture of the Indian village-community should engage the attention of those who have the quarrel of the universe with them !

It is not possible to do full justice to the merits of the book within the short compass of a review. Suffice it to say that by these two volumes Prof. Mukerji can well claim to be an exponent of India's message to the world.

Since the days of Bagehot, attempts have been made to relate economic phenomena to physical concepts and causes. Prof. Jevons in his discussion of the coal question and periodicity of famines and Moore in his Analysis of Business Cycles, followed Bagehot's method. Their race is not yet extinct. A queer survival of their method, though it would have been disowned by them, is to be found in the economics of Communism and Anarchism which consider "the study of the social institutions as a chapter of natural science". But for reasons which need not be detailed here, Prof. Jevons and his school, as well as the anarchists, failed. For the truly scientific method is both deductive and inductive. Thus in this book, we find an application of the Laws of Kinetics in the analysis of economic concepts. The laws of Returns and the Theory of Population are seen to be parts of the Universal laws of collocation of matter and energy, an attempt to illustrate which has been

Dr. Mukerji's task and contribution in his second volume, which is mainly inductive.

Coming to the plane of organic life, we find a great stress laid upon a much forgotten aspect of evolution, *viz.*, Mutual Aid. The labours of Kropatkin and Drummond have their economic counterpart in the Co-operative movement of the small countries in Europe. But in Political Philosophy, the force theory of Oppenheimer and the conflict theory of Gumplowicz are called the Sociological interpretation of the State. Such theories are at best half-truths which must needs be corrected by a faith in the League of Nations and other methods of internationalisation. Dr. Mukerji believes in both. As a principle of economic differentiation—a heresy to all orthodox Economists with their Natural laws immutable like the laws of the Medes and the Persians,—between different types of Social Constitution and progress the importance of plant and animal economy has been brought out. Thus the question of diet comes to the fore-front of his discussions on Distribution and Consumption.

The psychological ground-work of the theories advanced here is in keeping with the recent tendencies of functional and social psychology. The concepts of social utility as super-imposing the insufficient notions of marginal utility, of co-operative production, consumption and distribution will cure the conventional notions about them of their individualistic trend. The significance of instincts and values has been elucidated, their actions as levers and impulses of the economic urge of life have been explained. The contributions of the classical school of psychologists occupying themselves with the states, rather than the flow of consciousness through the channels of behaviour of men acting in groups, has been sought to be corrected by a true estimate of socio-psychological causes which are more in accord with the concrete facts of human nature.

Race or Folk psychology, as the subjective back-ground of the economic differentiation of society into types, has been discussed in these volumes with the object of recognising the importance of ethnic values and social standards of different peoples as regulating economic values. The author here establishes a new alliance with Ethnology.

Both regional and anthropological conditions determine economic environments. While the school of Ratzel and LePlay emphasize the importance of geographical influences as factors of social causation, the significance of other natural conditions is ignored. And this is deplorable considering that Eugenics regards Nature as more important element than Nurture in the determination of the quality of the species. Herein, Dr. Mukherji has gone ahead of LePlay. The factor of human geography seems to have humanised his social economy. The special stress upon food peculiarities, the clothing and housing standards, the relation of the people to the land, in other words, the whole question of agrarian distribution, form the subject matter of an elaborate treatment in the second volume. It seems that the author started by being a regionalist of the orthodox school. A closer study of Indian facts, however, discovered for him the defects of Regionalism, which lie, first, in its incapacity to federate in a larger life on the economic principle and secondly, in its inadequateness to satisfy the needs of the whole man. There are whole sections in the volumes on our table which indicate the author's conviction that the incompleteness of a region has been remedied in the types of Communalism evolved by the Indian social mind. And it is *not* a blind faith, when we remember that confederations of a number of Indian villages are still to be found, that a villager belonging to such federations, by being a member of different occupational corporations and local bodies, has not only his wants satisfied, but can utilize quite a number of opportunities for his self-expression and that such villages are social units of activity and enjoyment guaranteeing an amount of self-contentment which is translated as inertia by the city-bred intelligentsia. After discussing the nature and origin of economic types, the author mentions how Asia and Africa to-day, are their battle grounds. The conflict, the maladjustment and the environmental stress, as a result of the above historical fact are the most significant phenomena in the East for the Indian student of economic institutions. But hitherto only a mass of facts has been collected by different scholars, but we can not profit by them so long as the economist who will utilize them does not benefit by Dr. Mukherji's method and teachings. Can we expect him to arrange these materials regarding the communal institutions of the East in the light of the new alliances of economics?

After the perusal of the *Principles of Comparative Economics* we thought that the author had well imbibed the lesson of the Historical School. But on second reading we found that he had parted company with the historical nationalism of List and his followers. Dr. Mukherji's 'history' is the 'traditional memory' of the different types. This respect for diversity is worthy of him. It supplies the most solid plank for our village reconstruction. It has helped him to avoid the cold abstraction of Internationalism and to build a theory of social integration and progress for the whole world. In this attempt we see a new commentary of Comte's Law of three stages which throws a flashlight upon a series of recent historical facts beginning from returns to primitive structures as in Russia, the national movements in India and Ireland and ending in the numerous attempts at group orientation.

This book is a comparative study. And only a comparative method can lay bare the merits of the book. The book might well have been named *Principles of True Economics*, for Dr. Mukherji preaches heresies here. We are afraid that his heresies will cause a flutter in the dove-cotes of orthodoxy. It will be put in the Index and be given a bad name and then banned by the divine hierarchy of the Marshallites. But heresies of to-day are the accepted truths of to-morrow—at least Dr. Mukherji's heresies will be: this is our conviction.

In this review we have not touched upon the demerits of the book. There are many unimportant ones. But we purposely refrain from pointing them out because we think that great books are rare in Economics and we can ill afford to misjudge them before they are judged truly in the light of historical perspective. Historical estimates are bound to be long and verbose. The real estimate is bound to be shorter. The book is sincere and therefore profound. Any defect that occurs in the book is covered by the sincerity of the author's creation. A creation is more than a mathematical sum perfect in its hypothesis and conclusions, it is organic and partakes of the spiritual and therefore it can afford to nestle defects in its bosom.

INDIAN INFLUENCE IN MALAYA.

Malaya. The Straits Settlements and the Federated and Unfederated Malay States.

Edited by R. O. Winstedt, M.A., D.Litt. (Oxon)
Malayan Civil Service. (Constable and Co.,
London, Bombay, and Sydney. Price 12/- nett.)

(Review by Philip C. Coote.)

In the days when he was a Hindu the Malay borrowed much from India and since he has become a Muslim he has continued the practice. Both in literature and religion there are traces of Indian influence in the Malay, dating back from very early times. Interesting parallels too may be drawn with European customs and superstitions which exist in India and Malaya, though in slightly different forms, all doubtless emanating from the same primitive source.

Throughout Asia there is the belief in the *were-tiger* just as in parts of Europe the existence of the *were-wolf* is credited. The Malays identify the Spectre Huntsman with Shiva while the Wild Huntsman of Europe, who must surely be of the same origin, is said to be Odin or Wodan. Support is given to "the Indo-Germanic theory that Shiva and Odin are avatars of an early storm-god, their common source." In India, Malaya and Europe rice-throwing at weddings is observed though in the vulgar west obnoxious confetti too often takes the place of rice. "Besisi betrothal sayings speak of the girl as a filly; Malays, Esths, Finns and Sardinians speak of her as a bird or a calf."

In exorcising evil spirits the Malay magician copies the Brahman and recites secret traditional charms. He declares that he knows the origin of the evil spirits and prefaces his invocations with the word "Om", continuing his address to the demons with words:—"Tis not the earth that's my footstool, but the skulls of every living thing." The Malay, like the Brahman, often uses a tabu vocabulary, and again may not have his hair cut if his wife is with child. In many other ways, especially in the marriage ceremony, the Malays observe Brahminical rites and ceremonies.

Imitating a Hindu prince a Malay Raja sends his *kêris* or dagger, the hilt of which is carved after the likeness of the Garuda, Vishnu's sacred mount, as his representative should he wed a commoner wife. In avoiding physicians, *userers*,

sailors, dancers, one-eyed persons and persons with thick hair on their bodies the Malays unwittingly followed the code of Manu.

Eventually the Malays were converted to Islam and it is difficult to determine what beliefs they, as pagans, borrowed from India, for the Muslims of Southern India were similarly indebted to Hinduism for their charms and incantations. As the Brahman touches the tongue of a newly-born child thrice with honey and *ghi* so does the Muslim from Arabia, India and Malaya, only substituting a verse from the Koran for one from the Rig-veda. A strange mixture of religion is sometimes seen in Malaya when incantations address at once the rice-soul, Sri, the Hindu goddess of crops, and Solomon, guardian of all living creatures.

Malay Mahomedanism of today bears traces of the early missionaries who came from the Coromandal Coast and Malabar, whose people are Sunnites of the Shafeite school. The Malays are Shafeites now and, until British control began in the peninsulas, they had their customary laws in matters of slave-right, sale, land tenure etc. Apart from marriage, divorce and the legitimacy of children, where Muslim law still prevails, British law is in force except where it is contrary to Muslim law.

With regard to Malay literature, no record exists of the Malay language in a form which is entirely free from Arabic loan-words, except for some Indian script of about the tenth century, Minangkaban memorials and the Venggi characters of the Kota Kapor inscription in Banka, the tin-producing island off Sumatra. Many Malay fables, stories and proverbs can be traced to India and are borrowed from such sources as Bidpai's Fables and Buddhist Jataka tales. Into these stories local colour has been skilfully woven by the Malays, but the Indian background remains. "The plots of folk romances, like the tale of Malim Dewan who stole the flying garments of a fairy princess and married her, are mostly Indian." The port laws of Kelantan in 1650 closely resemble those of the Moguls.

The pre-Islamic influence of Java is seen in old Malay literature, especially the twelfth century Panjitaks. A change of taste resulting in the introduction of romances of the Deccan came with the triumph of Islam, but these met with the disapproval of the Indian missionaries and the "Hikayat Indraputra", a collection of South Indian tales, was condemned as being profane.

"Some of these tales, like the 'Hikayat Parang Puting,' make Brahma the Supreme God; most contain allusions to Allah; all are of the same type, and parallels may be traced in Sinhalese, Kashmirian, and Punjabi folk literature."

Malay poetry, of which much is extant, bears the Arabic name *sha'vi* and consists of stanzas of four rhyming lines. Of modern Malay literature it is said:

"Perusal of the vernacular press today will show that the literary spirit is still strong in the Peninsular Malay, though it is overlaid with the tradition of translation, obsessed with religion and groping in the dark for material."

Mr. Winstedt has contrived, with the assistance of specialist helpers, to produce a book which deals with every phase of life in the Malay Peninsula. The illustrations are all that can be desired and *Malaya* may be considered a standard work on the country about which too little is known by those who have not actually lived there.

A SPIRITUAL BIOGRAPHY.

The Gleam. By Sir Francis Younghusband, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., (John Murray, Albemarle Street, London) 1923.

In these days when the tide of materialism runs strong, and sex problems, sensational burglaries, devious diplomacies, war romances and commercial achievements enter so largely into the stock-in-trade of the popular writer of books it is refreshing to come across a volume like this where the central theme is religion and the tone austere and pure, yet kindly. The book itself reads like a romance. It is a story of high spiritual adventure in which are recorded, in language that is often eloquent, the religious experiences of a certain Nija Svabhava—the name is assumed but the person is real—who in response to some inward voice set out to "follow the Gleam" of spiritual achievement. The book is also a study in friendship. On the one hand we have the scholarly, soldier-author, reflecting all that is best in the life and thought of the West, and on the other the eager, responsive seeker after truth whose roots strike deep in the soil of the East. So close is the spiritual kinship between East and West that it is difficult to determine where Svabhava ends and Younghusband begins.

Svabhava was happy in his upbringing. His father, a well-to-do landowner in the Punjab, is described as "a perfect natural gentleman" who holds loyally to the faith of his ancestors and is loved and honoured by a wide circle of friends. His mother was a choice spirit, gentle, retiring, and passionately devoted to the home, she exercised a profound influence over her susceptible son. Nurtured in this environment religion came naturally to him. At first he accepted everything on trust, thinking not to reason why. Then the mood changed. Going into the world of men and affairs—he accepted and held for 30 years an important post under Government—he came in contact with new and unexpected tides of thought. Notably an article by Huxley ridiculing the idea of God as an outside and omnipotent and perfect being, arrested him and started him on the task of thinking things out for himself. He found the old foundations giving way under his feet, and for a time he floundered: then it dawned on him that this was the beginning of intellectual and spiritual freedom, and he recognised the Gleam. His motto was henceforward *excelsior* and the book proceeds to narrate his aspirations, questionings, reflections, ambitions and achievements in the realm of the spirit.

From Huxley he turned to Christ. Unable to accept his unique divinity, or to entertain the miraculous in the Gospel records he was still drawn irresistibly to the person of the Galilean—an Asiatic like himself—who breathed a new message of sympathy and love. He came to regard the appearance of Jesus Christ on the Earth as the most important fact in human history; but he could not accept him either as complete or final. This is the dominant thought of Svabhava in Religion. Nothing is final, the highest height attained implies a higher still, the best is yet to be, even Christ may be surpassed.

Darwinism he studied long and intently; and his eager spirit, finely touched to fine issues, saw in the theory of evolution a new beauty in nature and a new hope for the world.

His mind began to occupy itself with dreams—the Gleam led on to the vision. And we find him formulating plans for the inauguration of a new Religion that was to reform and transcend the old. He would conserve all that was best in the old religious systems, holding with Tennyson—"They are but broken lights of thee, and thou, O Lord, art more than they"; but he would enrich them by the experiences of great and good men who have lived above the level of their fellows, and he would always leave the way open for new manifestations of God.

He determined to write a book and on retiring from Government Service he took up the task with the

intention, as he expressed it, "of enriching the blood of mankind, of imbuing men with the impulse of a truer, greater, nobler and more virile religion." This religion was to be of the Earth, Earthy, its heaven was to be in the midst of men and its God was to be in their hearts. Evil, he recognised, but as something superficial and evanescent: the fundamentally real and everlasting is the good. The conflict now waging must end in the vindication of the good, the Victory of Love. His definition of religion is worth recording. "By religion I mean that sense of union with the universe—that universal all-embracing love which makes us feel in intimate touch with all other human beings, as well as with animals and plants and the spirit which is animating the whole—that consuming love which reads into them the very best, which draws from them their best, and which gives to them our best. I mean, too, that eager aspiration after the highest we can in our most exalted moments conceive and our passionate intention to make the world of fact realise the world of our ideals." One instinctively contrasts this creed with that of the old Hebrew prophet—"He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?"

After much study and reflection Svabhava reached the conception of God as a corporate personality. Illustrations come readily to hand in the regiment, school, church and country, and he argues that in each of these examples the units make the unity which unites them. "The units in their togetherness, as a whole, impress and make each unit. And each unit contributes to the making of the whole." Svabhava believed that God is a unity of just this nature, and so he holds—"Each of us goes to the making of God as each soldier goes to the making of the regiment, and God makes each of us as the regiment makes each soldier". This is a far cry from his early conception of God as a spectator or Divine Autocrat living outside the world and working his sovereign will irrespective of the goodwill or co-operation of the creatures he had made. Having determined the relation of God to man Svabhava's next endeavour was to fix the goal at which man should aim. Instinct told him that love was the greatest thing in the world, and instinct found a strong ally in the conclusion of modern philosophers like McTaggart and Moore that personal affection is the highest good. His mind fastened on the familiar fact of personal love as exemplified in parent, husband, friend, etc., but he soon passed on to his favourite conception of corporate personalities of regiment, school and country and made the great discovery that love of God and love of

country are of the same kind, the difference being one of degree. Ultimately, he reached the point where the world is to be understood as a person whom he terms Mother-world. Of this person the outward material world (including the bodies of human beings) is the "body", and what we speak of as God is the "mind". Thus God, man and the universe are indissolubly united and mutually dependent on each other. We are part of God as a jet is part of the fountain, a flame of the fire, a ray of the sun. "There is no sharp dividing line where we end and God begins. The central line within us—that is God." This teaching is not new—hitherto we have been content to call it higher pantheism—but it is stated here with freshness and charm, and Svabhava's idea of a soul within the soul corresponding to a "jet" urging on to higher endeavour is certainly quaint. All this leads up to World Love as the culmination of human existence: religion resolves itself into a larger patriotism.

How is this to be attained? It would seem to come by illumination, but prayer, concentration and earnest striving after the very best are also indicated as pathways leading to the goal. Wherein lies the incentive to right action? Svabhava gives the answer in the following declaration of faith—"To love Mother-World no commandment was needed. World love was his nature, the one true reality, the basis on which his whole life was constructed, the pinnacle crowning this upward endeavour. . . . As a patriot offers his life he would give up his own for World-Mother in faith that in her it remained and would evermore work out its good".

The book is lighted up by 4 shining examples of lives devoted to the cause of religion with whom Svabhava claimed spiritual kinship. These are (1) Mirza Ali Mohamed, the well-known religious reformer of Persia, commonly called the "Bab" or Gate to God, who proclaimed himself the Messiah, and sealed his testimony with his life. He too held that no religion is final.

(2) Ram Krishna, an orthodox Hindu, who claimed to be an incarnation of God and lived a life of singular purity and devotion. He dwelt much on the Motherhood of God.

(3) Keshub Chunder Sen, the flaming apostle of the Brahmo Somaj, who exercised a profound influence on the religious thought of his day, but hardly satisfied the high standard set by Svabhava.

(4) The author of "The Golden Fountain", an English lady of fine sensibility, who through much tribulation entered into a state of "Contact with God" which can best be described in terms of music.

The sketches of these four "Saints" are finely drawn and add immensely to the interest of the book.

Svabhava still follows the Gleam. He grows old still aspiring, and the thoughts that arise in him find an echo in hearts the world over.

This spiritual biography is too sacred for criticism; but the following reflections may be forgiven:—

(1) To the great majority religion is still the dominant issue in life; but something more than aspiration and devotion are expected from any religious system that claims authority and finality.

(2) To the question—"Do we need a new Religion?" the obvious answer is Chesterton's epigram which might be appropriated by the Hindu and the Muhammadan as well as the Christian—"Christianity has not been tried and found wanting: it has been found difficult and has not been tried". On the other hand

a new interpretation of an old faith will always receive a ready hearing.

(3) The need of the hour is applied religion.

(4) The problem of evil remains. It is a pity Svabhava did not discuss the personality of the Devil! His conception of an irresistible urge towards perfection is finely expressed; but what of the tremendous pull downward?

With the memory of the recent world war so vivid, and racialism ever asserting itself, we would do well to pause ere we accept this thinker's view of sin as superficial and evanescent.

This is a noble book and I commend it as a spiritual tonic.

(Rev.) J. Z. HODGE.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

ART DRAMA AND CRITICISM.

Catalogue of the Indian Collection in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston Parts I and II by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, D.Sc., (Museum of the Fine Arts, Boston, 1923) \$5.25.

The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, contains, perhaps, the best collections of Indian Art in the world outside India. Under the able direction of Dr. Coomaraswamy, an artist well-known to the readers of the *Hindustan Review*, the Indian section has been enlarged and amplified to represent the best-known Indian traditions in painting and sculpture. A comprehensive Catalogue is in course of preparation. Parts I and II have now been issued containing respectively a general Introduction to the Arts of India, and an itemised description of Indian Sculpture. The Catalogue is of more than ordinary interest, as the "Museum possesses the most important collections of the arts of India now existing in America. It embodies the Ross, Ross-Coomaraswamy, and the Indian portion of the Goloubew collections. It is especially rich in Rajput and Mughal paintings, Nepalese painting, illustrated Jaina manuscripts, Nepalese and Sinhalese bronzes, Indian colonial sculpture, textiles, and jewellery."

The Introduction gives a rapid summary of the different epochs in Indian history and their general relation to the art movement. With the sure skill of a

master, Dr. Coomaraswamy tells us of the evolutionary progress and subsequent decadence of music, painting and sculpture, of drama and aesthetics. A list of general works on Indian philosophy, religion, literature and history is appended. In Part II the author sketches for us a brief history of Indian sculpture and gives a profoundly interesting account of the great figures of gods and goddesses which moulded the sculptor's art. A very comprehensive Bibliography precedes the detailed individual description of the sculptures in the collection. A short note is appended to each numbered item explaining the 86 photographic plates which conclude the Catalogue. The volume is sumptuously printed on art paper, and differing from the ordinary Museum lists, is a store-house of authoritative information. The aim has been to explain to the layman the rich significance and the particular tradition which moulded the sculptor's imagination. India, the home of these artistic treasures, has still to produce a comprehensive account of her art collections. The Museum of Fine Arts and Dr. Coomaraswamy deserve grateful thanks for this excellent work.

Indian Art & Art-Crafts Lectures. By Stella Kramrisch, R. Srinivasan, T. G. Krishnaswami Pillai, and W. D. S. Brown (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, 1923) Rs. 2/-.

At the Theosophical Convention held in Madras

in 1922 Mrs. Adair organised in connection with an exhibition of Indian Arts and Crafts a course of lectures on art traditions. The substance of these lectures is now reproduced in book-form under the above title. By far the most striking of these lectures are the two contributions by Dr. Kramrisch, the noted Austrian artist, who has gone further than any other Western savant in her appreciation and understanding of Indian Art. She discourses here on the 'Significance of Indian Art' and tells us in pointed language that "the reality of Indian Art consists in the relation of the forms of the visible world with an inner rhythm". Art therefore is essentially subjective, and a thing seen with the eye remains illusory until the outward glance is harmonised with the sensitive impression it produced on the inward eye of the painter or the sculptor. That explains the reflective, meditative nature of the sculpture and painting of India. Dr. Kramrisch proceeds to unfold the perennial beauties of the creative instinct which finds the fullest scope under such a conception of art; she is not concerned with the superficial criticism of the objectivist and the naturalist whose ideas and motives are distinctly subversive of the finer ideals. Dr. Kramrisch returns however to this theme indirectly in her second lecture on "Recent Movements in Western Art" and discusses the *ethos* of such ultra-modern schools as the Cubists, Futurists, Constructionalists, etc. She shows how incomplete such revolts are and why they miss the divine fire. Other lectures included in the volume are 'Indian Music of the South' by Mr. Srinivasan—a technical contribution, a paper by Mr. Krishnaswami Pillai on the 'Art-crafts of South India' and a discourse on 'Guildcrafts and Indian Handcrafts' by Mr. W. D. S. Brown—the latter being an eloquent plea for a rejuvenation of the Indian handcrafts through the aid of guild organisations.

The Beggar's Opera & Polly by Mr. John Gay (Chapman & Dodd, Ltd., London, 1923) 7s. 6d.

Messrs. Chapman & Dodd have rendered a useful service to lovers of music and to opera goers in particular by publishing in a beautiful edition a textual reproduction of the famous *Beggar's Opera* and its sequel *Polly*, together with all the musical airs as they appeared in the original editions of 1728-9. In the *Beggar's Opera* the airs are placed in the body of the book; in *Polly* the music is at the end. The edition should prove very useful in extending the already wide circle of lovers of this first and greatest English Opera, which is possibly more popular to-day than it was ever before.

Stories from the Russian Operas by Gladys Davidson (T. Werner Laurie, Ltd., London, 1923) 7s. 6d.

Russian Operas occupy distinctly a pre-eminent place in the European musical world. The haunting beauty and the quaint charm of the Russian soul finds its full play in these musical compositions of the great artists. People ignorant of Russian language and even innocent of the outlines of the tale have thoroughly enjoyed a Russian Opera season. It was a great desideratum which the author of the *Stories from Russian Operas* has provided. In plain English the story is told of sixteen of the more famous operas, including Cui's 'Mademoiselle Fifi' and Tchaikovsky's 'Iolanta'. The opera goers will relish the book immensely, for it will help them in enjoying fully the musical treats of the Russian Opera Companies. These dramatic tales will also serve to arouse an interest in Russian legendary and traditional myths which form the libretti of these operas.

His Majesty's Embassy & other Plays by Maurice Baring (William Heinemann, Ltd., London, 1923) 7s. 6d.

This latest volume of the Baring plays are of the light variety type which we like to take with us to the bed. In *His Majesty's Embassy* the author has successfully contrived to display the petty intrigues and trifling sensations of Society life set amid the suave, punctilious regimen of an Embassy. The situations strike us as amusing and full of fun. The characterisation is not elaborate nor tiresome. The other two plays included here are *Manfroy*, *the Duke of Athens* and *June.....and After*. The former is an unalloyed story of egotistic idealism which believes in no higher faith than one's own splendid destiny. The length of the serious dialogues in this play is at times boring, but the finale is very appropriately drawn. *June.....and After* is a comedy of the rollicking variety, full of fun and amusing caricature drawn in the best of light-hearted veins. It is possibly the most successful of the three plays in the volume.

Dramatic Legends by Padraic Colum (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1922) 7s. 6d.

Mr. Colum, the Irish poet and dramatist, in his latest volume provides the dilettante with an instructive variation on dramatic forms. He sketches the outlines of four dramatic pieces based on folk lore and provokes the reader, were he inclined to exercise his

dramatics, to expand and fill in the suggestive situations which Mr. Colum has skilfully traced. In the book are also included miscellaneous poems on the countryside and on "creatures and things seen". The poet enjoys the gift of skilful expression and a tender harmony of words.

The Realistic Revolt in Modern Poetry by A. M. Clark (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1922) 2s. 6d.

Within a small compass of 83 pages Mr. Clark has managed to present an admirable survey of modern poetry, full of critical acumen and shrewd analysis. The modern English poetry has shared with other activities of life the liberating and widening tendencies which marked the opening of the 20th century. And it is not surprising that youthful aspiring minds, sick of the sophistries of the Victorean age, crashed into the arms of Whitmanism and experimented and indulged in Lisbyean measures to the verge of absurdity in all seriousness. Mr. Clark realises with Mr. Moore that "Art is merely the embodiment of the dominant influence of the age"; and traces the over-rated hurry of modern *vers libre* to its obvious inspiration from specialism and license, from a love of intricate descriptions and an obsession of details and particulars. This reaction from Victorean complications and sophistications has led the modern poets, in the opinion of Mr. Clark, to seek "the natural man, stripped of all conventions, and nature unadorned and unpoetised". The author is not sure of the goal, but he sees in the passionate earnestness of modern poetry the saving sign and a hope for the future. *The Realistic Revolt in Modern Poetry* is an able analysis of modern poetry, and of sound literary merit.

POETRY.

Georgian Poetry 1920-22. Edited by E. M. (The Poetry Bookshop, London, 1922) 6s.

The fifth volume in the Georgian Poetry series covers the prolific post-war years 1920 to 1922, a period when illusions reached their climax and faced a blank disenchantment as the rolling clouds of misery and horror continued to hover over this wretched world. Poetry, the art of life and true living, does not however show any marked falling of from the buoyant pedestal it set up for itself in the immediately preceding period (cf., for instance, the 1918-19 *Georgian Poetry*). But there is distinctly visible a more sombre tone, a less luxurious abandon. The Georgian poets

chronicled in the present volume do not rise above the dogma of modernism, and being born of an intensely realistic age do not forget the miasma of environment, unless it be in the wilderness of detail. There is no sacrosanct pontificism here in technique; liberty of form, of verse, of choice of matter is deliciously indulged in. And yet the lines which make the most appeal, the appeal of true poetry, are set in the old, orthodox, traditional forms. True, the genius of a Walter de la Mare or a Davies lifts the out-of-the-way phrase into a region of beautiful phantasy. What more charming, for instance, than Mr. de la Mare's lines on *The Moth*? Squire and Drinkwater are represented here in the usual characteristic attitude. Of the rising new poets Mr. Edmund Blunden and Mr. Hughes are the most pleasing. The Editor deserves to be sincerely congratulated on tracing out for us the sources of modern English poetry.

The Poets' Year: An Anthology. Compiled by Ada Sharpley (Cambridge University Press, 1922) 7s. 6d.

Miss Sharpley has selected a novel method of grouping her favourite poets. The art of selection always entails a laborious task, demanding during the process not only an objective outlook, but a sympathetic harmony of spirit, an instinct for the appropriate and the beautiful. Miss Sharpley has found a framework for her anthology in the days of the year: "the care of the compiler has been not so much to fit each day with its poem as to place those chosen in the season to which they seem naturally to belong and in such sequence as to form a harmonious whole". She has applied a discriminating judgment in fitting the lines to the seasonal beauty of the particular day, or to its historic, mainly literary, traditions. The result is not un-picturesque. We hear Shelley's voice, as we write this sitting on a balcony which opens out on a forest humming with Autumn breath,

".....from whose unseen presence the leaves
dead
Are driven, like ghosts from an enchanter
feeling,"

of the 'wild West wind' heralding the advent of winter.

American Poems and others by J. C. Squire (Hodder & Stoughton Limited, London, 1923) 5s.

Mr. Squire in his latest book does not attempt to beguile us to a region where fairy rings are woven

round fantasies of the sweetest imaginings. In this volume he is a journalist turned a poet for the nonce. 'The Stockyard' is a vividly realistic piece of newspaper reporting set in metre; and if it is not poetry it is not the author's fault. He has sought to relate for us the account of a visit to the Chicago Stockyard and the impressions recorded by the poet are so sensitive and real that pleasure of the kind one obtains from reading poetry is perceived. But the essential prosaicness persists. There are other lines in the volume, however, which retail with delicious frugality the magic which the poet, apart from journalist, possesses in an abundant measure. The poems entitled 'The Unvisited' and 'The London Sunset' are wholly charming :

"Dream-prairies spread with flowers that never grew,
And breezes balmier than ever blow,
And fiercer wilderness and mightier mountains
And deeper woods than traveller ever knew,
And mellower fruits and bluer lovelier bays,
And warmer starier nights and idler days,
No pain, no cruelty and no unkindness,
Peace and content and love that always stays."

King Cole and other Poems by John Masefield
(William Heinemann, Ltd., London, 1923) 6s.

Mr. Masefield's art does not appear very pleasing to those who do not wish to see in poetry anything but the tender emotions and delicate imaginings of a land of phantasm where Beauty undisputed reigns. Mr. Masefield combines his vision of the things beautiful with his realistic impressions of the things of the earth. He is of the great "Bringers Down of Beauty from the stars", and his latest book of poems reveals in him a rare combination of a charming power of portrayal and an eerie imagination. 'King Cole' is not a fantastic Pied Piper. The poet tells us here of the miseries of a poor peddler of amusement being charmed away by the mysterious benevolence of an ethereal fiddler. His elastic, winged harmony of words touched with sympathy and humour produces a charming effect, especially so because the poet keeps us tuned to the worldly echoes, and so distils beauty out of earthen jars. The other poems included in this volume are of the characteristic pattern which Mr. Masefield has made his own :

"Would that the passionate moods on which we ride
Might kindle thus to oneness with the will;
Would we might see the end to which we stride,
And feel, not strain, in struggle, only thrill."

Yasodhara or the greater Renunciation by Nellie B. Badcock (The Chelsea Publishing Co., London, 1923) 5s.

In a dramatic poem of great power and beauty of language Miss Badcock gives us a vision of the inward struggles which Yasodhara, the wife of Gautama Buddha, endured. The incident is related with sympathy and intuition; how Yasodhara, losing her husband, sacrificed her child, her only son, at the altar of the Greater Love which had drawn Gautama to a life of Renunciation. Mr. Rhys Davids questions the morality of the sacrifice and asks us to extend not admiration but pity to Yasodhara, for her holding back herself. But Miss Badcock, with a finer perception of motherly love and a woman's instinctive sympathy does not evidently share this view and shows Yashodhara in a truer light, and her little narrative therefore attains the real merit of understanding and appreciation.

Jute-Waste by E. B. Chase (Erskine Macdonald, Ltd., London, 1923).

Jute-Waste deserves to be remembered if only for the beautiful lines on 'Puri By The Sea' :—

"Oh, wonderful sands where the cactus grows,
With its delicate saffron bloom;
Wonderful beach, where the wee crabs play
And the great white breakers boom";

Mr. Chase, who is well known in Calcutta as a rhymster of power and imagination, has chosen here to talk to us in a light-hearted manner of petty incidents in the life of a Railway official in India. And such romantic things as the Trolley and the Permanent Way have found their first poetic admirer.

Collected Poems of Thomas Hardy (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London, 1923) 8s. 6d.

Messrs. Macmillan & Co. have done a useful service in bringing together in one edition the poems of Thomas Hardy, who is, perhaps, not so well-known for his poetry as for his dramatic works and novels. All his lyrical, narrative and reflective poems are here presented under one cover and suitably apartmented under appropriate heads. Admirers of Mr. Hardy will appreciate this handy collection; to others it will come as a welcome surprise that Mr. Hardy is a poet of no mean merit and of considerable charm.

The Songs of a Broken Airman by Jimmy Howcroft
(Hodder & Stoughton, Ltd., London, 1923) 5s.

'Jimmie' Howcroft crashed from an aeroplane in France in 1916 and has suffered since in constant pain from a fractured spine. Nursed with tender hands and solicitous love by a devoted mother and an equally devoted friend he has been able to ease the intensity of his physical pain by a flight of the mind through those picturesque "caravans of cloud" which his earthly body is unable to reach any more. His verses poignant with the touch of a living tragedy, gather a charming and courageous appeal as we read of the undaunted cheerfulness of his soul:—

"Then what am I?

A stricken pawn in a mighty plan,
Yet striving still to be a man.

"Though hopeless seems the race to be
Yet breast it bravely thou shalt see,
Like mist before the sun,
Thy troubles die, and fade away,
And joy be at the close of day
If thou hast nobly run."

His love of nature and of the little things of the earth is beautifully rendered in many a charming line. May we take to the spirit of the brave man who amid suffering tells us of hope and faith:—

"The game's most poor, most humble pawn,
May wait with hope until the dawn."

Herodias Inconsolable by Mary E. Boyle (The Chelsea Publishing Co., London, 1923) 3s.

The legendary dialogue between Herod and his wife on the death of Salome is exquisitely rendered in verse by Miss Boyle. Salome, the beautiful tempting vampire of popular imagination may be said to be slowly coming into her own. Oscar Wilde's alluring phantasy put an exaggerated emphasis on Salome's temptations. Miss Boyle presents here a contrary view. Salome is the tragic victim of her mother's ambitious scheme to win for Salome a throne and a kingdom. Herod, who ordered the execution of John, the Baptist, in order to keep his promise, appears in Miss Boyle's version in a half-repentant mood, conscious of "some dim justice" which avenged the Baptist's death by the drowning of Salome in an ice pool. The narrative is of delicate grace and poise, and neatly executed.

FICTION.

Phantom by Gerhart Hauptmann Translated by B. Quincy Morgan (B. W. Huebsch, Inc., New York, 1922) \$1.50.

Gerhart Hauptmann is a venerable name in the literary world. This great German dramatist has written some of the finest works which would adorn any country or time. If he is not of the line of Goethe or Shakespeare, he is very near to them. He has chiefly been engaged in writing dramas dealing with social problems. But *Phantom*, his latest work published after a silence of six years, is a psychological autobiography of an abnormal type of human being, and is really an essay in psycho-analysis. We feel, as we run through its pages, the hand of the master who has come very near to realise in written language and render beautiful expression to the storm and strife of a megalomaniac soul in actual action. We guess that the author has deliberately chosen to keep to the dull, prosaic incidents of daily life, and consequently there is no brilliant description or any magnificence of characterisation for which Hauptmann is justly famous. If Lorenz Lubota, the central figure in the story, obsessed by the vision of the splendid destiny of a literary genius, goes through the fires of misery, toil and prison, this tragic rhythm of passion does not excite the author to bewail the irony of his fate. Nor when solitude, reflection and tender companionship restore Lorenz to common sobriety and to a life of plain everyday business, does Hauptmann try to charm our senses by seductive praise of the ethical conclusion. No, it is a calm tale of the troubled soul, related in low tones and without specious colouring. Of absorbing interest to the psycho-analyst, the story appeals to the common human instincts which play havoc so often unwittingly and leave us wondering if we are multiple personalities. Do we at all feel like Lorenz on any occasion when, for instance, he says that "the sight of the utmost purity led me into the deepest wickedness, and the sight of the basest wickedness led me to purity, and even in another and better sense"? Have the mentors of our unconscious selves any hidden springs of action unknown to our psychological experts? *Phantom* ends on a triumphant note—the re-construction of a bruised, maimed soul through the magic of a woman's love.

Possession by Mazo De La Roche (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London, 1923) 7s. 6d.

In *Possession* we have one of those strong, passionate novels that stir the most elemental instincts

in you. It is a story of the Canadian prairies in the springtime, of the wild onrush of human passions, of the tragic autumn of despair and resentment leading to a mellow winter of resignation at the unkind destiny. Mazo de la Roche is a new name in Canadian fiction, new to us. But his work is of the kind that one can not but classify as out of the ordinary. Besides the intriguing conflict of passions which the author has skilfully welded into a harmonious though tragic tale, he has introduced the age-long conflict of race and tradition. Derek Vale, a youth happy in glorious manhood, settles down on an orchard farm, with an old spendthrift, Jerrold, and a beautiful daughter, as his neighbours. While a strong liking, and later, love begins to develop between the two young people, the plucking season brings in a family group of Red Indians on the farm as help. Wild youth, springtime, and a lovely fawn-like beauty amongst the helpers:—Forced into marriage with Fawnie, the Red Indian girl, on the birth of his baby, Derek feel the incongruity of his position weighing heavy on the peace of his mind. The life of Derek and Fawnie, complicated by a confession of love between Derek Vale and Grace Jerrold during Fawnie's temporary, but misunderstood, absence necessitated by fear for Derek's life, forms the chief interest of the book. The author has skilfully avoided the jar of a conventional happy ending. He achieves a notable success in the delineation of the final scenes. A capital book.

The Public Square by Will Levington Comfort (D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1923) \$2.00.

The Public Square is a novel of the finer perceptions, of the fight of two eminently gifted human beings for the guiding light that is Life, of the conflict between instinct and understanding. This latest work from the pen of Mr. Levington Comfort is of special interest to India, for the author draws his inspiration from the personality of Mr. Gandhi and his high-souled creed. The story in its bare outlines tells of the arrival in New York of a youthful girl of nineteen, Pidge Musser, anxious to fight her own way in this great big world. Her contact with the elemental passions of mankind comes in the shape of a tempestuous liason with Rufe Melton, a being of divine profile but formed of the basest metal. Miss Claes, the gentle and patient landlady of the house, and Nagar, the silent and timid youth from India, and Dick Cobden help her in their own way in seeing it through and yet not lose her bearing with the wonderful thing which life is. Cobden, disappointed in his love for Pidge, takes the advice of Nagar and

Miss Claes and goes out to Africa to seek the Little Man they call Gandhi. War breaks out and then the entry of America in the maelstrom; and Cobden rushes through India for a fleeting meeting with Gandhi on to France to act as a war correspondent. Disillusion and disenchantment, and then back to India after the war just as the hovering clouds were about to break at Amritsar. The climax of Cobden's inward struggle of the soul is reached in the public square they call Jallianwalla Bagh which witnessed the bestial brutality of armed force against a mild-tempered crowd of peaceful, unarmed citizens. The bands of illusion seem to fall off Dick's eyes as strolling next day through the streets of the stricken city he comes across Nagar, the silent tongued youth of New York, now stripped naked to a board and being flogged for an imaginary political offence. With Nagar's silent appeal to Dick not to interfere, light seems to break upon Cobden's mental horizons, and the true values of life as preached by Mr. Gandhi slowly begin to embrace his inner being. At the other end of the world in New York Pidge Melton has fought through her fascination for Rufe, and Dick's Eastern letters enthuse her with a new understanding. As the time for Dick's return approaches nearer, Pidge has finally fought through her mental tribulations and is ready to fall on somebody's shoulder for comfort, for love, for sympathy. Mr. Levington Comfort, in his own inimitable way, has handled the difficult theme with the skill of an artist. *The Public Square* is fiction of a very high order indeed, very near to art that is creative, that tells us of the mysterious bundle of instincts and passions that we are made of, and points to us the distant shining star emitting light and understanding. There is no surer appeal than the appeal of love and appreciation and here we have both in an abundant measure. We are grateful to Mr. Comfort for a correct and sympathetic delineation of Mr. Gandhi's ideals, for the incisive analysis of passions in their conflict for mastery, for the emphasis on the recognition of the true human values of life, for being, in fact, the "Messenger of India".

The Cage of Gold by Sita Chatterjee Translated by A. E. Brown, M.A. (R. Chatterjee, *Modern Review* Office, Calcutta, 1923) Rs. 2/8.

The Cage of Gold is a novel of social Bengal written originally in the Bengalee language by Miss Chatterjee, the talented daughter of the editor of *Modern Review*. Principal Brown of the Wesleyan College has rendered the English translation admirably. Miss Chatterjee has the gift of the facile

pen and an easy flowing style. She writes with a merry twinkle of the many ludicrous customs which still prevail in Hindu Bengal. In *The Cage of Gold* her theme is the temptation of a *mariage de convenance* in conflict with the enduring charm of intuitive love. The loveable little slip of a girl that Urmila represents perhaps a typical Hindu maiden in Bengal to-day with the difference that Urmila possessed a sterner spirit and broke through the artificial barriers that prevent a Bengalee girl from even speaking out her own heart's desire that touches so intimately her entire future. Samarendra, the young College Professor, poor in purse but rich of mind and heart, is a delightful sketch; and so is Giribala Dasi, the prototype of many a scheming mother anxious to secure a desirable match (desirable in the sense of weighty in gold) for her son. Lalit, the briefless barrister who looked more at the flesh-pots than a marriage with Urmila and her fifty thousand rupees meant than at the slender strings that bound Urmila's heart, is a pitiable, almost contemptible, figure. The prattle of children is delightful to the ears. The tender manner in which Urmila finally over-rides the scruples which gripped her is singularly charming. We congratulate the young author on the success she has achieved in presenting a vivid picture of the homelife of Bengal in such delightful setting. The promise which Miss Sita Chatterjee held out in her little sketches in "Tales of Bengal" is amply fulfilled.

Bodies and Souls by Shaw Desmond (Duckworth & Co., London, 1922) 7s. 6d.

Can a man possess a woman's body and not possess her soul? This intensely interesting problem forms the theme of Mr. Desmond's brilliant study of a man, honestly conscientious in thought, sexually clean, but utterly romantic. *Bodies and Souls* is one of those arresting novels which demand attention because of their persuasive appeal to the most vital social problem that faces society in modern times. A man with a brilliance almost amounting to genius searches his innermost self for an explanation of the apparently contradictory passions that govern his daily musings on the mystery of sex. He has married in all earnestness for love, for physical passionate love, inspired by the informing intimacy of the soul. The two, man and wife, are soul-mates, but the passing frolic of time witnesses a change. Jan Raymond perceives in his wife a "lady of fire and snow" so far as physical passion is concerned; Muriel detects in her husband the strand of revolt against the sanctities of married life, a desire to satisfy elsewhere the sensations and

the cravings of the body which crowd Jan's mind. The conflict is psychologically pathetic. Muriel's letters form a vivid story of a high-strung woman's soul. Mr. Desmond inspires the moral that a mere soul-union or a body-union entails misery and unhappiness, and that the ideals of true marriage are consummated only when a man and wife possess each other body and soul. An inspiring book vividly written and of absorbing interest to young people.

The Breaking Point by Mary Roberts Rinehart (Hodder & Stoughton, Ltd., London, 1922) 2s. 6d.

Mrs. Rinehart is well-known for her mystery stories, full of thrilling adventures and fashionable detective plots. She possesses in a remarkable degree the gift of sensitive impression-sketching drawn from her deep knowledge of the conflict of human passions. In *The Breaking Point* she breaks new ground. She presents the life story of a man who has forgotten his past and rebuilt a new life and a new individuality through the tender ministrations of a noted psychoanalyst, after the fashion of Coué. A wild youth, full of wine and women, ends in tragic murder and subsequent forgetfulness. The new life begins as a quiet, peaceful physician of the countryside. But the world is not big enough and nervous twinges of memory strike a disquieting note, until the storm breaks and the old drama is revealed in its naked brutality. Intertwined with the tale is the happy mixture of a strong love, faithful amid disappointment and dis-illusionment. Mrs. Rinehart has tackled her story with great charm and skill. The characters of Dick Livingstone, the rejuvenated doctor, and Elizabeth, of the wondrous but fretful and frivolous Nina, of old David, the faithful mentor—all are vividly portrayed. They live through these pages and endear themselves to us.

Broken Horizons. By Dana Burnet (Thornton Butterworth, Ltd., London, 1922) 7s. 6d.

Mr. Burnet as a novelist is new to the literary world. Hitherto he has been chiefly known as a writer of verse, and verse of a high order. His poetic vision has moulded this tale of the *Broken Horizons* where an unscrupulous young brother steals the blossom of a pure, high-minded, convent-bred girl of tender years whom the elder brother, though twice her age, loves with a passion known only to true lovers. Teresa has given herself once and she belongs to Howard for life, even though Stephen Millard, the elder brother, marries her out of pity and the desire

to atone the great wrong done to her by Howard. The tragic unhappiness of two souls, bound in a mesh through no fault of their own, makes a poignant reading. With a realistic touch the author does not tempt us to unite Stephen and Teresa in life; and when Stephen is dead, Teresa hears the call of Howard, inspite of her full knowledge of her complete loss of love for him. The enigma resolves in the attraction of the body-union with an antipathy of the souls. We are strongly reminded of Louis Couperus's *The Law Inevitable* with its similar poignant tragedy. Dana Burnet's story is an arresting tale and stands out for its literary merit.

For Me Alone. By Andre' Corthis (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London, 1921) 7s. 6d.

In *For Me Alone* ("Pour Moi Seule") M. Andre' Corthis, the eminent French novelist, dissects the soul of a woman after the fashion of Gustav Flaubert, but with a difference. *Madame Bovary* is a masterpiece in French fiction. Corthis takes up the same old story of unloved mating with its tragic sequel for the finer, more sensitive soul; and yet in *Alvere Gourdon* there is the restraining pathos of socialised morality that forgives slander of the soul but not of the body. *Madame Bovary* had no such scruples of conduct and behaviour, and remains therefore a greater figure than *Alvere*,—*Alvere who is tempted forward and then draws back*—earning our pity though not our admiration. But the situations are different and Corthis is writing in a realistic age of prescription and custom where physical restraints on the meanderings of the soul have become stricter and more rigid. This realistic touch works out admirably in its own way and the revelation of a refined woman's tribulations when in contact with a bizarre, almost vulgarly crude, personality of her husband. With sure skill the situations are well drawn and the reading is entirely pleasant. M. Corthis' book stands out prominently for its enduring analysis of a woman's innermost passions.

A Frontier Man. By G. E. Mitton and J. G. Scott (John Murray, London, 1923) 7s. 6d.

Sir J. G. Scott and Lady Scott (G. E. Mitton) take us back again in this volume to the charm and mystery of Burma, a theme which they have made their own. They deal in a new situation, however, in *A Frontier Man*, and relate in an entrancing manner the story of a shy, awkward man who spent a lonely

routine life on the outposts of the Burmese Frontier. But the tale is more than a routine story; it tells of the courage and perseverance of a woman of high lights in love. Set amid the romantic strangeness of an alien country the story grips you with its charm and absorbing interest. The authors have not attempted to pass judgement on the Burmese people, as would be an obvious temptation to the hack writer on the East; Sir J. and Lady Scott have taken the country and its people as they actually are; they speak of the charm and mystery of the countryside as it strikes a stranger. The local colour is properly apportioned and presented in a free, easy style. The result is a cleverly written and charming tale.

Scissors. By Cecil Roberts (William Heinemann Ltd., London, 1923) 7s. 6d.

Scissors, as child, as boy, as man, is always interesting for he is typical of the youth of the age. Mr. Roberts is a realist of the true rank, and so, perhaps because of his earthly contacts, succeeds in his sentimental situations. In *Scissors* his portrayal of the life history of a characteristic young man is admirably touched. Nothing more delightful has been written than the amusing and wholly boyish school life of Scissors. The author created in the boy an enduring character, loveable and charming, full of fun and frolic. Hardly out of his teens when the death of his father robs Scissors of his boyhood, and he suddenly becomes a man, penniless and alone in the world. The "drums of Timur" which dragged him from his baby-bed in the Far East have sounded their call, and the life of Scissors becomes a poignant reading as despite his success in journalism he finds the horrors and bestialities of war affecting him and his intimate associations in the cruelest manner, finally robbing him of his cherished love who deliberately sacrifices herself at the altar of pity. Mr. Roberts takes Scissors back to the East for another flight to the clouds before the final crash. A fascinating tale and living one with its firm grip over the realities of life.

For France. By Morice Gerrard (Odhams Press Limited, London, 1923) 7s. 6d.

Set amid the chivalrous age of France when Henry of Navarre, later known as Henry IV, was fighting for his Crown and kingdom, this powerful historical romance transports us to the Middle Ages when chivalry ruled the hearts of men and honour signified

a principle of faith. Mr. Gerrard has developed the theme with his usual skill and brought the climax in the famous battle of Ivry which decided the fortunes of Henry. The striking note which runs through its pages is the charming love tale of Countess Clarice and a Captain of the Scots who under Chevalier Ogilvie rendered signal services to the country of their adoption. *For France* is a thrilling historical romance, written with delightful charm and grace.

LAW.

Primitive Ordeal and Modern Law. By H. Goitein (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 40, Museum Street, London, W. C. I.) 1923.

Though not intended to be of practical use to the practitioner of law, Mr. Goitein's book—*Primitive Ordeal and Modern Law*—is a treatise of great interest to students of jurisprudence. It deals systematically with the *origines* of various kinds of trials by ordeal in Europe and shows how they came to be metamorphosed into our present legal process. The subject is concerned not only with the science of law but with also other branches of sociology. The author has a complete grasp of the entire range of the topics so comprehensively dealt with by him. With a view to assist the reader's comprehension of a difficult subject, a synopsis of each chapter is placed at its top, analysing the argument and indicating the topics dealt therein. Appended also to the chapters are notes giving cross-references to other passages bearing on the same topic in the book, and at the end is a fairly comprehensive bibliography of standard works on the various subjects dealt with in the volume. Altogether by reason of its wide scope, grasp of the problems discussed, and research in the history of Jurisprudence, Mr. Goitein's work forms a notable addition to the rather small collection of books in English expounding problems of early law and custom, and it throws a flood of light on a number of matters concerning our present-day legal processes and procedure.

A First Book of Jurisprudence for Students. By The Right Hon. Sir Frederick Pollock, Bart., K.C., D.C.L. *New Edition.* (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London) 1923.

Sir Frederick Pollock's standard work called *A First Book of Jurisprudence* appeared first in 1896. Since then it has held its place as a valuable aid to students. The present edition is the fifth. With regard to changes that have been made in the original

work, the author states that: "In the second and third editions I amplified a few passages where further explanation seemed desirable; in the fourth I added some observations on rules of pleading and evidence; and the latter part of the book, has called for new references and other amendments in each revision. Both in making additions and in supplying omissions I have tried to avoid the temptation of crossing the boundary between illustration of principles and exposition of technical rules". The result of these judicious changes—additions, omissions and alterations—is a thoroughly up-to-date text-book of Jurisprudence, which may safely be recommended to all beginners of the Science of Law. It may be said to be an almost ideal manual of the subject, and deserves wide circulation amongst students of Jurisprudence.

The Origins of Order and Law. By H. Cohen. (Effingham Wilson, 16, Copthall Avenue, London, E. C. 2.) 1923.

Mr. Herman Cohen, the author of *The Spirit of our Laws*—the second edition of which we recently noticed in terms of appreciation—has written an elementary but instructive little book on certain aspects of Jurisprudence, civics, and ethics, called *The Origins of Order and Law*. Its great merit is that it attempts—and does so successfully—to develop concrete instances rather than weave abstract generalisations. It discusses in simple language the origins of law and custom, their growth and development, and their emergence into present-day conditions, which latter are lucidly expounded. Though many treatises intended to familiarize the beginner with conceptions of Jurisprudence have been published during the last few years, we have no hesitation in declaring that Mr. Cohen's work is not likely to be beaten by any rival in the field. We have much pleasure in commending it to students desirous of obtaining a first view of Jurisprudence.

The Hindu Law of Marriage and Stridhan. By (the late) Sir Gooroodass Banerjee, Kt., M.A., D.L., Ph.D., (S. K. Lahiri & Co., College Street, Calcutta) 1923.

The Tagore Law Lectures for 1878 delivered by the late Sir (then Dr.) Gooroodass Banerjee called the *Hindu Law of Marriage and Stridhan* have just appeared in a fifth edition. Ever since its first publication, the book has been justly regarded as a standard work on the subject, and for many years to come it is bound to be looked upon as a classic in Anglo-Indian

legal literature. The last edition (the fourth) was edited by the learned and accomplished author himself, in 1915. The new (fifth) edition has been edited, revised and overhauled by his son—Dr. Sarat Chandra Banerjee—who is fully qualified to present to the legal world an edition worthy of his father's high reputation as a scholar and jurist. He has not only incorporated the decisions relating to the subjects dealt with which have appeared in the law reports since the issue of the last edition, but has enriched the book with new matter, which is very properly printed separately within square brackets, to enable the reader to distinguish it from the author's work. Altogether, the present fifth edition of his father's classical work by Dr. Sarat Chandra Banerjee, will maintain its deservedly high reputation as admittedly the best treatise on the subject it deals with. A word of commendation is due to the publishers for the excellent format and get-up of the book, which deserve acknowledgment.

The Law of Motor Vehicles in India. By Dewan Bahadur S. Bavanandam Pillai, I.S.O. (Nathan & Co., Mount Road, Madras) 1923.

Dewan Bahadur S. Bavanandam Pillai is the Deputy Commissioner of Police in Madras and his experience of traffic in the capital of the Southern Presidency has enabled him to produce the most comprehensive work on motor traffic in this country. It is much more than a commentary on the Indian Motor Vehicles Act (VIII of 1914). Though making that enactment the framework of his book, the author has under each section brought together in the form of comments brief extracts from reported cases decided by our highest judicial tribunals as also from standard British and American treatises like Halsbury's *Laws of England* and the *American Cyclopædia*. Besides elucidative commentaries, the utility of the book is materially enhanced by the collection of rules made under the Act by the Government of India and the major provincial governments, a table of cases and a general index. Dewan Bahadur Bavanandam Pillai's *Law of Motor Vehicles in India* is thus an exhaustive work on the subject and will be of great value to all concerned in the administration of the Act it deals with.

The Indian Workmen's Compensation Act (VII of 1923). By A. G. Clow, I.C.S. (The Pioneer Press, Allahabad) 1923.

Mr. A. G. Clow's edition of the recently-enacted Indian Workmen's Compensation Act is not

only—to our knowledge—the first in the field, but more than that, it is an ideal commentary interpreting and elucidating the provisions of the new measure. The author has succeeded in presenting a comprehensive survey of the scope and objects of the Act, though he modestly states in his preface that his work "is rather an introduction.....than a commentary." Howsoever it be characterized, the book is a capital study of an important branch of law, a knowledge of which will be likely in much demand in the process of the industrial expansion of this country. It deserves appreciation for its many merits and also a large circulation.

The Parallet and Case-Noted Code of Criminal Procedure. (Madras Law Journal Office, Madras) 1923.

The new Code of Criminal Procedure—namely the old Code (Act V of 1898) as amended by Acts XII and XVIII of 1923—came into force on the first of September last, but though more than six months have passed since the enactments of the two amending bills, only one annotated edition of the consolidated Act is—to our knowledge—available to the public, the one under notice. The two amending measures have made not only many but drastic and substantial changes in the old Act, particularly by removing, to a large extent, the racial distinctions that disgraced our criminal procedure. The publishers of the *Parallet and Case-Noted Code* have conferred an obligation on the legal world by the publication of their excellent edition, which should enjoy a very wide distribution.

The United Provinces Revenue Companion. By Radha Charan. (Lala Ram Narain Lal, Katra, Allahabad) 1923.

Mr. Radha Charan—a Deputy Collector in Agra and Oudh—has done well to bring together in a compact form the texts of the various Indian and provincial enactments dealing with the substantive and the adjective law relating to rent and revenue in the United Provinces. The texts are annotated and elucidated in the light of decisions of the highest Judicial tribunals and hints likely to be of use to revenue officers are inserted. There is a comprehensive index which will facilitate reference. The book is evidently modelled upon the *Bengal and Behar Revenue Manual* compiled many years back by the late Mr. H. A. D. Phillips and re-edited since. A handy work dealing with the land laws in force in Agra and Oudh, as also with the general provisions

about procedure in the trial of rent and revenue cases, was a long-felt want. This desideratum is now completely removed by the publication of Mr. Radha Charan's useful compendium.

Hindu Law. By J. R. Gharpure. (Girgaon, Bombay) 1922.

Mr. J. R. Gharpure—Vakil, Bombay High Court—is well known as a leading authority on Hindu Law, by reason of his monumental digest called *The Collection of Hindu Law Texts*, now numbering a large number of volumes, accompanied by translations of some of them into English. This highly meritorious work we shall adequately notice in an early issue of the *Hindustan Review*. In the meantime, it gives us a sense of satisfaction that his *Hindu Law*—which is admittedly the best text-book for the student—has reached a third edition. Its merits are lucidity, accuracy and comprehensiveness, and the usefulness of its text is materially enhanced by reason of the ingeniously designed coloured map showing the tracts governed by the various schools of Hindu Law. Altogether an ideal manual.

Anson's Law and Custom of the Constitution, Vol. I. (Parliament) 5th edition. (Oxford University Press, London and Calcutta) 1922.

The works of the late Professor Sir William Anson on the British Constitution and on the law of Contracts are justly regarded as classical. The first volume of his standard work on the Constitution has been recently edited and revised by Mr. Maurice L. Gwyer and deserves acknowledgment and appreciation. A comparison of it with the last edition of 1909—which was brought out by the author himself—brings into striking relief the many important changes effected during the past dozen years in Parliament. The restrictions on the powers of the House of Lords in 1911, the extension of the parliamentary franchise in 1918, the admission by statute of women to the House of Commons in 1918, and to the House of Lords by decision of the Lords' committee of privileges in 1922, the establishment of the Northern Ireland Parliament under the Government of Ireland Act of 1920, the formal severance in 1922 of the Irish Free State, the many changes in the procedure of the House of Commons made during and since the war, and the delegation of discretionary legislative power to the executive government by the Defence of Realm Act—these are only some of the more conspicuous events since 1909. The editor has shown skill in weaving

the supplementary matter into the fabric of Anson's exposition without altering the pattern of the original. In its new form Anson's classic will continue to hold the field as the best exposition of a most important and instructive subject, in fact, as the standard work on the British Constitution.

The Bihar and Orissa Municipal Act 1922. Edited by Syam Krishna Sahay, Bar-at-Law. (Butterworth & Co., India, Ltd., 6, Hastings Street, Calcutta) 1923.

Mr. Syam Krishna Sahay has done well to bring out an annotated edition of the new Municipal Act of Bihar and Orissa. Mr. Sahay as the Chairman of the Ranchi Municipality, and also as a practising lawyer and public man, is pre-eminently qualified for the task he has undertaken, with the result that his edition of the Bihar and Orissa Municipal Act is an excellent work which will be found highly useful by all concerned with its administration or interested in the progress of Local Self-Government. In his preface Mr. Sahay pays a just tribute to the work of the first Local Self-government Minister in the province—Mr. Madhu Sudan Das, C.I.E.—who was responsible for the two very liberal and progressive enactments, those dealing with the municipalities and district and local boards. Mr. Hallett, who as Secretary in the department of Local Self-Government had much to do with the new Act, contributes a very informative Introduction and Mr. Sahay's editorial notes and comments are helpful and elucidative. The book, thus, makes a meritorious text-book on a subject of great interest.

Confessions and Evidence of Accomplices. By Rai P. N. Chaudhuri Bahadur, B.L., Government Pleader, Pabna. Third edition (M. C. Sarkar and Sons, Law Publishers 90/2-A, Harrison Road, Calcutta) 1923.

The first edition of Mr. P. N. Chaudhuri's *Confessions and Evidence of Accomplices* appeared in 1903 and was noticed by us in terms of appreciation as a work "which should find a place on the bookshelf of every one who has got to try or conduct a criminal case." Its second edition came out in 1910, and we again commended it to the legal world as "the best compendious sketch of the subject" and "a comprehensive exposition.....and valuable reportory of the case-law on the subjects dealt with", which would "be found to be of the greatest use by all connected with the administration of criminal justice". We have now lying before us the third edition of the book, which the learned author has practically re-written, carefully over-hauled, thoroughly brought up-to-date, and made

fully abreast of the latest reported decisions and also of the statutory law as amended by the recent criminal procedure enactments. The result is a treatise which—in spite of some deserving rivals—may now justly be regarded as the one standard work on perhaps the most important and certainly the most difficult branch of the adjective criminal law of British India. It is an indispensable work alike for study and reference.

Famous Judges and Famous Trials. By Charles Kingston (Stanley Paul & Co., London, 1923) 12s. 6d.

In this volume Mr. Kingston does not attempt to delineate the biographies of the eminent judicial authorities. He gives us glimpses into the humorous sidelights of a judge's court; and with *causes celebres* as his chief material the author throws a vivid flash-light on the peculiar mannerisms and eccentricities of some of the greatest figures that adorned the Bench. Of such Coleridge and Cockburn provide the author with plenty of characterisation-anecdotes. The volume is of more than passing interest and should be read with avidity by our local bars.

INDIAN CONSTITUTION.

The Development of Self-Government in India 1858-1914. By C. M. P. Cross. (The University of Chicago Press, Illinois, U.S.A.) 1922.

It is strange that the most systematic, the most comprehensive and withal the most sympathetic study of the growth and development of responsible government in India should be made available by an American scholar. In this work the author presents a detailed account of the development of self-government in India, beginning with 1858 when the political dominion of the East India Company was abolished and the British Government itself took charge, and continuing through the successive stages up to the outbreak of the Great War. Mr. Cross has taken particular pains to get at underlying causes and to interpret and trace the main currents of events in order to develop a background for the understanding of the problem as it exists to-day. *His Development of Self-Government in India* shows this problem to be one of absorbing interest, for it arises out of the clash of two very different civilizations. The British control of India is an attempt to graft the institutions of Western society upon a vast oriental population with entirely different history, habits, and traditions, and this great and novel experiment is supremely attractive. Each chapter deals with a stage in India's progress toward self-government, marked by a

significant event. The successive periods are given exhaustive treatment. There are full accounts of the more important facts. Completeness and authenticity make this work of value as a historical reference book. The usefulness of the book is materially enhanced by the bibliography appended to it, which will enable the student to follow up further studies with great advantage. The author has ransacked and utilized all trustworthy sources of information and has marshalled the results of his researches with judiciousness. But his work is open to two objections—first that it is a string of quotations with but little from the author himself, and second that it stops with the Morley—Minto reforms and does not deal with those known after the names of Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford. Now the first defect was perhaps inevitable, to a large extent, in a work of this kind; the second can be removed in a subsequent edition. Apart from these, the book deserves earnest consideration as coming from an impartial observer, who brings out into strong relief the historical perspective and sums up his views as follows:—"The development and continuance of the political dominion over India which alone has made the experiment possible has been on the whole a purblind process, made up of opportunism, mingled with an occasional stroke of audacious genius. Its motives have been predominantly commercial, coloured by the impulses characteristic of Imperialism and blended at times with lofty idealism." No one familiar with the history of British administration in India will dispute the correctness or the justice of this contention. It may be hoped, however, that the commercial motive will now yield to a better and nobler one, that of leading India to the goal of responsible government.

The New Constitution of India. By Sir Courtenay Ilbert and the Rt. Hon'ble Lord Meston. (University of London Press Ltd., 17, Warwick Square, London, E. C. 4). 1923.

Of the many books which have appeared in exposition of the new Indian constitution, perhaps the most instructive is the collection of lectures delivered by Sir Courtenay Ilbert and Lord Meston at the University of London, in the session of 1921-22, called *The New Constitution of India*. The Lectures by Sir Courtenay Ilbert were written from the point of view of those who framed the Constitution rather than that of those who have to work it. They aim at describing briefly the main features of the Constitution as it exists on paper. The lectures by Lord Meston present a picture of the New Constitution as it actually works

in India. The growth of the movement which rendered a change necessary is traced; reasons are given for the peculiar form of Government which has been introduced, its difficulties are discussed, and a forecast is attempted of its future. Three important Appendices are included, relating to the Government of India Act, 1919. The two sets are complementary, and together give a clear idea of the genesis, principles, working, and even of the possible fate of this experiment upon the success of which depends India's political advance. The writers agree that Britain was obliged to make to India an offer of Self-Government. The very enforcement of British ideals had taught India to demand liberty and responsibility. As Lord Meston puts it, "we had steadily grown from the role of a cynical policeman to the position of an earthly providence. But the excellences of our rule could no longer be a complete justification for its wholly alien character." That is but the barest truth and Britain should be prepared to concede to India a larger and larger measure of political freedom in proportion to her growing qualifications for it.

The Political System of British India. By E. A. Horne, I.E.S. (Oxford University Press, 1, Garstin's Place, Calcutta) 1923.

Professor Horne, of the Patna College, is believed to have been deputed to America for pro-British propagandist work and while there delivered a series of lectures at the Harvard University in the spring of 1921. These form the nucleus of his book called *The Political System of British India*. Though dealing, however, with the earlier political reforms, it mainly concerns itself with the latest development associated with the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme. The work of a scholar who has personal knowledge of the country, Mr. Horne's book is a useful contribution to the new reform literature. The book traces the history of reform in India from the earliest days of British rule, and gives a full description of the new constitution of 1919. Particular attention is given to the two points that distinguish that arrangement: Devolution of provincial administration and Dyarchy. There are also chapters on The Constitution in Operation, Some Political Problems of the New Era, and The Revolutionary Movement. The book thus provides, in an easily accessible form, up-to-date information on the subject of Indian constitutional reforms. Originally intended for American audiences, the lectures had to include much which, though quite familiar to us, was unknown to those in America. There are traces of it left in the revised work before us. The last chapter on the Non-Co-operation movement is perfunctory and

might well be excised from a second edition, or replaced by an amplified sketch.

The Indian Candidate and Returning Officer. By E. L. Hammond, C.B.E., I.C.S., (Oxford University Press, 1, Garstin's Place, Calcutta) 1923.

Mr. E. L. Hammond—Chief Secretary to the Government of Bihar and Orissa—is an authority on elections and electioneering. In 1920 he published a useful compendium of the law governing elections in India and this has formed the nucleus of his new work called *The Indian Candidate and Returning Officer*, which is a comprehensive, accurate and up-to-date digest of the law and practice relating to elections to central and provincial legislatures in the Indian Empire. It deals systematically with the constituency, the electoral roll, the candidate, the election agent, the election expenses, organisation, the returning officer, the polling station, the counting of the votes, bribery and treating, undue influence, personation, publishing false statements, corrupt practices, election petitions and enquiries and includes useful appendices. It is the most exhaustive work on the subject of elections to Indian legislatures and no one connected even remotely with our political system can do without it. It is the one indispensable work both for the purposes of study and reference and its merits redound to its author's credit. Its value is appreciably enhanced by reason of a thoughtful introduction by Mr. Montagu.

Work of the Indian Legislatures. Edited by Mrs. Annie Besant, D.L. (The Indian Bookshop. Second Line Beach, Madras) 1923.

Mrs. Besant has rendered one more notable service to Indian progress by editing her compilation called the *Work of the Indian Legislatures*. The only thing to object to in it is its unweildy size. For the rest, it is a highly useful work of reference offering as it does an excellent synopsis of the bills introduced and enacted, resolutions moved and budgets discussed and voted upon in the various legislatures in India constituted under the Reforms Act. Equally instructive are the views expressed in reply to the questionnaire on the working of the Reforms. Then there are papers on constitutional changes in the Empire, communal representation, defence, military expenditure, finance, and the proposed Supreme Court at Delhi by prominent publicists like Mrs. Besant, Sir Sivaswamy Aiyar, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Mr. Ramaswami Aiyar and Dr. Gour. The book would be invaluable to journalists, publicists and public men interested in advancing

the bounds of India's political freedom by means of constitutional agitation.

The Government of India: Parliamentary Legislation Relating to India. By Sir Courtenay Ilbert. (Oxford University Press, 1, Garstin's Place, Calcutta) 1922.

The third and last edition of Sir Courtenay Ilbert's standard work called *The Government of India* appeared in 1915 and a new up-to-date edition is urgently called for. In the meantime, we welcome a revised and overhauled reprint of its historical introduction, which formed its first chapter. In its present form this up-to-date reprint offers an excellent historical survey of parliamentary legislation relating to India from the earliest period of British connection down to our own times, and it is the only succinct sketch by a master of the subject with which we are familiar. It should have a large circulation amongst students of British Indian constitutional and administrative history.

ECONOMICS.

Money. By William Trufant Foster and Waddill Catchings (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1923) Pollak Foundation for Economic Research Publication No. 2. \$3.50.

The Pollak Foundation for Economic Research inaugurated their publication scheme with the issue of Prof. Irving Fisher's monumental work *The Making of Index Numbers* (reviewed in our July 1923 issue). The second volume on *Money* is in a sense more interesting and illuminating than Prof. Fisher's technical discussions of the ideal index number. The joint authors of *Money* have maintained throughout their discussion a practical view-point combined with vigorous and straight reasoning based on sound and discriminate thinking. The business-man and the practical banker in particular should feel grateful to the authors for their instructive contribution on a topic that lies so close at the heart of the everyday world. It is not the ordinary text-book kind of book dealing with the functioning of our exchange medium in an abstract and unreal atmosphere. Messrs. Foster and Catchings have realised the needs of the economic hour and their speculations and argument touch the very vital facts of business conditions that prevail to-day. *Money* is a contribution of real merit and instruction.

The central thought governing the minds of the

authors relates to the fact of cyclical disturbances of business conditions, which, they believe along with other well-known economists (*e.g.*, Mitchell and Hawtrey), are directly traceable to monetary instability. Emphasising that money, in the sense of the circulating purchasing power, forms the moving media of industry and enterprise, the writers consider the mal-adjustments between money spent in production and money spent in consumption to be the organic causes of the alternate rhythms of business prosperity and depression. After an exhaustive analysis of the varied aspects of the *malaise* the authors proceed to consider the problem of stability of prices and critically examine the schemes put forward for amelioration by such prominent economists as Major Douglas and Mr. J. A. Hobson. Their original contribution to the problem of trade cycles consists on the emphasis they lay on the deficiencies of the classical Law of Supply and Demand. They consider that as the *dollar-votes* of the consumer play a decisive role in the regulation of Production, money in the form of suspended purchasing power occupies the central position in the discussion of the problem by virtue of the triple option in respect of time, place and goods with which it invests the owner. By the ingenious device of the concept of a "circuit flow of money" it is sought to prove that major "fluctuations in business could be curbed if there could be sufficient control over fluctuations in the amount of money available for use in consumption". Altogether a very able discussion, provocative of instructive speculation. The authors deserve to be heartily congratulated on their brilliant contribution on a difficult subject.

Restoration of the World's Currencies. By R. A. Lehfeldt, D.Sc., (P. S. King & Son, Ltd., London, 1923) 6s.

Prof. Lehfeldt of Johannesburg University is well-known for his studies of the South African Gold problem. A broad, comprehensive survey of the chaos which rules in the European exchange markets to-day confirms the author in his faith in the efficacy of a return to the gold standard. The urgency of the restoration, or rather, the stabilisation of the world's currencies demands, in his opinion, a speedy return to the orthodox notion of money broad-backed on good, solid gold. He does not dismiss offhand radical stabilisation schemes, like Dr. Fisher's, but considers that the time is not yet and that the people's conceptions of currency do not allow of a break from the gold concept. The adoption of a gold standard

may not prove effective for gold, as a commodity, is subject to the cyclical variations of its costs of production. Hence measures are suggested in the form of an international control for regulating its supply. This is being optimistic particularly when the League of Nations itself appears to hold but a phantom of effective recognition. Prof. Lehfeldt's book gives us a useful survey of the present currency conditions. Written in an easy, informative style the book will be appreciated by students of currency.

Stabilisation: An Economic Policy for Producers and Consumers. By E. M. H. Lloyd (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London, 1923) 4s. 6d.

We have seldom come across a little book of such absorbing interest as Mr. Lloyd's essay on a subject which to laymen appears, to reckon in its most favourable light, as abstruse and theoretic. In the small compass of 128 pages the author has contrived to give us a surprisingly clear picture of the chaos and disaster which prevails in Europe and the essential need for control by inter-state agencies of the economic forces if Europe is to be saved from disruption. The recurring instability of general prices consequent upon serious mal-adjustments of production and consumption calls for an exhaustive enquiry into the fundamental causes. Mr. Lloyd is impressed by the scheme of currency reform sketched by the International Genoa Conference in 1922, and suggests the adoption of a European Monetary Convention, whose most important provision will be the co-operation of the Central Banks in enforcing a common discount rate and a single pool of gold, thereby regulating "the volume of circulating credit and currency, not with reference to any fixed amount of one commodity, such as gold, but by reference to the total volume of all commodities bought and sold, as indicated by the general level of prices, statistics of trade and production, and general economic conditions". So far Mr. Lloyd is in line with progressive orthodox economic theory (cf., e.g., Cassel, Fisher, Hawtrey and Keynes), but he parts company with it when he advocates the extension of the same principle of stabilisation to particular commodities such as coal and oil, wheat and farm products, wool, cotton and rubber. These standardised raw materials of human life and industry exhibit equally unstable characteristics and call for a collective international control, at least in the matter of marketing pools and trusts. Herein Mr. Lloyd opens up an entirely fresh field of investigation and research, and indicates the central problem of economic industrial life as it will appear in

the not very distant future. We commend Mr. Lloyd's book as one of most stimulating and thought-provoking works that has been published on post-war reconstruction.

Prices and Wages. By Percy and Albert Wallis (P. S. King & Son, Ltd., London, 1921) 25s.

The authors of this voluminous treatise were impressed by the general want of understanding of the true principles that governed everyday business transactions. Convinced that social ills do not result from "some one else's greed, ignorance or tyranny", they undertook a detailed observation study of the nature of prices and wages, for the conduct of which they as commercial business men possessed special facilities. Numerous statistical and algebraic data were collected and, after proper sifting, made to yield their functional values. The result of the investigations is the elaboration of the pure labour-cost theory of prices: "that prices are really a natural quality of commodities dependent upon the amount of labour necessary to obtain them." The authors consider that other explanations of value, including the marginal theory, are pure illusions and do not adequately explain the true nature of prices. The book contains elaborate discussions on the fundamental concepts of Economics, e.g., Capital, Wages, Rent, Interest, etc. The authors deserve to be complimented upon completion of their laborious enquiry spread over a considerable number of years. Although their conclusions will hardly receive general acceptance, the clear and well-connected arguments in the book provide a vast field for further scientific enquiry and ample suggestions for economic research.

The Control of Industry. By D. H. Robertson (Cambridge Economic Handbooks) (Nisbet & Co., Ltd., London, & Cambridge University Press 1923) 5s.

In the series of books entitled the Cambridge Economic Handbooks the distinguished younger economists of the classical school—disciples of Marshall, Pigou and Keynes—have set themselves to provide for the student and the layman authoritative text book editions of the general principles of political economy as understood by the classical British school. Mr. D. H. Robertson, who has already established for himself a fair name for lucid and clear exposition, has followed his volume on *Money* with another on *The Control of Industry* in the same series. We meet here again the author's usual felicity of illustration, simplicity combined with skill in presentation and a

precise discriminating judgement. *The Control of Industry* is almost an ideal text book for the elementary student, descriptive of the structural formations of modern industry and the principles that actively govern the modern scheme of production and control. The physical limits of the book seem, however, to have confined Mr. Robertson's analysis to mere structural elaborations and has not permitted him to develop the use in application of such principles as have emerged for the reconstruction of the wider common weal, which is the only justification of industrial social mechanisms. While the author has very justly emphasised the recognition of the fact of there being no government of modern capitalistic industry, and therefore no set system to be abolished for its iniquities, he has, in our opinion over-strained his argument by laying a disproportionate stress on what he terms Capitalism's Golden Rule: "where the risk lies, there the control lies also". An undue emphasis on one aspect of the basic relations of the different parts of industrial mechanism tends to confuse the real issues, and Mr. Robertson's formula ignores the greater philosophy of human values in industry. His book, nevertheless, possesses the charm of easy readability combined with sound reasoning and should accordingly appeal to a vast circle of readers.

The Evolution of People's Banks. By Donald S. Tucker (Columbia University, New York; P. S. King & Son, Ltd., London, 1922) 10s. 6d.

Mr. Donald S. Tucker of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology had the benefit of touring with the Commission sent by the Government of United States to study on the continent of Europe co-operative institutions which served farmers. The main results of their investigations were incorporated in the well-known work on *Rural Credits* by Messrs. Herrick and Ingalls. Mr. Tucker felt that though the treatment was comprehensive and unexceptional, it needed to be complemented by a historical setting for fuller understanding. This idea formed the genesis of the present volume issued under the auspices of the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University. Mr. Tucker's book is perhaps the first comprehensive treatise in the English language on the history and development of the Schulze-Delitzsch movement in Germany—the pioneer of the Co-operative organisations. The author deals exhaustively with the manifold aspects of the founder's original organisation, and adduces a wealth of facts and incidents in the career of the movement which was so intimately connected with the personal history

of the Schulze family. The growth is clearly outlined, and the proper place of the Luzatti banks in Italy indicated. The author's analysis is extremely lucid, and his concluding essays on the structure and actual working of a People's Bank very instructive. A very able and instructive book for the agricultural and rural enthusiasts, and of special interest to Indian Co-operatives.

Post-Industrialism. By Arthur J. Pentty (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London, 1922) 6s.

Mr. G. K. Chesterton commends this stimulating volume in a characteristic Preface, and blesses Mr. Pentty with the attribute of an *original* mind, for "he goes back to origins". Mr. Chesterton sums up the author's thesis admirably thus:—"that the recent rush of commercialism and industrialism, in the 18th and 19th centuries, have led us to an abnormal disaster; and that it remains for us to recur to the more stable social ideal, recognised not only in the Middle Ages, but in some degree in most ages, and by the great mass of mankind." Mr. Pentty is one of the brilliant group of labour-intellectuals who sponsored the Guild socialist movement; but noticing the tendency of his co-workers to compromise with the present day machine industry, Mr. Pentty has come forward openly as a frank advocate of Guildism, undiluted and unalloyed—a strict return to mediæval forms of industrial organisations. The author builds up his thesis in a provoking and challenging manner. He reckons that the problem of machinery formed the core of Marx's thought, but later developments—particularly the Fabian propaganda—have obscured the fundamentals of the Socialist ideals; and "Socialism, from being a movement that faced the central facts of civilisation, degenerated into the issue of private and public ownership, and lost its way in a maze of Blue Books, statistics and detailed considerations; gas and water socialism, Poor Law, Housing reform, etc., on the one hand, and political labourism on the other." The Machine age of industry receives the severest criticism at the hands of Mr. Pentty, and although, in the course of the narrative, arguments on currency, division of labour, specialisation, etc., are rendered a bit confused, the author steers clear of the fallacies of economic theorism and details the ills of the mechanistic structure of industry in order to urge a reversion to mediæval traditions. Mr. Pentty's emphasis on the recognition of human values in industry is well-timed; his advocacy in favour of the building up of the cultural traditions of an industrial community, through stimulus to the creative instincts of man, entirely praiseworthy. Altogether a very thought-provoking book.

Trusts in British Industry 1914—1921. By J. Morgan Rees (P. S. King & Son, Ltd., London, 1922) 10s. 6d.

Mr. Morgan Rees has attempted to summarise in a useful, compact volume the reports of the Standing Committees on Trusts and on Investigation of Prices (1918—21), aiming to deduce therefrom a continuous story of the growth of the Trust Movement in British industry. Severe criticism has been levelled against the accuracy of the summaries made by the author. While we are not in a position to test the accuracy or otherwise of the charge, Mr. Rees has, we think, done valuable service in presenting in one conspèctive whole the tendencies toward combinations of varied forms observable in British industries. It is idle speculation to question the faith of the author when a quotation is not faithfully reproduced, or the name and interests of a combine not exhaustively outlined. The sin is trivial as compared with the largeness of the aim. Mr. Rees is frankly an anti-Trustite who sees in the formidable post-war growth of combines in the industrial field a menace over the life of the community. He believes in immediate "State ownership of the primary industrial enterprises of power (coal, electricity and oil) and transport (railways, airships, canals, docks, harbours and shipping)." Nationalisation of Banking, he considers, is the *sine qua non* of the success of any scheme of State ownership. Impartial readers will find many substantial arguments in favour of this conclusion.

The Development of Economics 1750—1900. By O. Fred Boucke (Macmillan Company, New York, 1921).

It was a formidable task which Prof. Boucke set himself to accomplish, *viz.*, to write the history of economic thought. The history of ideas is always a fascinating speculation, but to treat of the apparent similitudes in ideas as a logically connected series of argument leads one to dangerous conclusions. The author of *The Development of Economics* has attempted to derive the origins of economic thought, as it emerged in the mid-eighteenth century in Europe, from premises and conclusions belonging to the region of metaphysics or theology—the dominant form of literary or scholastic activity of the period. The result is that the book appears as a form of "special pleading" which does not escape the charge of strained and far-fetched analysis. No such purely deductive process could have emerged into the group of ideas and propositions which we call to-day by the name of Economics. However, Prof. Boucke's work is of

considerable merit. The four strands—Naturalism, Utilitarianism, Historicism and Marginism which form successively the four evolutionary stages of the progress of economic thought are inter-related by Prof. Boucke through their essential bases, *e.g.*, ethics and psychology, metaphysics and political science, etc. The work is a product of great erudition and industry and will prove of good help to serious-minded students of Economics. It is a difficult book to read and digest, but once grasped in its essential details it opens up fresh avenues of thought and further investigation. A very comprehensive Bibliography enhances the merits of the book considerably.

The Founders of Political Economy. By Jan St. Lewinski, D.Ec.Sc., (P. S. King & Son, Ltd., 1922) 6s. 6d.

Prof. Lewinski's monograph is entirely different in conception from Prof. Boucke's book noticed above. He does not deal in origins or in premises of economic thought, psychological or otherwise. His aim is simpler and easier: the tracing of the growth of such of the economic theories as were put forward tentatively a century ago and are still of some use in the comprehending of present day tendencies. Mr. Lewinski has accordingly taken the prominent concepts of the olden writers of political economy, and attempted to correlate them with modern ideas. Written in a clear and easy style, his book forms good reading. *The Founders of Political Economy* may not read as a history of economic thought, nor represent a complete survey of the writings of the founders of economics, but it serves to give us a conspèctive idea of how certain notions and theories were gradually developed into their present interpretation; what the originators really meant; how the progress of time brought more light; and finally why the theoretical advances of political economy since Ricardo's *Principles* have been comparatively irrelevant. An able book which will be studied with profit and advantage by student and layman alike.

Cycles of Unemployment in the United States 1903-1922. By William A. Berridge (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1923) Publication of the Pollak Foundation for Economic Research, No. 4. \$1.25.

Unemployment is the dominating problem of the modern industrial society. The Pollak Foundation for Economic Research, Boston (U.S.A.) offered in

1921 a prize of 1000 dollars for the best study on Unemployment and Business Cycles, and the winning essay by Dr. Berridge is now issued as No. 4 of the Pollak Publications. The author does not discuss here the theoretical bases of the social maladjustment which recurs with such malignant effects in each decade; he is concerned with the larger question of constructing a workable measure or index from the studies of recent unemployment cycles which will help us in grappling effectively with the distressing phenomena. By the device of measuring relative intensity of unemployment between two points of time, the author builds up an index of employment, which tested with the figures of the last two decades of American industry yields many fruitful results and promises to accurately forecast future employment conditions. Dr. Berridge considers that such an index is directly allied with the general course of production, registers the fluctuations in the labour market, indicates the relative wage-scale and is indirectly related with the cycles of social welfare. The discussion forms a scientific treatise, precise and brief and a model of scholarly discrimination. The claim by the Editor of the Pollak Foundation that "it is a contribution to our exact knowledge concerning fluctuations in unemployment, and as such should have a part in the progressive solution of the problem" is well-merited and thoroughly justified.

The Land Question Solved. By Robert Murray, with a Foreword by Robert Smillie (The Labour Publishing Co., Ltd., London, 1922) 1s. 6d.

This well-written pamphlet by an enthusiastic Co-operator aims at filling up the gaps in the Nationalisation of Land programme of the British Labour Party. The author is entirely clear in his own mind as to the equity of the forcible expropriation of the land-owners; he is here concerned with the problem of compensation and the stimulus needed to revive Agriculture. He puts forward the ingenious proposal that a uniform rate of 50 years' use of land *from the date of purchase* should be granted to the purchaser free of rent. That is, in other words, if a present owner can prove his title to land through purchase within the preceding 50 years, he could claim a further right to use of land, free of rent, for the unexpired balance of 50 years. Mr. Murray very cogently turns down the scheme of protective tariffs against foreign agricultural produce; he suggests instead, that on the day the nationalisation of land is adopted all rents should automatically drop to nine-tenths their present value,

providing thus the needed stimulus to farmers. A lucid and instructive little book.

An Academic Study of some Money Market. By E. G. Peake, O.B.E., M.A., LL.D. (P. S. King & Son, London, 1923) 6s.

Mr. Peake attempted a very difficult task when he aimed at proving the truth of economic laws by means of statistical evidence. For one thing statistical data are still imperfect, incomplete and altogether mechanistic (in the sense of being capable of subjective treatment), and so Mr. Peake's study would appear to be largely artificial and unreal. But the author started by noticing during his investigations a broad general relationship between certain well-defined incidents of the money market, and accordingly arranged his data in a form which will prove of great value for illustrative purposes. He has brought together records of discount rates in Paris, London and New York, the interest rates for floating money in London and the exchange fluctuations. These will serve to illustrate—for proof much stronger statistical evidence is required—certain economic tendencies which may be expected, *a priori*, to influence the course of events. For workers in statistical methods Mr. Peake's book will prove handy and useful.

On the Theories of Free Trade and Protection. By Fabian M. Von Koch (P. S. King & Son, Ltd., London, 1922) 1s.

This admirable little essay sums up the theoretic bases of the principle of Free Trade as contrasted with the policy of Protective tariffs. The author serves up the old arguments in a new, comparative style, and concludes by declaring his high faith in unrestricted free trade: "Free Trade practically always and in the long run is more advantageous for a country than Protection." He concedes, no doubt, that for certain special purposes protective duties may prove advantageous, recognising that "the power to create wealth is infinitely more important than wealth itself," as for instance, the development of key and infant industries, or duties against luxury and dumping. But M. Koch insists that such objects can be furthered much better and with less disadvantage than by duties, without telling us how. The limits of his paper do not permit him, however, to include a discussion on the application of means other than tariffs for the development of, say, the key industries in a particular country which is politically

backward and consequently deficient in technical skill.

Coal in International Trade. By A. J. Sarjent, M.A., (P. S. King & Son, Ltd., London, 1922) 2s. 6d.

Prof. Sarjent is gravely concerned over the rising costs of coal production in Britain, and in this useful and informing book discusses the comparative values of various coals—British, American and German in international trade. He surveys the pre-war position, and accounts for the prominent place occupied by Britain in coal trade, despite her low output per capita (260 tons per miner as against 680 tons in United States). But recent advances in transport facilities and the change in naval values produced by the war have done away for Britain the protection previously afforded by the broad Atlantic and her supremacy over the seas. America as a formidable competitor is in the field and her competition in the international coal trade is rapidly becoming a fact of menacing importance for British coal. Serious efforts to lower costs of production are therefore urgently demanded. Prof. Sarjent has treated the problem in a luminous and a clear style, and has marshalled his facts with skill and judiciousness.

The Problem of Estimation. By Correa Moylan Walsh (P. S. King & Son, Ltd., London, 1921) 6s.

Popular interest has recently been aroused in the problem of index numbers by Prof. Fisher's brilliant advocacy of the "stable dollar" to be arrived at by evolving a fool-proof index of general prices. Accordingly a book, howsoever technical and abstruse, from the pen of the veteran American economist, Mr. C. M. Walsh, is opportune and to be welcomed not merely from the view-point of useful instruction but as containing the deliberate judgments and criticisms of a giant mind on the various proposals tabled for discussion. Mr. Walsh avows, at the outset, that he is writing in the interests of harmony, but a casual glance through his pages reveals the author in his best fighting mood. His vigour of attack remains undiminished, and Professors Edgeworth and Bowley form special targets for viewing with scepticism the conception of a measure of exchange values as accurate as a yardstick. We have in the recent issues of the *Economic Journal* (Sept. 1923) and the *Journal of the Statistical Society* (July 1923) Prof. Edgeworth's brilliant rejoinder. Notwithstanding the essential differences in the basic ideas of two such prominent thinkers, there is much of

useful value in Mr. Walsh's work. For advanced students of statistics the present book will form a veritable storehouse of informative ideas.

The Soviet Constitution edited by Andrew Rothstein (The Labour Publishing Co., Ltd., London, 1923) 2s. 6d.

Mr. Rothstein has rendered a valuable public service in collecting in an authoritative and comprehensive edition the original Soviet Constitution of July 1918 and the subsequent amendments and amplifications. Expressing as it does, in a "Legislative code the meaning of the Russian Workers' Revolution of November 1917," in the words of the Editor, the book should prove useful in dissolving the smoke-screen of prejudice and bias which has attached to all partisan accounts of the Soviet organisation. The concluding portion of Mr. Rothstein's volume "The Constitution at Work" is extremely instructive and endorses in an illuminating manner the claim that "the written Soviet constitution is not the product of a lecture room or study; it is as living and elastic an organisation, capable of expanding and contracting or altering according to the lessons drawn by the Russian workers from their everyday experience, as any other of the institutions or organisations which helped them to victory during the four years of civil war and blockade."

The Labour International Year book 1923. Prepared by the Labour Research Department (The Labour Publishing Co., Ltd., London, 1923) 2s. 6d.

The Labour Year Book for the current year is a handy compendium of useful information about the doings in the labour-world during the last two years. The narrative is continued from the 1921 issue, but the present volume is independent and complete in itself. Naturally a great part of the book is devoted to the European chaos. India occupies seven pages of bare narrative of political and labour incidents during 1922-3. A complete directory of the chief socialist, labour and Co-operative organisations throughout the world concludes a very useful reference book.

The International Protection of Labour. By Boutelle Ellsworth Lowe, Ph.D., (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1921) \$2.50.

Dr. Lowe has completed his studies of the international labour problems by the publication of this com-

prehensive reference book, containing complete details of the various agreements for the protection of Labour subscribed to by the members of the International Labour Organisation of the League of Nations. The author aimed at describing the "movement for international labour legislation, to present the labour agreements that have resulted therefrom, and to endeavour to show the legislative developments that may enable the United States to do more than it has done heretofore toward treating labour problems in an international way." By collating in a chronological order the sundry labour treatises and agreements Dr. Lowe has well succeeded in giving a firm outline to his story. The supplement, containing the Covenant of the International Labour Organisation and the later draft Conventions, and the very extensive Bibliography are useful companions to a correct study.

POLITICS IN THE WEST.

As we see it: France and the Truth about the War. By Rene Viviani (Hodder & Stoughton Ltd., London, 1923) 10s. 6d.

Politics on the European continent is still tinged with war memories although it is now over four years since the official peace was declared. The Generals and the Admirals now on the unemployed list and the dethroned statesmen and politicians who have lost their jobs are busy announcing to the stricken world the equities of their special briefs. Their Memoirs are in many cases interpretative studies of national minds, clarifying for the future historian, at any rate, the personalities of the statesmen and soldiers who played at war. The pity of it all is that Europe has lost its sense of humour and perspective and accepts these war-studies either as dogma to be rejected *in toto* or worshipped as gospel truth.

M. Rene Viviani, the French Prime Minister in 1914, has followed in *As We See It* his impressions of the opening days of the struggle. He is at pains to analyse ruthlessly the Kaiser's *Memoirs*—a proceeding which has the appearance of whipping a beaten dog. Treitschke's pithy saying that "in politics one can judge only that which has succeeded" is certainly characteristic of the books published by the Allied statesmen. M. Viviani is no exception. After a brilliant and passionate denunciation of Germany and her war-lords, the author proceeds to apportion the guilt for setting the spark to the magazine which was Europe. This official French version appears one-sided when we read it in the light of the Russian and German documents now available,

thanks to the revolutionary zeal in the two countries. If it were possible to publish the diplomatic literature of the British and French Foreign Offices, the story would perhaps take on an entirely different aspect to what it is made to appear by the Allied propaganda. However, despite its narrow, entirely French outlook, M. Viviani's book is a highly important contribution to war literature and deserves attention by the historian and the student.

The German Revolution and After. By Heinrich Ströbel (Jarrolds Publishers Limited, London, 1923) 12s. 6d.

Herr Ströbel, perhaps the most prominent publicist in the socialist ranks of Germany and one-time Minister of Finance in the Revolutionary Government of Nov. 1918, has followed up his brilliant book on *Socialisation in Theory and Practice* by this detailed chronological study of events which preceded and followed the collapse of the German Monarchy, resulting in the internecine civil war which has prevailed since. A calm and dispassionate judge of incidents which shaped the national destiny in these critical years, Ströbel has contrived to give in his latest book a realistic picture of post-war Germany. The activities of the German Social Democratic party, which claimed a respectable following in the Reichstag in the early years of the war, furnish the author with ample material for caustic comments. It becomes vividly clear as the narrative proceeds that the Right wing of the Socialist Party is chiefly responsible for the invertebrate position which Germany occupies to-day in the matter of governance, through its compromises with the bourgeoisie capitalism. Dr. Ströbel tells us of the sanguinary weeks that led to the assassination of the Spartacist leaders, Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, who over-estimated the pace of revolutionary development and became the first victims of the fury of Militarism which they had combated all their lives. The author speaks in straight terms of the yoke of reparations and the misunderstanding by the people of the allied nations of the true character of German industrialism. His conclusion is striking:—"the German democratic Republic in spite of its proletarian and revolutionary origin, presents more and more the veritable grotesque spectacle of an unbridled money-bags domination, which, in the red masquerade of socialistic ministerialism, feels more comfortable than ever before." Herr Ströbel's book is a profound study of Socialism in practice and a contribution of real merit to historical literature.

The Falsification of the Russian Orange Book. By Baron G. Von Romberg (George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London, 1923) 2s. 6d.

Ample documentary evidence is provided in these pages to controvert the legend that the Central Powers were the sole authors of the war catastrophe. The telegrams given here *in extenso* were exchanged between the Russian Foreign Minister and the Russian Embassy in France and were suppressed in the official Russian Orange Book. They conclusively show that France was about as much guilty in fanning the flames of war as Germany or Austria. Particularly damaging is a telegram from the Paris Embassy dated 18 July, 1914 in which Izvolsky, the Russian Ambassador, conveys the information that the French Government was firmly decided upon war. This was a fortnight before the actual declaration of hostilities.

Causes of International War. By G. Lowes Dickinson (1921) 2s. 6d.

War: Its Nature Cause and Cure. By G. Lowes Dickinson (1923) 4s. 6d. (George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.)

These two excellent books by Mr. Lowes Dickinson are in one sense complementary to each other, for while the earlier volume discusses the psychological bases of wars between states from an evolutionary aspect, the latter amplifies these bases in the light of the experiences gained during the late war. We look to Mr. Dickinson for shrewd analysis, for the calm, dispassionate judgment of a philosopher and the picturesque language of a scholar-poet. He has not disappointed us. His forceful arguments tell with precise emphasis what exactly he means; his skilful handling of the practicable remedial measures obtainable to save civilisation shows his keen perception of the impediments and obstacles that bar the way to the final ending of all international wars. In the *Swarthmore International Handbook* the author shows us how the development of the community-sense was directed into the channel of tribal fight, and ultimately emerged with war as an established "institution" for economic aggression. Later "the tradition of the diplomatic class, the professional attitude of soldiers and sailors, and the pecuniary interest of some businessmen, work together to maintain the pursuit of power as the policy of states."

In the bigger and later volume Mr. Dickinson amplifies these bases by adding illustrations from recent history. His theme is the incompatibility of

war and civilisation; his argument against the perpetuation of the state of armed peace is set in cool logic and is conclusively decisive. He arraigns all the nations for their greed for Power, for Markets and for Territory. He does not spare his own country for he thinks that England "has almost never made a peace without taking some one's territory". Mr. Dickinson appeals to men of science, to historians, to the press and finally to the voters to recognise the evils of international wars. He summarises for them a few leading principles for the growth of international harmony and good-will:—abandonment of fiscal preferences, a policy of open door in matters of finance and commerce, abrogation of the notion of the absolute sovereignty of the state, and finally "if we cannot govern people without massacring them, then we ought to go and leave them alone."

The Press and the Organisation of Society. By Norman Angell (The Labour Publishing Co., Ltd., London, 1922) 3s. 6d.

Norman Angell is the great iconoclast of illusions. In his latest volume he has shattered our belief in the morning paper which formed such a complacent and self-satisfying reading at the breakfast table. We were a little suspicious of the benevolent motives of the daily purveyor of news, but this suspicion is now confirmed by the out-spoken narrative of Upton Sinclair in the *Brass Check* and the present volume. Mr. Angell gives here the analysis, a sharp, keen analysis, of the modern press organisation which, from the point of view of social weal, is no better than a competitive cultivation of passions. Every word of the author tells with emphasis of the great menace which has become the chief "obstacle against the development of a capacity for self-government". Mr. Angell concludes his indictment by suggesting practical measures for the upbuilding of a labour press, unallied and distinct from the traditions of the capitalistic advertising agency. If Labour refuses to recognise the social value of an organisation for free discussion, they "would only capture political power to find that the real forces controlling society (including politics) were outside politics."

Woodrow Wilson as I Know Him. By Joseph P. Tumulty (Doubleday, Page & Company, New York, 1921) \$5.00.

Woodrow Wilson was perhaps the most-talked of man in the world in the hectic days that followed the Armistice of Nov. 11, 1918. Since then numerous

volumes that would fill a library have been written about, of or on, him and his work. To sift the chaff from the grain of such literature—product of passions and prejudices of the hour—the safest course is to go direct to the man and his life-history, to his writings and to the written records of his speeches. Such a study remains, however, incomplete unless a comprehensive glossary were available of the psychology and passions of the moment which shaped Woodrow Wilson's spoken ideals. The obvious man for an inclusive and discriminating appreciation is his Secretary. Mr. Tumulty occupied the post for eleven long years, and in his *Woodrow Wilson As I know Him* he gives us his frank and candid valuation of the ex-President. His story forms an interesting record of the political history of those sensational "gubernatorial" and Presidential elections in which Wilson played an important part. It gives us intimate glimpses of the mighty mind, full of scholarly idealism and humane kindness; it re-constructs for us the struggle of the days when America verged on the brink of war and yet kept out; of the momentous decision and the great adventure, of the unprecedented reception accorded to Wilson on the European soil, and finally of the great disillusionment and tragedy. Mr. Tumulty's book subscribes to the usual interpretative study of Wilson as a human being of more than normal charity and kindness, and although the Secretary faithfully plays up to the last in defining and portraying his hero, the essential truth remains that Wilson, the keen and shrewd analyst of human nature did not live up to his ideals when problems of the entire world clamoured for right decision. He was "bamboozled", to use Mr. Keynes' phrase, and when the light came that he was being befooled, instead of setting to bring about his "de-bamboozlement" he dug in his toes to recover for his pet scheme of a League of Nations a place in the Peace Covenant, bidding goodbye in the process to almost everyone of the fundamental principles of righteous behaviour and conduct which alone could safeguard the peace of the world. Mr. Tumulty does not explain this particular phase of the President's mind, but his book, nevertheless, remains a contribution of great interest and significance for a correct appreciation of the forces which moulded Wilson's acts and ideals.

Ten Years at the Court of St. James' 1895-1905. By Baron von Eckardstein (Thornton Butterworth Ltd., London, 1921) 21s.

Bismarck singled out young Eckardstein as suitable for diplomatic office with the suave remark "He is

over six foot, can drink without getting drunk and is otherwise suitable, so we'll make a diplomat of him"—suggestive of the geniality of the future Ambassador. His memoirs are replete with pleasing anecdotes and vivid picture-studies of the Society, of statesmen and diplomats at the courts of Berlin and St. James'. He has an absorbing story to relate. In a light-hearted and picturesque vein he talks of the most complicated negotiations he was entrusted to carry out. Innumerable tales of the royalties and their satellites are spread over the book and deliciously recounted. Yet behind the social and political gossip we can perceive of the mission which Baron von Eckardstein tried to carry out—that of bringing about a closer alliance between Germany and Britain. Particularly interesting is the story of his negotiations with Joseph Chamberlain and Lord Salisbury which were finally broken off due to the irascible temper of the Kaiser. No book has appeared recently full of such rollicking gossip and yet of significant importance as a contribution to the understanding of certain events which ranked as international problems.

POLITICS IN THE FAR EAST.

Asia at the Cross-Roads: Japan, Korea, China, Philippine Islands. By E. Alexander Powell (T. Fisher Unwin, Ltd., London, 1922) 10s. 6d.

Since America's assumption of the 'white man's burden' in the Philippine Islands, or to be more correct and precise, since the outbreak of the war, American publicists have begun to include outlandish territories such as the Far East within the orbit of their study. The Philippine question produced in the United States a wave of Imperialism which gathered strength at the emergence of Japan as a first rate military and naval power and there occurred a concurrent conflict with Japanese racialism in California. Mr. Alexander Powell is one of the few experienced journalists who have come to the East to interpret the East, though, according to their own lights. In *Asia At The Cross-roads* he attempts a dispassionate survey of the problems, mainly international, which are demanding a solution in the Far East at the present moment. If we bear in mind that Mr. Powell is an avowed neo-Imperialist, a firm believer in the altruistic destiny of the white race and a fervent admirer of the school of Cromer, Milner and Curzon, we will not be surprised at the conclusions he arrives at in this book.

Mr. Powell feels strongly on the international brigandage in China:—"The story of the pillage of

China is saturated with intrigue and corruption, deceit and trickery, selfishness and greed. It forms one of the most shameful and depressing chapters in the history of our times, and makes a mockery of Europe's sanctimonious championship of justice and fair dealing." Mr. Powell denounces all the Powers unsparingly and urges for a speedy restoration to China of her rights as an integral, independent nation. The author recognises the harshness of the Japanese rule in Korea, but is of opinion that this is the best for the decadent Koreans, and with political foresight on the part of the rulers, Korea will again become prosperous best under Japanese tutelage. Philippines, in the opinion of Mr. Powell, are a conglomeration of tribes, with no political training or national consciousness. American people should be firm in their refusal to accede to the clamour of a few agitating 'natives', for don't you "note the amazing strategic value of the Philippines from the *point of view of American world commerce*"? (The italics are ours) The admission of a few Filipinos to American clubs and the exercise of a little bit of tact will pacify the few vociferous politicians. The Elder Statesmen who are the real power behind the throne in alliance with the powerful military class form the real menace to the development of democratic principles and constitutional progress in Japan and incidentally to the control of the Pacific waters by the American Fleet. Another sinister combination is the intimate co-operation of high politics and big business (Is it peculiar to Japan alone?). Japanese commercial competition is also to be feared for they know not business morality as Europe or America understand it. Underlying the conflict of America and Japan is the basic issue of racial prejudice. This is pure misunderstanding on the part of the Japanese, for "the American attitude is not dictated by a wish to place a stigma of inferiority on them, but is merely the application to them of the Caucasian's historic attitude toward all peoples with tinted skins." Do you see the difference?

The Far Eastern Republic of Siberia. By Henry Kittredge Norton (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London, 1923) 12s. 6d.

For six long years now international blockade, white guard assaults, and internecine warfare have ravaged the fair land that was Russia. Allied propaganda and business interests of *La Haute Finance* have prevented the true story of the Bolshevik revolu-

tion from being known to the outside world. The gutter-snipes of the capitalistic press have presented all sorts of fantastic tales dealing with Bolshevik horrors for public consumption, and the public has gulped it all without murmur. The publication of Mr. Norton's story of one corner of the Russian world is therefore doubly welcome. Mr. Norton justifies his claim to an impartial and judicious survey by his realistic relation of the state of affairs in the trans-Baikal area as power changed hands from the Zemstovs to Communist theoreticians, on through Japanese and allied intervention into the hands of the brutal Semenov White Guards and Czecho-Slovaks, finally to be concentrated in the hands of a Socio-democratic Presidium composed of a majority of Peasants. It is a fascinating reading, the story of the struggle of the few un-despairing leaders amid all the horrors of massacre, rapine and pillage, and the final emergence of the revolutionary conscience. We commend Mr. Norton's book for the light it throws on the true aims of Allied intervention in the affairs of Far Russia, for the passionate sympathy of the author for the cause of the people of the country and for the service he has rendered in lifting the veil from over a little corner of Soviet Russia, and for a singularly candid and frank interpretation.

Russia in the Far East. By Leo Pasvolksy (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1922) \$1.75.

Leo Pasvolksy, a brilliant Russian journalist resident in America, writes, on the eve of the Washington Conference, of the importance of the Far Eastern portion of the Russian Empire in the grouping of a future balance of power for the control of the Pacific. In *Russia in the Far East* he adopts frankly an anti-Bolshevist attitude, convinced in his own mind that Communism was bound to disappear sooner or later, and that Russia with her enormous economic resources and vast potential man-power can not be "struck out of the world situation." The author brings out in a clear manner the alternate gains at the expense of China which military and economic rivalry between Japan and Czarist Russia yielded to the two countries. When M. Pasvolksy talks of the devolution of the "moral trusteeship" of the Russian people upon America he is playing up to the imperialistic sentiments of his audience. He devotes particular attention to the Soviet propaganda in the Far East and warns the capitalistic interests of the menace of Asiatic revolt against the West under the guidance of the Moscow Soviet. A cleverly written book.

Oppressed Peoples and the League of Nations. By Noel Buxton & T. P. Conwil-Evans (J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., London, 1922) 6s.

Attention was directed to the principle of mandates introduced for the first time in a political treaty, laying down the doctrine accepted by the Western races in respect of their treatment of the subject nationalities of the East. The cynic pooh-poohed the idea and regarded it as a disguise for annexation and appropriation—terms which had somehow acquired a bad name in the great war for Right and Justice. Now after four years he can claim the virtue of self-satisfaction obtainable from the fulfilment of a prophecy. Messrs. Buxton and Conwil-Evans in the volume under notice give a broad and comprehensive survey of the Treaty provisions as they affect the small nationalities in the Middle East Europe. They have faith in the final emergence of Democracy triumphant; they even welcome the spread of national ideas to the East with its manifest dangers to the hegemony of the white races. The authors do not, however, advocate unqualified self-determination, for the subject nationalities need to be trained in the art of governance, hence the value of the theory of mandate. To use it as an instrument for good a system of checks and conditions is necessary in order to curb the selfish imperialism of the over-lord. The authors specifically summarise the condition of the various nationalities in the Middle East (including a chapter on Korea) where they suggest the introduction of the mandate system under the proper supervision of an administrative Board of the League of Nations.

China's Place in the Sun. By Stanley High (1922) \$1.75.

China Awakened. By M. T. Z. Tyau, LL.D., (1922) \$5.00.

(The Macmillan Company, New York).

China to-day is a nation in chaos. She is also a country of vast economic possibilities. Twentieth century opened with the eyes of the business world directed at the rich spoils which lay ready for the asking if only they dared. They did dare, and the result was the international looting of China and the present conflict of interests between the High Powers—a contingency which always happens when thieves fall out. Postwar conditions made China the happy hunting ground of the mal-content adventurers, and Japan with her aggressive imperialist policy forced the pace. The consequence was turmoil added on to chaos

and confusion and civil war. It is not surprising therefore to read in an impartial survey of Chinese recent history the cryptic summing up that the troubles of China vary directly with the greed of the western nations, that she "provides one of the most brazen examples of international brigandage." How it was brought about is another story. But what of the future? What constitutes the background of a nation's recuperating power? What forces are at work to build up and evolve a hegemony of strength and power to enable China to stand on her own legs? The elements of this character-complex are discussed fully in Dr. Tyau's book. Here is a comprehensive survey made by a distinguished Chinese publicist, of the root-forces of a nation's making—her economic progress, the educational and social transformations, the birth of a unified national conscience, the renaissance of a literary tradition and the upsurge of an intellectual Thought-Movement. Dr. Tyau is very interesting in his story of the great student organisation which played such an important part in the Sino-Japanese conflict. *China Awakened* is an impartial survey written with enthusiasm and full of hope and faith in the future destiny of the nation. Dr. Tyau has added an exhaustive statement on the particular conflict of China with Japan in respect of Shantung and the infamous Twenty-One Demands.

Mr. Stanley High's book presents a shorter brief, from an American standpoint, of the industrial, social and political revolution now proceeding apace in China. Mr. High is convinced of the ultimate destiny of China. He talks of the creative industry of the young nation, of the soul-stirring power of her literary traditions, of the essential vitality of her race-mind. The author has infinite contempt for the "glorious, globe-gobbling greed of the empire-seeking nations". He thinks lightly of the present chaos, for what nation in Europe or America "has not passed through initial stages of internal discord, marked by revolution, bitter parliamentary discussion, attempted secession of provinces and civil war?" Mr. High believes in the harmonious co-partnership of interests between China and America, and that America has a noble part to play in the resuscitation of China, to the ultimate recognition of "Christian internationalism" which forms the only hope for the future.

MEDICINE.

A Green Old Age. By Professor A. Lacassagne. Translated by Herbert Wilson, from the Second French edition; with 17 plates. 1923.

The Home and Health in India and the Tropical Colonies. By Kate Platt, M.D., B.S. (Lond.) 1923.

(Both published by John Bale, Sons & Danielsson, Ltd., 83-91, Great Titchfield Street, London, W. I.)

The oldest-established firm of medical publishers in existence in London—founded in 1790—have just issued two exceedingly good popular treatises, which ought to make a wide appeal to residents in India. The first of the two books is a systematic survey of the changes that the human machine undergoes as it reaches old age and its hygienic and other requirements for keeping it in fit and sound condition. The eminent French doctor—Professor Lacassagne—the author of the book, is himself said to be a living example of his teachings, who having been born in 1843 is now enjoying green old age. His book—though not the first of its class or kind—is the most comprehensive and withal the most instructive. But apart from its scientific merits, the French Professor's *melange* of learned observations, interspersed and adorned with such a wealth of illustration from the great minds in literature and art of past ages, should be helpful to the body and pleasing to the mind of all those who look forward to the enjoyment of a green old age, of which the author is so attractive and practical an example. It is in this confident hope that the translator, has attempted to render so great a theme, into English, for the benefit of readers who know this language only. The author lucidly expounds the specifics—so to say—of the conditions which keep life in being and of the methods by which to sustain it. He teaches that the old, in order to be really alive, must act—love life and not fear death, take delight in regarding the beauties of nature, in contemplating the most beautiful works of art, in perusing the most admirable and choicest literary productions of all ages and countries, in studying the most brilliant examples of human wit and intellect, and in watching with interest the progress of science. These are, said by the author, to be the beacons for lighting up old age. The reader will find in this thought-compelling book much which, if carried out, will help him in prolonging life with advantage to all.

The other book—by Dr. Kate Platt, formerly Principal of the Lady Hardinge Medical College and Hospital for Women at Delhi—is an eminently sound and practical treatise on the preservation of health in India and other tropical parts of the world. It is entirely based upon many years' experience of strenuous medical work in India. The author, a Lady Doctor with the highest qualifications, has compressed into this book a large amount of valuable advice which the heads and members of the Indian households will

do well to read, and keep for reference. As a popular guide to health in a tropical climate this book is well worth the careful attention of all desirous to enjoy a sound mind in a sound body. Its contents cover a vast range, dealing as they do with tropical climate, houses, household work, outfits, travelling, food, infantile maladies, nurse and nursery, infection and its carriers, ordinary diseases, skin troubles, bites and stings, the medical cupboard, and much else of equal interest. Dr. Kate Platt's *Home and Health in India and the Tropical Colonies* is a work of great utility, marked as it is by knowledge, experience, sound commonsense and excellent practical advice.

Arabian Medicine. By E. G. Browne, M.B., F.R.C.P. (University Press, Cambridge) 1922.

Dr. Edward Browne—the well-known Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge and distinguished as a scholar of Persian language and literature—has brought together under the title of *Arabian Medicine* his Fitzpatrick lectures delivered at the College of Physicians in 1899-20. His object is “to indicate the part played by the scholars and physicians of Islam and especially of Persia, in the transmission of medical science through the dark ages”, and also to show that the great Sufi poem of Rumi, “will be better appreciated by one who is conversant with the medical literature of the period.” These are both laudable objects and the learned professor is highly successful in his exposition and treatment. But the subject is clearly of historical interest only—that too to a handful of scholars. The reason is clearly set forth by the author himself, who writes:—“When we speak of ‘Arabian Science’ or ‘Arabian Medicine’ we mean that body of scientific or medical doctrine which is enshrined in books written in the Arabic language, but which is for the most part Greek in its origin, though with Indian, Persian, Syrian accretions and only in a very small degree the product of the Arabian mind. Its importance lies not in its originality but in the fact that . . . it . . . was during the dark ages the principal source from which Europe derived such philosophical and scientific ideas as she possessed. The translation of Greek books into Arabic . . . was effected . . . by skilful and painstaking scholars who were, for the most part, neither Arabs nor even Muhammadans but Syrians, Hebrews or Persians of the Christian, Jewish or Magian faith”. It is well, however, that a systematic survey of the subject was available in English and this is now furnished by Dr. Browne's excellent sketch.

The Hygiene of Marriage. By Isabel Emilie Hutton, M.D. (William Heinemann Medical Books, Ltd., London; also Butterworth & Co. India Ltd., 6, Hastings Street, Calcutta) 1923.

Dr. Isabel Hutton's *Hygiene of Marriage* is a noteworthy addition to the recent medical literature dealing with the relations between the two sexes. Though a small treatise, it conveys a good deal of useful knowledge in a compact form, withal in language to which no exception can be taken by even the most fastidious on this score. It discusses general conditions of health and also hereditary and other diseases, consummation of marriage, married life and sex relations, as also pregnancy, sterility, and "twilight sleep." The last two chapters deal with birth control and contraceptives and are intended to counteract the many erroneous ideas that are prevalent on the subject. It is written in a simple style, and there is no attempt to evade a clear statement of facts in order to save the feelings of the hyper-sensitive or to excite the interest of the prurient-minded. There is nothing of that sentimental envelopment which is so often used to make facts of this nature more palatable and which is so repulsive to healthy-minded people. The author is obviously not intending to propagate any particular doctrine, and even those who disagree with her in points of detail will recognise the sincerity of her motives and the courage displayed by her. There is much in the book to interest not only medical men and women but to instruct married people desirous of obtaining medical knowledge in popular form.

Wise Parenthood. By Dr. Marie Stopes. Eleventh edition, 1923.

Truth about Venereal Disease. By Dr. Marie Stopes, 1922.

(Both published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, Ltd., 24, Bedford Street, London, W. C. 2.)

Dr. Marie Stopes is prolific in the production of scientific works—mainly medical—dealing with sex relations, married life, parenthood and sex diseases; besides writing *A Journal from Japan* and other literary works including plays and poems. Her medical works are well-known to a large circle of readers and many of them have been noticed in terms of appreciation in the *Hindustan Review*. Her *Wise Parenthood*—which is intended as a sequel to her *Married Love*—is a treatise on birth control for married people and presents the case for it, from the scientific standpoint, with considerable force and cogency. She discusses many of the methods prescribed for birth

control at present and finally offers a detailed sketch of one which she regards as most reliable and safest. Now whatever one's view of the soundness of her views, her book certainly deserves careful study. Her other book—the second on our list—also deals with an unsavoury subject, but a proper study of which is essential for the advancement of the human race. Her treatment of the subject is thoroughly scientific and her views deserve careful consideration.

The Daily Five Minutes. By J. T. Muller.

Holidays for Health. Edited by J. C. McClure, M.D.

(Both published by the Athletic Associations, Ltd., Link House, Fetter Lane, London, E. C.) 1923.

Mr. P. Muller is a well-known exponent of a system of exercises for keeping the body in sound health and his various works—called "My System"—have of late had a large circulation in various countries. He has now reduced his system to one which need not take more than five minutes for practice every day; hence the name of the latest book as *The Daily Five Minutes*. Mr. Muller's description of his system is lucid and the text is made clearer still by means of charts and illustrations. Those in search of good health may do worse than obtain a copy of Mr. Muller's book and give his system a trial.

As a complement to Mr. Muller's system may be utilized "holiday-making," the claims and merits of which are pressed by Dr. McClure's *Holidays for Health*. Though intended for readers in Britain, it should be useful to the educated Indian, who has yet to learn the value of change and holidays as a source of keeping the body in health and continuous repair.

Food and Health. By Dr. Chandra Chakrabarty.

Dyspepsia and Diabetes. By Dr. Chandra Chakrabarty.

(Both published by R. C. Chakrabarty, 58, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta) 1922.

Dr. Chandra Chakrabarty's two books are dated from New York, where he was either a medical student or practitioner. But, as an Indian, he deals with the problem of food and dietetics not only from the western but also from the eastern point of view. The author would not claim for his works any originality but as compendiums of useful information on subjects of great importance to human health, his two booklets—for such they are—will be found useful

by many to whom the more expensive treatises are generally inaccessible. But if the books are intended for laymen, they should have been written in popular and less technical language. We are aware that it is not always possible to write on technical subjects in untechnical terms, but there is considerable room for improvement in this direction in the books under review. If second editions be called for, the get-up of the books may also be improved.

BOOKS OF REFERENCE.

Canada Today. Edited by R. J. Arnott, M.A. Seventh issue. (The Canada Newspaper Company, Ltd., 110, St. Martin's Lane, London, W. C. 2.) 1923.

We wish we had an annual dealing with the Indian Empire on the lines of *Canada To-day*—as well got up, as well informative, and as well illustrated. The seventh issue, edited by Mr. R. J. Arnott, is a graphic delineation of Canada and Newfoundland at the present day in well-written letter-press and excellent pictures. Whether regarded as a work of reference or a book of interest to the general reader, it may be relied upon to offer both useful and trustworthy information relating to the Dominions. The size of the present edition has been reduced and made handy—facilitating ready reference—a large number of full-page illustrations embellish it and it includes accurate and up-to-date information on a vast range of subjects appertaining to Canada and Newfoundland. Almost every phase of Canadian life is vividly depicted and it is, within a small compass, an encyclopædic volume, brimful of facts, figures and statistics, bearing on the progress and prosperity of the American Dominions. No one interested in the fortunes of Canada can do without this standard work of reference, which in point of usefulness, attractive and convenience is the most up-to-date book on the subject.

The Important Pictures of the Louvre. By Florence Heywood, B.A. (William Heinemann, Ltd., London) Revised edition. 1923.

Miss Heywood's guide to the pictures of the Louvre is more than a mere tourist's manual, for it is also a survey of the evolution of painting in modern Europe, with reference to the important pictures in the famous collection in the capital of France. Miss Heywood is the official lecturer (in the English language) at the Louvre, appointed by the French Government. Some years ago she brought out a privately printed book on the Louvre pictures. Since the pictures were re-hung

two years ago, she has revised this edition and has brought it entirely up-to-date. With her unique knowledge and experience, she may justly claim that this book is the standard English work on the most famous picture gallery in the world. The book under consideration is, so to say, a readable treatise on modern European painting, with the Louvre pictures utilized as illustrations. But it is so arranged that it may serve also as a guide to that largest collection of painting. It offers information on the characteristics of the various schools, the lives of the painters, the significance of their pictures and on other connected subjects, and it is a suitable introduction to the study of the fine art of painting. It is handy in size and is equipped with good tables of useful matter, bibliography, and an index of artists.

Oxford Outside the Guide-Books. By Falconer Madan, M.A. (Basil Blackwell, Oxford) 1923.

Mr. Falconer Madan's *Oxford Outside the Guide-Books* is—as the title indicates—not strictly a tourist's *vade mecum* but it furnishes a background of historical knowledge to the more common scenes and sights of that famous university town. The author—who is a master of his subject—deals with the origin and growth of the city, the system of mediæval education imparted in the university, the mediæval student's life, the civil war in Oxford, places of pilgrimage, the collegiate system of the earlier colleges founded before 1400, and the distinctive features of the colleges founded before the fifteenth century and since. The interesting information so well brought together will have to be supplemented by the tourist by reference to some guide to the Oxford of to-day. But Mr. Madan's book has a value all its own by reason of the quaint information rendered accessible about the mediæval conditions of the University.

Philip's Handy Volume Atlas. (George Philip & Son, Ltd., 32, Fleet Street, London, E. C.) 1923.

The great war and the territorial changes brought about by the various treaties consequent thereon have rendered all the pre-war atlases useless. Even the post-war atlases which have not kept pace with the rapid changes have become obsolete. Of those issued in 1923, the fourteenth edition of *Philip's Handy Volume Atlas* is the most up-to-date—except for showing the boundaries of the new Turkish State, settled since the book was issued. For the rest, it is fully abreast of the other territorial changes in all parts

of the world and contains seventy-seven new and especially engraved plates with excellent geographical notes and statistics and a comprehensive index. It is the handiest, best and cheapest little atlas in the market and should obtain a large circulation.

London 1923. Forty-fourth edition. (Ward, Lock & Co., Ltd. Warwick House, Salisbury Square, London, E. C. 4.)

London 1923—or to give it its full designation, *A Pictorial and Descriptive Guide to London and its Environs*—is one of the series of Messrs. Ward, Lock's "Illustrated Guide-Books," which is a famous collection of tourist literature and is notable alike for the excellence of its letter-press and illustrations. The volume dealing with the metropolis of the British Commonwealth is now in its forty-fourth edition and this in itself is a proof conclusive of its success and popularity. The current edition is the most up-to-date guide to London as it has been carefully revised and overhauled. We have detected but two slight mistakes. The Agency departments of British India (p. 12) are no longer at the India Office. The office of the High Commissioner for India is now located at 42, Grosvenor Gardens. Nor is the Royal Asiatic Society now occupying its old quarters at 22, Albemarle Street (p. 118). It is now occupying new premises at 74, Grosvenor Street. But these are trifling errors in this, on the whole, remarkably accurate, useful, and interesting sketch of the scenes and sights of the modern Babylon, which should command a large distribution.

"The Queen" Book of Travel 1923. Sixteenth year (The Field Press, Ltd., Windsor House, Bream's Buildings, London, E. C. 4).

Mr. M. Hornsby—the travel editor of that well-known lady's Journal, *The Queen*—is responsible for that excellent manual, "The Queen Book of Travel", which has now appeared in its sixteenth edition. It is an alphabetical dictionary of important tourist centres in Europe and other parts of the world, giving brief but accurate information likely to be useful to visitors, as also notes on the traveller's library—which is a comprehensive bibliography—and a lot of miscellaneous matter of great utility to tourists. The value of the letter-press is materially enhanced by the book being furnished with nine maps and seventy-six illustrations. Altogether a valuable compendium of geographical and topographical information and a handy companion for travellers.

The Snowdon and the Welsh Highland Holiday Book. (Snowdon Mountain Tramroad & Hotels Company, Ltd., Llanberis, Wales.) 1923.

Though practically a contribution to the tourist's holiday literature, the *Snowdon and the Welsh Highland Holiday Book* is raised above the average level of such reading matter by reason of Mr. L. J. Robert's very interesting sketch designated "Some Literary Associations of Snowdonia," which is an excellent anthology of references in English literature dealing with Snowdon. For the rest the booklet is equipped with all the usual concomitants of an excellent guide-book and is exceedingly well illustrated. The glossary of Welsh words is a useful feature for visitors not knowing the language of Wales.

Darjeeling Past and Present. By E. C. Dozey. Second edition. (The Art Press, 1, Wellington Square, Calcutta) 1922.

The first edition of Mr. Dozey's *Darjeeling Past and Present* saw the light in 1917 and the revised edition lying before us appeared last year. The book is both historical and geographical and is replete with useful information about the topography, sociology, tourist-centres and various other connected subjects with Darjeeling. Though parts of the book are admittedly a compilation, there is a great deal of original matter in Mr. Dozey's work, which is based on his own knowledge and personal experience. On the whole, of the many volumes issued from the press during the last forty years, Mr. Dozey's *Darjeeling* is one of the most attractive alike for its accuracy and comprehensiveness. The printing is neat, the get-up is good, but the list of addenda and corrigenda is unfortunately a trifle too long.

The Crop Atlas of India. (Superintendent Government Printing India; 8, Hastings Street, Calcutta) 1923.

The Department of Commercial Intelligence has just published a *Crop Atlas of India*. In the *Statistical Atlas of India*, which was first prepared in 1886 for the Indian and Colonial Exhibition and was enlarged and republished in 1895, the sixth chapter dealt with the distribution and nature of Indian agricultural crops, and included miniature crop maps showing the distribution of the twelve most important Indian crops, namely, cotton, rice, wheat, barley, jowar, bajra, linseed, gingelly or sesamum, tea, coffee, jute and indigo. These maps have been found inconveniently small and

they do not show the relative importance of the various districts in respect of each crop. The new Atlas is on a larger scale (1" to 100 miles), and shows district boundaries. It contains also four additional maps showing the distribution of sugarcane, rape and mustard seed, groundnut and tobacco. As acreage is, on the whole, less subject to fluctuation and more accurately determinable than outturn, statistics of area have been mapped. There are, however, also added to each map tables showing the average area and production of each province and important ports of shipment have been indicated together with figures showing the percentage shares of the ports. To people interested in Indian agriculture and trade, the *Crop Atlas* will be a useful work of reference.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE: MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE.

Mr. W. T. Hastings' *Syllabus of American Literature*. (The University Press, Chicago, U.S.A.) is a highly useful work both for the purposes of study and reference and we wish there were works available to the student on the same lines dealing with other literatures. Though setting down with comparative brevity the *Syllabus* outlines lucidly and methodically the facts in their proper relations and natural grouping divided into Colonial Literature (1607—1765), Literature of the Revolution (1765—89), National Literature to 1870, and Contemporary Literature since 1871. The special features of this manual are the brief critical estimates that accompany the material about the more important authors, which would be particularly useful. The *Syllabus* is especially fitted to supplement readings in American prose and poetry, and will enable the student to read with definite purpose. It should appeal to students of English literature produced in the United States.

The latest addition to the "Heritage of India" series—which was characterized by us at length in a recent issue—is a highly interesting volume called *Poems by Indian Women*, which have been selected and rendered into English by various translators and edited by Mrs. Macnicol (Association Press, 5, Russell Street, Calcutta). In chronological sequence the poetesses cover the period from Vedic India till the present day and the selections extend over fourteen languages. The renderings are excellent, and the editor's general introduction is highly interesting. Apart from being a useful contribution to literature in verse produced by Indian women, the book has a

great significance as clearly establishing the fact of a literary tradition amongst the womenfolk in this country going back to very ancient times. Viewed thus both from the literary and historical standpoints, it is a notable anthology.

The third volume of the "India of To-day" series is *Irrigation in India* by Mr. D. G. Harris (Oxford University Press, 1, Garstin Place, Calcutta). It is a clearly-written and fairly comprehensive book on Indian irrigation works of to-day and presents in a short compass a great deal of useful information on the subject which is not generally accessible to the average student of Indian affairs. It will be found to be of distinctive utility by students of Indian economic and administrative problems.

Mr. R. N. Holmer's *Indian Bird Life* (Oxford University Press, 1, Garstin Place, Calcutta) is an interesting, elementary sketch of a large and important subject. It gives brief accounts of the birds of the plains and of the hills, and contains useful appendices on subsidiary matters. It will be useful to those desirous of obtaining a bird's-eye-view of Indian ornithology.

Professor Gilbert Murray has long since established his reputation as the best translator into English of the Greek dramatists. His latest addition to his series of translations is the *Choephoroe* of Aeschylus (George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 40, Museum Street, London, W.C.I.) Like his previous renderings, the present translation also is in rhyming verse and there are highly elucidative notes and an instructive Introduction. It should interest a large circle of cultured readers.

More's *Utopia* is a world classic and has given us the word "utopian". The only English translation accessible is one in old English, and one in the present-day language was badly needed. The want is now completely removed by the publication of the translation by Mr. G. C. Richards (Basil Blackwell, Oxford). The usefulness of the new rendering is enhanced by reason of the valuable Introduction prefixed to it.

The Evolution of Hungary and its Place in European History by the well-known Hungarian Statesman, Dr. Count Paul Teleki (The Macmillan Company, New York, U.S.A.) is—as expected from its scholarly author—an excellent work on the subject it deals with, alike informative and instructive to the student of Hungarian affairs. Delivered originally as

lectures in America the book deals with the racial question in Hungary and her fight for freedom of creed; pre-war economic phases of Hungary; the modern political evolution of Hungary; bolshevism and the restoration; the economic situation in East Central Europe after the war, and the solution of racial questions as viewed by a geographer. Count Teleki states that the recolonization of Hungary with non-Magyar people by the Austrian Empire, after the depopulation caused by the Turkish conquest of 1526, laid the foundation for Hungary's fate in the twentieth century and discusses fairly and impartially with the many current problems of his country.

Two of the latest additions to that deservedly famous series of reprints—The "World's Classics"—(Oxford University Press, 1, Garstin Place, Calcutta) are **Plays of Tolstoy** and a reprint of **Haji Baba**. The former is a complete edition of the Russian dramatist's plays, including the posthumous ones. The translation is by Louise and Aylmer Maude and is very well done. Lovers of good drama will find the book distinctly interesting. Equally attractive to the general reader is the edition of Morier's famous romance—*Haji Baba*—published nearly a century back. It is admittedly the best sketch, in the guise of fiction, of the life and social conditions of modern Persia and the reprint ushered in by an excellent Introduction is, therefore, very welcome.

Sir George Grierson has edited, with an Introduction and abstracts of untranslated portions, the late Mr. William Waterfield's partly translated **Lay of Alha** (Oxford University Press), which is a saga of Rajput chivalry as sung by minstrels in Northern India. The book is a notable addition to the appreciation and appraisal for historical purposes of the bardic literature of Rajputana and as such deserves careful attention.

Mr. H. Wyatt's **Teaching of English in India** (Oxford University Press, 1, Garstin Place, Calcutta) should find a large circulation amongst our teachers and professors of English, for though a small book, it is by far the most comprehensive on the subject. It deals with almost every phase and aspect of the question and covers about the whole range from preparation and instruction to examination. We commend it strongly to the attention of teachers of English in Indian schools and colleges as a work of great usefulness.

In view of the world-wide interest aroused by the discoveries of the late Lord Carnarvon and Mr.

Howard Carter in the tomb of Tutankhamen some months back, Professor G. Elliot Smith was well advised in bringing together the results of the explorations in his book called **Tutankhamen and his Tomb** (George Routledge & Sons Ltd., London). It is embellished with numerous excellent illustrations of the various articles exhumed from the tomb, which materially enhance the value of the letter-press. The book is an important addition to the Literature dealing with ancient Egyptian civilization.

Heber's Indian Journal—the full designation of which is *Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India*—is a well-known Anglo-Indian classic which, however, is little read now by reason of bulk and inaccessibility. We welcome, therefore, **Heber's Journal: A Selection**, chosen and edited by Mr. P. R. Krishnaswami (Oxford University Press, 1, Garstin's Place, Calcutta). The editor has done well to group together under various heads judiciously chosen extracts from the good Bishop's Journal, to which he has prefixed an informing Introduction. The book in its present form ought to appeal to a large section of readers in India.

Dr. A. C. Benson—Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge—has edited **Selections from Ruskin** (Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane, London, E. C. 4.) in which seventy-one extracts are brought together to illustrate the development of Ruskin's personality and his literary style. The editor rightly holds that Ruskin's reputation will last on his merits as a writer and moralist rather than as a critic or economist. Hence the principle of selection adopted in the volume, which should make a wide appeal to lovers of literature.

If you have a leisure hour or two you can not do better than take up **The New Japan** (Ganesh & Co., Madras, 1923) by Dr. James H. Cousins, the noted Irish poet and litterateur. It is a surprisingly frank and deliciously interesting record of the author's ten months' stay in the Land of the Rising Sun. The poet has not polished his thoughts and impressions with any conscious desire for refinement; he has let his sensitive mind stray gently with a sympathetic receptivity over the smiling features of a new civilisation. The result is entirely delightful. The romantic idealism of the Irish genius builds up the interpretation of a strange culture into a charming and pleasing study. The publishers' claim that "it puts the reader into direct contact with the picturesque and varied life of Japan" is modest. The book does more than this; it reads us of the soul of Nippon. Dr. Cousins'

story forms a very poignant reading in the presence of the gruesome tragedy which has befallen the country of Cherry Blossoms. Altogether a literary treat of a high order.

Rev. Conrad Noel, the Vicar of Thaxted, earned a revolutionary notoriety in the English Church circles by his persistence in flying Red Flag and the Tricolour of the Irish Nation over his pulpit. He has in a small book appropriately named **The Battie of the Flags** (The Labour Publishing Co., London, 1922, 3s. 6d.) justified his action from the viewpoint of true Christian morality. With sympathy and almost passionate enthusiasm for the cause of the down-trodden and the helpless, the Vicar of Thaxted proclaims to the world the right of every true Christian to espouse the democratic struggle, and this he symbolises in the two flags which represent the fight of the oppressed against the un-Christian rulers. We shall not be surprised if the members of the Christian Missions in India consider Mr. Noel as an outcast and a rebel.

Psycho-analysis has made important contributions in recent years to the psychology of instincts and behaviour. Under the inspired leadership of Dr. Adler of Vienna a new school of medical jurisprudence has definitely made its appearance. Their most important contribution has been in the domain of sex psychology. Dr. Andre Tridon, a noted American doctor, explains in a clear and lucid manner in his **Psychoanalysis & Love** (Brentano's Ltd., London, 1922) the relation of eroticism to the primary complexes of man and woman. Love in its normal behaviour, love in its pathological aspects, love with its "mystery, its morality, its creative and physical significance"—all these find an appropriate setting in Dr. Tridon's rapid survey. It is a book by an expert written for laymen in a popular easy style, and should be of special interest for the youths of this country where so much ignorance prevails about sex and its multifarious mysteries.

Mahatma Gandhi has had a host of critics—some venomous, others vitriolic, a few honestly critical. Of this latter class Mr. M. Ruthnaswamy is certainly one. In the **Political Philosophy of Mr. Gandhi** (Tagore & Co., Madras, 1922, Re. 1/-) he dispassionately analyses the tenets of Mr. Gandhi according to his own lights. But these lights, we believe, merely reflect the precepts and instruction which the author has imbibed from his Western gurus, without being touched by his own racial heritage. Mr. Ruthnaswamy starts by correctly basing Mr. Gandhi's creed on his faith in the essential goodness of man—the only sound ideal behind all revolutions and reforms. Our author

is sceptical and warns us of the "logic of passions". He no more believes in the ideal of Spiritual Politics, the need for which has only recently been affirmed by Woodrow Wilson in his first message after retirement. The author gives a traitorous advice when he asks India to adopt English as the common language! There are many other false analogies and *petitio principii* in his arguments, but despite these Mr. Ruthnaswamy's work forms an extremely good reading, provoking thought, and certainly of interest to the politicians of the Congress school.

Babu Bhagwan Das felt the need of a constructive platform in the campaign for Swaraj initiated by the Congress. He has devoted time and thought to the working out of a scheme of national government, and in his little book **The Philosophy of Non-co-operation** (Tagore & Co., Madras, 1922, Re. 1/-) tells us what exactly the Non-co-operators mean by Swaraj. Written in an idealist vein the book should serve as the starting point for further elaboration of the machinery of government as we wish it to be. It is an important contribution crystallising our ideas of governance and its detailed mechanism which problem demands increasing attention if we desire to successfully win Swaraj in the near future.

Terence MacSwiney's great stand for principles shines as a guiding light to the political workers of all oppressed nationalities. S. Ganesan, the enterprising Publisher of Madras, has done a useful service in bringing out a cheap Indian edition of MacSwiney's **Principles of Freedom**. It is the Irish martyr's confession of faith. In the practical application of his spiritual ideals MacSwiney knew of no compromise, for he believed that "no physical victory can compensate for spiritual surrender". To understand and appreciate the life that sacrificed itself at the altar of conscience, read MacSwiney's passionate words, glorified by supreme sacrifice—a noble example for all times and for all nations.

Mr. Gokul Chand of Agra College has rendered a useful service to the cause of primary education by publishing his **Urdu Primers** based on phonetic principles. The Primers have been highly spoken of by eminent educationists. It is a step in the right direction. The new method and technique of teaching Urdu should prove of real help to the teacher and encourage the easy learning of this difficult language.

With the influx of Western ideas of culture and art in India the more enlightened of the educated classes began to appreciate the hindrances and drawbacks

which their own customs and ceremonials provided against progress. With more zeal than discretion or judgment, not a few enthusiastic admirers of everything Western have condemned wholesale their own racial heritage. To such Mr. K. S. Ramaswami Sastry has given a spirited rejoinder in his book **Hindu Culture** (S. Ganesan, Madras, 1922, Rs. 3/-) Sir John Woodroffe, in a short Preface commending the book, reminds us that "no people should lose its own soul to another". The emphasis laid by the author on the true values of Hindu Culture is well-timed in these iconoclastic days, and we welcome Mr. Ramaswami Sastry's book for its clear and lucid exposition.

If you need a love-tonic go to Alfred Edye's book on **Woman's Ways and Wiles** (Jarrolds Publishers, Ltd., London, 1922, 3s. 6d.). He tells you of the etiquette of love-making, of the jealousies of married life, of soul-mates and of the vampire. The eternal feminine is a mystery which no mere man can solve, but our author has looked deep and observed far into woman's little ways. A more delightful commentary on the secrets of the eternal charm of the elusive Eve would be difficult to find.

To the Asian Library issued by the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar Madras, Mr. Phanindranath Bose has added a volume on **Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities**. Herein he tells us of the ancient universities of Nalanda, Vikramasila and Jagaddala, of the renowned Pundits of Buddhist learning who presided at these shrines of culture and instruction. Mr. Bose delves into old records and narrates the stories of the Buddhist monks and teachers who went to Tibet for missionary and educational purposes.

In a small pamphlet **Military Preparations for the Great War** (The Labour Publishing Co., London, 1923) Mr. E. D. Morel controverts the legend that Germany sought by the intensity of her military preparations before 1914 to dominate all Europe. He quotes figures and statistics to prove that Germany was by no means the only guilty party, that she "spent vastly less sums upon armaments in the ten years preceding the war, that its armies were numerically no stronger than those of one of its two redoubtable opponents, and that before the war it was using 20 per cent. less of its man-power than that opponent as potential cannon-fodder." Mr. Morel's conclusions may or may not be correct, but it is striking that no Allied Statesman has come forward to rebut the charge.

On the Sand-Dune (Ganesh & Co., Madras, 1923,

Re. 1-8) is the title of a new book by Mr. K. S. Venkataramani, who has already made a name for refined and tender imagination. Here he gives us the little meanderings of a reflecting mind, looking at the turmoil and the maddening din of the toiling humanity with the quietness of the inward eye. Suffused with a mystic glow, these charming song-reveries plaintively appeal for a return to simplicity, to peaceful contemplation and joy of homely, simple life.

The tercentenary of Tulsi Das, the great transcriber of Ramayana, has passed almost unnoticed among the Indian press. It is a glaring example of the passivity of national consciousness that forgets its own tradition and literature and would devote time and energy in reading and writing, say, about Shakespeare, whose tercentenary also occurred this year. In marked contrast to the columns of matter which appeared in the Indian Press about Shakespeare, it is regretful to note that hardly two papers of any standing chose to devote half a column each to the immortal Hindi Poet. It is refreshing therefore to receive a sumptuous number devoted entirely to the works and writings of the poet Tulsi Das from the offices of the **Madhuri**, the leading Hindi magazine from Lucknow. The editors deserve great praise in bringing out the record of Tulsi Das's splendid contributions at a time when, if our national consciousness were not so clouded over, we would be celebrating his tercentenary on a national scale—a tribute which Tulsi Das's genius so richly deserves.

Lord Ronaldshay retired from the Governorship of Bengal in March 1922. It is yet too early to pass a critical judgement on his administration or adjudge dispassionately the traditions of governance he left behind him. But to understand what sort of man he was, what ideals shaped his activities, what influences moulded his policy, we can not do better than go to his public speeches. We welcome, therefore, the publication of **Lord Ronaldshay in Bengal** (Art Press, Calcutta, 1923), where a rich but discriminating fare is presented. Lord Ronaldshay commenced his rule under inauspicious circumstances. Being credited with strong Tory instincts he was assailed, on his appointment, for the anti-Indian and reactionary views which had found a place in his travel books. On his arrival he was faced with the most difficult of political problems—the problem of violent and anarchical crime. The distress occasioned by war, famine and epidemic continued to sow political and social discontent. A smaller man would have been abashed at the magnitude of his task. But Lord

Ronaldshay possesses the rare combination of a resolute will akin to obstinacy and the tender delicacy of a scholar open to conviction. He decided on taking his chance and his administration of Bengal for five years is characterised by firm statesmanship guided by the finer instincts of a scholar and a gentleman. No branch of administration was too small for his attentions, no problem too vast for his comprehension. He followed a broad, bold policy of allying practical politics with the spirit of idealism:—no finer contribution to the traditions of governance could have been made. It was always a pleasure to hear Lord Ronaldshay speak. That his speeches read so well is a tribute to Lord Ronaldshay's literary gifts. Mr. Mukherjee's publication is well planned; the speeches are carefully apartmented for reference. It should form an admirable introduction to the history of Bengal for the years 1917—1922.

REPRINTS OF STANDARD WORKS.

Of the many series of reprints of classics with which the book-market is flooded, perhaps the most useful is the "Library of Standard Lives," issued by Messrs. Hutchinson & Co. (Paternoster Row, London). Cheaply priced, neatly printed and well got up, the series deserves a very wide circulation in all literary and cultured circles, where the study of the biographies of eminent men and women, makes a strong appeal. The selections in the series are judiciously made and works from both English and Continental languages are included in the reprints. The first four volumes comprise Southey's *Life of Nelson*, Agnes Strickland's *Life of Queen Elizabeth*, Madam Campan's *Life of Marie Antoinette* and Bourrienne's *Life of Napoleon*. Southey's *Life of Nelson* is, as a model naval biography, justly regarded as an English classic. It is admittedly the best of Southey's voluminous works and is the only one that is now read or remembered. Of the many lives written by Agnes Strickland, her *Life of Queen Elizabeth* is absolutely the best and the edition under notice ought to add to its popularity by making it easily accessible. Madam Campan's book—originally issues in French as the *Memoires Sur la Vie privée de la Reine Marie Antoinette*—was issued in 1823, the year after the author's death. An English edition immediately appeared, which is reprinted in the series. Madam Campan was First Lady of the Bedchamber to the unfortunate French Queen, and thus wrote from first-hand knowledge. Bourrienne was for many years Private Secretary to Napoleon and his life-long companion. His *Memoirs of Napoleon Bonaparte* was published (in French) in

1836. Bourrienne did not address himself to the military exploits of Napoleon; he confined himself to a record of his personal life and character and as such his work is unsurpassed in the vast range of Napoleonic literature. All the four volumes are well edited with annotations, bibliographical data, appendixes and indices, which enhance materially the value of the texts and render them more useful. We shall watch the progress of this highly useful series with interest. It should be placed on the shelves of all libraries in this country.

Of the many series of reprints of classics, one of the most deserving of appreciation is the *Illustrated Pocket Classics* issued by Messrs. William Collins Sons & Co., Ltd., (4, Bridewell Place, London). There total number is now about three hundred. Printed on thin paper, in size easily slippable into coat pocket, embellished with beautiful illustrations and issued in good cloth binding at two shillings net per volume, it is an excellent series and fully deserves the very large circulation it enjoys. The latest additions are Besant and Rice's *Golden Butterfly*, Anna Sewall's *Black Beauty*. Alexandre Dumas's *Conspirators*, Black's *Daughter of Heth*, Mrs. Henry Wood's *Life's Secret* and George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda*. All lovers of good literature should obtain and utilize the complete list of the series for enriching their libraries.

"Nelson's Classics," is another series of reprints deserving of appreciation, and for which the firm responsible (Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd., London) are entitled to great credit. The size and format of the books in this series are handy, the printing is neat and the selection of works judicious. Sold at eighteen pence each, Nelson's Classics is a remarkably cheap and useful series of reprints of good literature and should find an even larger distribution. The volumes added to the series recently are Lamb's *Essays of Elia*, Dickens' *Barnaby Rudge*, Jane Austen's *Sense and Sensibility*, Emily Bronte's *Wuthering Heights*, Grimm's *Fairy Tales* and *The Swiss Family Robinson*.

"Masterpieces of French Romance", edited by that distinguished scholar—Mr. Edmund Gosse—and published by Messrs. William Heinemann, Ltd., (London) is an excellent series of English translations of the greatest works of fiction in the French literature. Not only is each volume exceedingly well rendered into English but has the additional advantage of a critical introduction by a most qualified scholar and a biographical note about the author. Thus of the two latest additions Flaubert's *Madame Bovary*

is enriched with a critical study of it by none other than the late Henry James and Daudet's *The Nabob* by Professor Trent. The get-up of the books is excellent and the series deserves the attention of lovers of French fiction.

It is a superb edition of a Greek classic which Mr. Basil Blackwell (Oxford) has just issued as publisher to the Shakespeare Head-Press of Stratford-upon-Avon. It is *The Loves of Clitophon and Leugippe*, translated from the Greek of Achilles Tatius by William Burton, and originally published in 1597. Curiously the book has never been reprinted and the edition under notice is the first reprint since the original publication in the nineties of the sixteenth century. The format, get-up and mechanical execution are fully worthy of the Greek classic and do credit to the resources of the press and the enterprise of the publisher. Only five hundred and three copies have been struck off, five on vellum and the rest on handmade paper, of which 394 are for sale in Great Britain and 104 in America. The copy sent to us for notice is numbered 261. There is an excellent critical appreciation of the book by Mr. Stephen Gaslee and a sketch of the translator by Mr. H. F. B. Brett-Smith. These add materially to the value of the work, which is one to be treasured as a thing of beauty and joy for ever.

The works of M. Anatole France—perhaps the most accomplished Frenchman of letters of the present generation—are now accessible in English in the translation edited by the late Mr. Frederick Chapman and Mr. James L. May, and issued in 35 volumes (John Lane, the Bodley Head, Ltd., London). Of these the translation by Mr. Alfred Allinson of *The Garden of Epicurus* first appeared in 1908 and has been recently reprinted in a cheaper edition. The reprint should appeal to a large circle of cultured readers as in this volume, which not a few critics are disposed to regard as M. France's greatest work, have been gathered some of the choicest and mellowest fruits of wisdom: some of the most penetrating and most delicate sceptical reflections upon life. All of them are tinged with that gentle raillery and indulgent compassion which are the distinguishing characteristics of his philosophy, the keynote of which is given in a passage which occurs in this same book: "Irony and Pity" say M. France "are both of good counsel; the first with her smiles makes life agreeable; the other sanctifies it to us with tears. The Irony I invoke is no cruel deity. She mocks neither love nor beauty. She is gentle and

kindly disposed. Her mirth disarms anger, and it is she who teaches us to laugh at rogues and fools whom but for her we might be so weak as to hate." A book at once so subtle and profound deserves careful attention at the hands of all lovers of what De Quincy rightly designated "the literature of power" as opposed to the "literature of knowledge".

James Boswell is known to the literary world for his *Life of Dr. Johnson*—the greatest and best biography in English. But his *Journal of a Tour to Corsica* is an exceedingly interesting record and deserved being made accessible in these days of cheap reprints. We, therefore, welcome the edition brought out with an Introduction and notes by Mr. S. C. Roberts (University Press, Cambridge and Fetter Lane, London, E. C. 4.) It is noteworthy that since the original issue in 1768 (second and third editions in 1769) Mr. Robert's edition is the first in which the *Tour* appears by itself—it having last seen the light along with some other works edited by the late Dr. Birbeck Hill in 1879. The reprint thus deserves a cordial welcome.

RECENT REPRINTS OF VERNACULAR CLASSICS.

The Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Kashi—founded in Benares in 1893—organized, in August last, the celebration of the tercentenary of the death of the greatest mediæval poet of Northern India, Goswami Tulsi Das. In connection with the celebration, the Sabha brought out a handsome set, in three volumes, of the complete poetical works of the Master, with a series of essays by competent and qualified critics interpreting the sublime ideas of the poet. The first volume comprises the text of Tulsi's deservedly most famous work—the *Ram Charit Manas*, popularly known as the *Tulsi—Krit—Ramayana*, and in common parlance as the *Ramayana*. The second brings together all the other poetical works of the poet, and includes, of course, the *Vinaya Patrika*, which is next in importance and popularity only to the *Ramayana*. The third and concluding volume of the set, contains a series of critical essays on the works and genius of the poet. We propose to review later at some length this first complete and critical edition of the Master. In the meantime we strongly recommend it to all lovers of classical Hindi literature.

The Belvedere Press, Allahabad, are responsible for a well got-up but rather heavy and bulky edition of

the *Tulsi-Krit-Ramayana*, edited with a complete commentary by Pandit Mahavir Prasad Malaviya. The text is also embellished with some beautiful pictures illustrating the important scenes depicted by the Master. In a second edition, when called for, an attempt should be made to give the book a format which will reduce its size to handy and convenient proportions—it is not easy or comfortable to handle the book in its present unwieldy form. But the neat and bold printing, lucid interpretation and excellence of get-up render this edition one of the most attractive and desirable to possess. The commentary is the simplest that we know of—though there is room for further simplification in its style and language. On the whole, this edition of the *Ramayana* does credit to the resources of the Belvedere Press and the enterprise of its proprietors, and it deserves a wide circulation.

Wali "dakhini"—or Wali of the Deccan—is justly regarded as the father of Hindustani or Urdu literature—he being the first poet whose verses have reached us in a more or less authorized collection. Very little is known about him and there is no certainty even about his full name. Only this much can be said of him that he was a native either of the Deccan or the Gujrat (probably of its capital, Ahmadabad) and lived in the seventeenth century of the Christian era, during the reign of the Moghal Emperor, Aurangzeb. He came to Delhi with his *Diwan* (collection of poems) late in the century, towards the end of Aurangzeb's reign and set the seal of standard on Urdu poetry from that time onwards to our own. Whatever the poetic merits of his verses, his importance in the history of Urdu literature can not be overrated and a good text of his poems was long felt as a desideratum. So far back as 1837, Professor Gracin de Tassy of Paris, published an edition of the text of Wali, which has long been inaccessible even in Europe. We welcome, therefore, the edition recently issued by Mr. Hyder Ibrahim Sayyani, Assistant Lecturer in Persian at the Deccan College, Poona, which is neatly got-up for a lithographed book, and offers an excellent, critical text of the poems of Wali. It were much to be wished that other scholars interested in Urdu literature would devote their time and attention to organizing the publication of a uniform series of texts of the leading poets who have flourished from the time of Wali to our own times.

NEW EDITIONS OF CURRENT LITERATURE.

There are lying on our table a number of works in new and (in some cases) revised editions, as also

selections from current literature. Of these—purely from the literary point of view—the place of honour should be given to the tasteful reprints of Sir Arthur Quiller Couch's *The Art of Writing* and *Studies in Literature* (University Press, Cambridge and Fetter Lane, London, E. C.)—the first of which appeared in 1916 and the second two years later. Both these series of lectures and essays deservedly rank high in contemporary critical literature. The first is a treatise on style and is not only marked by the four corner-stones of excellent composition—appropriateness, perspicuity, accuracy and persuasiveness but has an ineffable charm, which is remarkably pleasing. It is, beyond all doubt, the best book of its class and kind. The *Studies* (first series) include a dozen appreciations and appraisements of men of letters and critical disquisitions on literary subjects which are characterized by Sir Arthur's rich and rare scholarship, sound judgement and good taste. We hope it will not be long before all the other critical works of Sir Arthur will appear in the new pocket edition uniform with the two reprints under notice.

To the "Harrap Library" (George Harrap & Co., Ltd., 39-41, Parker Street, Kingsway, London) Mr. F. H. Pritchard has added an excellent anthology of current essays called *Essays of To-day*. Grouped under the heads "youth and old age," "according to taste," "of times and seasons," "in those days," "the spirit of place", and "life and letters", the editors has brought together a fairly large number of essays from the modern essayists—whose works are not yet rendered accessible in handy collections. He also contributes an excellent Introduction. The collection under survey is thus the best introductory volume to a study of the modern essayists.

To the same category—though confined to a single essayist—belongs Mr. P. M. Buck's *Selected Essays and Addresses of Huxley* (The Macmillan Company, New York, U.S.A.). The editor has prefixed to the collection an instructive essay on Huxley and his writings, while the selection made by him is well-chosen and judicious. Mr. Buck's selections from Huxley's writings is the best introduction to the study of that thought-provoking author.

Messrs. John Bygott and A. J. Lawford Jones's *The King's English and How to Write It* (Jarrold and Sons, Ltd., London) appeared so far back as 1903 and has been frequently reprinted—which is an indication of its success and popularity. It has now been carefully revised and enlarged and it will con-

tinue in its new form to hold its own as one of the clearest and completest manuals for students of English—giving sound, practical information on composition and style.

Yet, another excellent student's manual—dealing not with a modern language but with a classical literature—is Dr. Harold Fowler's *History of Ancient Greek Literature* which has just appeared in a revised edition (The Macmillan Company, New York, U.S.A.). Like the best American text-books, it is accurate, lucid and comprehensive—surveying as it does Greek literature from its *origines* till its decadence in 526 A. D. The author traces in bold outlines the course of Greek thought from the source of its expression through its progress to perfection, following thence its decline in the reign of Justinian. He has been wonderfully successful in presenting his material in proper balance to its intrinsic merit. Altogether Professor Fowler's work is an ideal text-book for the student of ancient Greek literature.

Mr. C. Reginald Enock's *Republics of Central and South America* (J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., London)—which was first issued in 1913—now appears in a

revised edition, with sixteen illustrations and nine maps. During the last few years there have appeared a number of books on the Latin American republics of the new world, but Mr. Enock's book is the only one known to us which offers within the covers of a single volume an accurate and succinct account of the geographical, economic and sociological conditions of the republics of Central and South America. Carefully revised and brought up-to-date, Mr. Enock's book in its new editions, will justly hold the position of being a most valuable compendium of information on the affairs and resources of the Latin American republics, and a standard work on the subject.

A new edition of a book of a far different type is represented by *A Guide for the Greedy* by Mrs. Pennell (John Lane the Bodley Head, Ltd., London). Originally issued in 1896, under the title of *The Feasts of Autolycus*, it is now enriched with an interesting new Introduction—though the text of the book has not been changed. Not meant to be a comprehensive work on gastronomy, it is an instructive work on the subject and should appeal to those who care for good cheer and the pleasures of the table. It is exceedingly well written.

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